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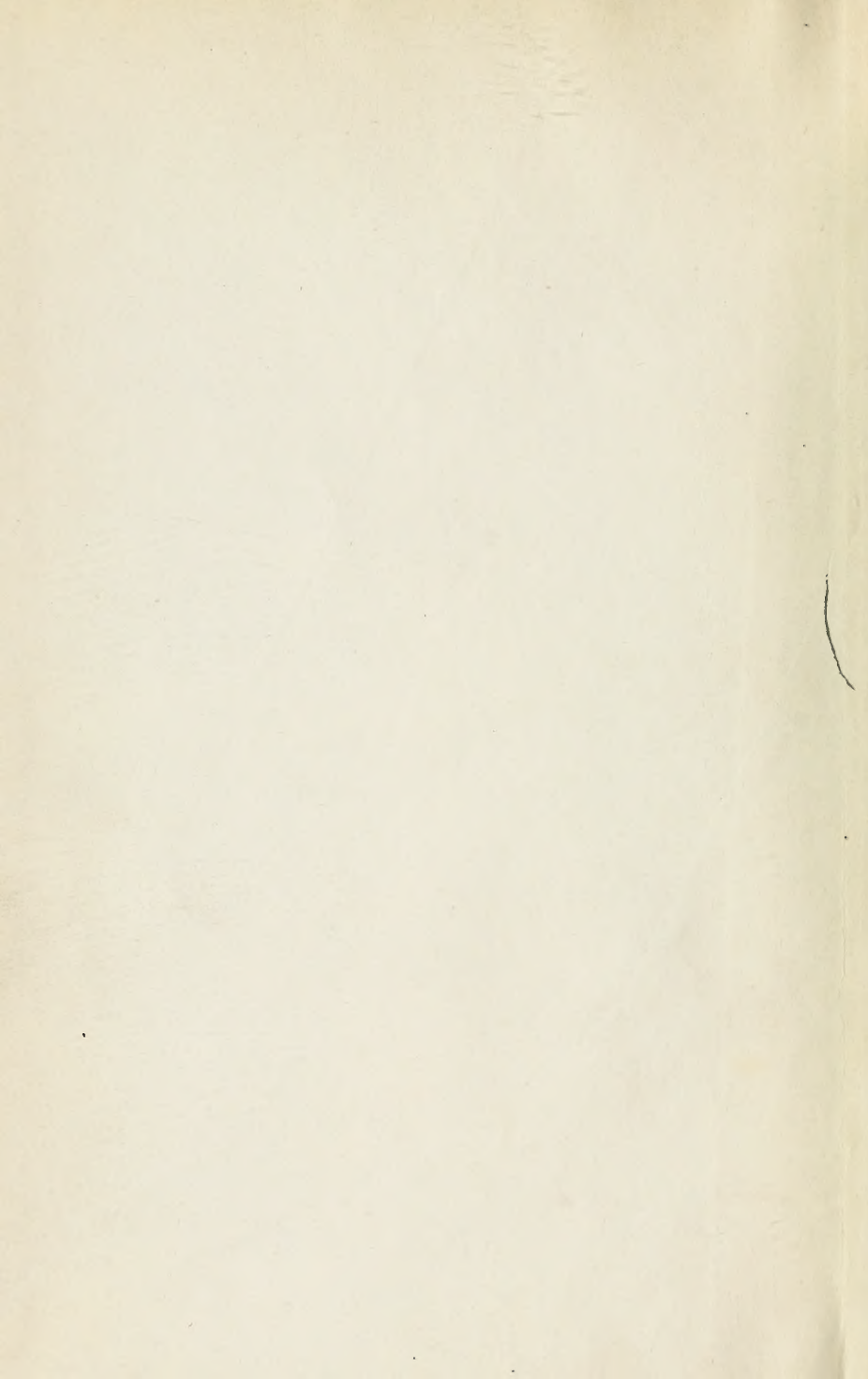
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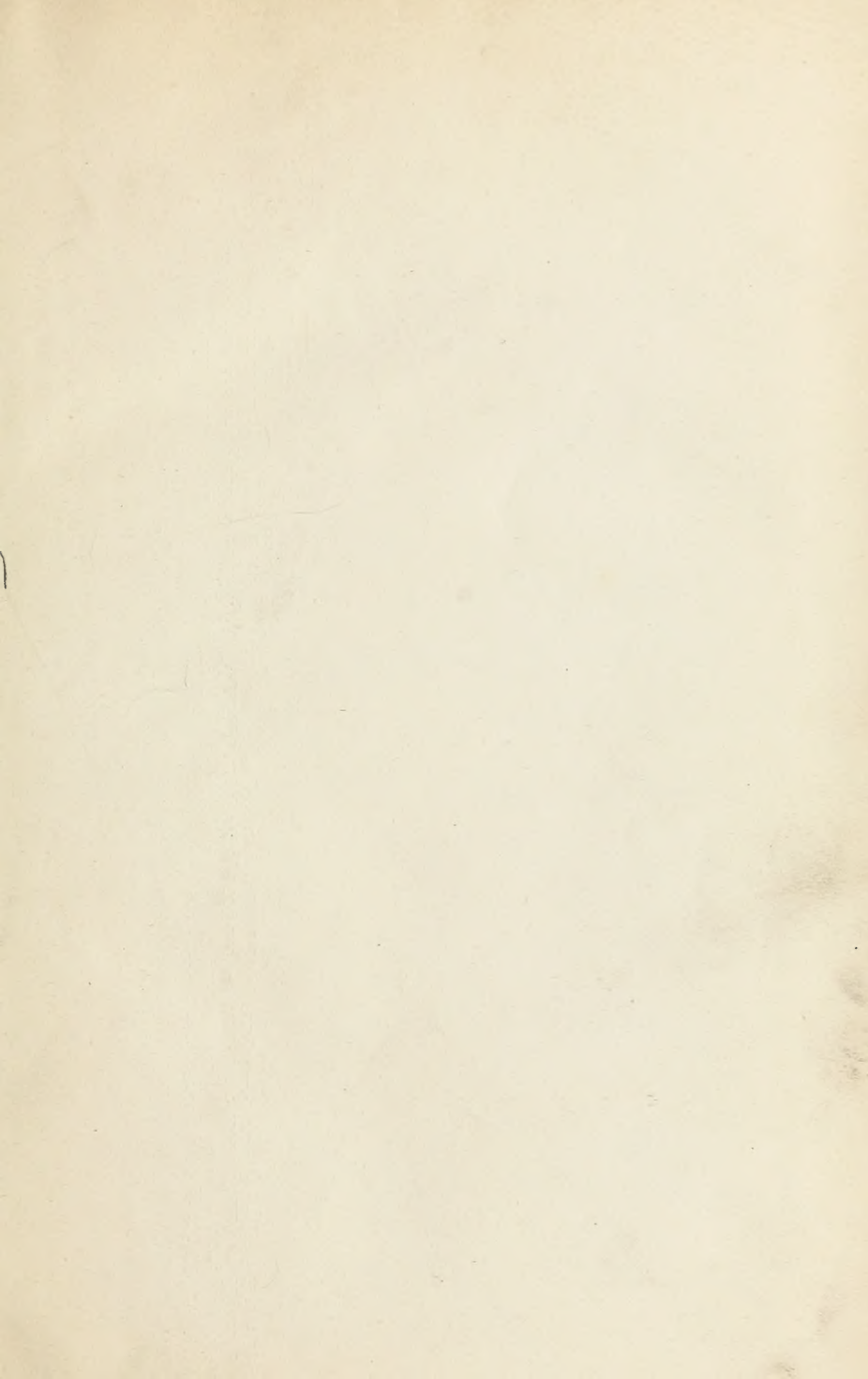
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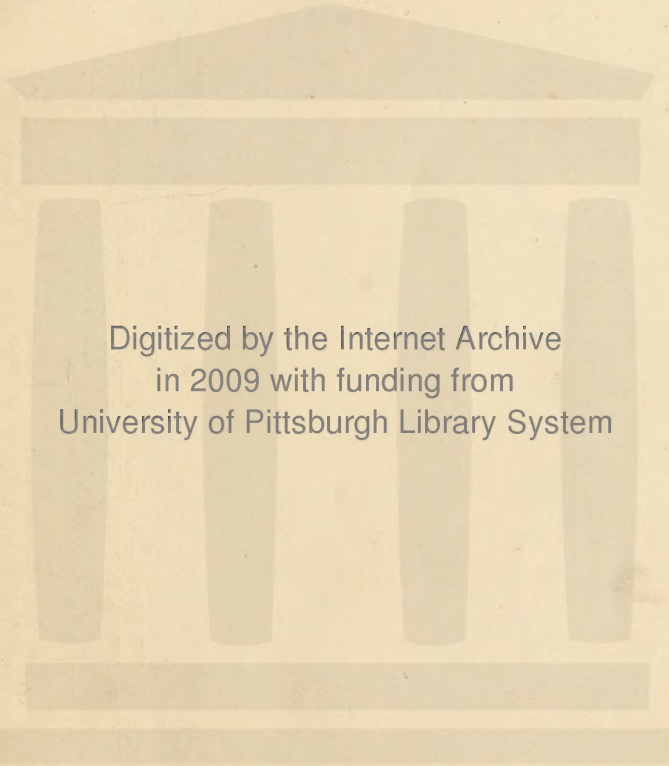
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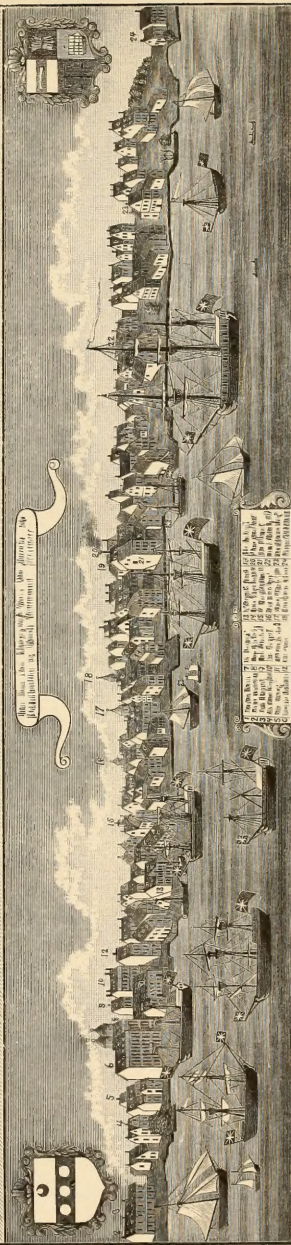




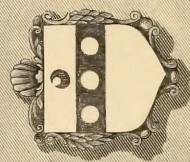


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The South, East Prospect of The City of Philadelphia By Peter Cooper Banks



See how the City of Philadelphia is situated in the Harbor of the Delaware River.



- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 The Draw Bridge | 13 John Witpain | 23 Sam ^l Carpenter | 33 Abr ^m Bickley |
| 2 Buds Building | 14 Capt Anthony | 24 Sam ^l Carpenter | 34 Thomas Macties |
| 3 Edw Shipen | 15 George Painter | 25 Sam ^l Carpenter | 35 Sam ^l Perry |
| 4 Ant Morris Brew Hse | 16 Geo Shipen | 26 Sam ^l Boulby | 36 Sam ^l Mering Houf |
| 5 Capt Vining | 17 Wm Fishbourn | 27 Qual Meeting Houf | 37 Tho. Chakley |
| 6 Jonathan Dickson | 18 The Scales | 28 The Court Houf | 38 Penny Post Houf |

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HISTORY

OF

PHILADELPHIA.

1609—1884.

BY

John
J. THOMAS SCHARF AND THOMPSON WESTCOTT.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:

L. H. EVERTS & CO.

1884.

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PREFACE.

IN presenting this History of Philadelphia to the public no apology is necessary. As a record of events, as an exhibition of men, as a chronicle and exposition of institutions and resources, the work in this particular field, it is believed, will be found a complete and satisfactory record, in its every department, of the growth, development, and expansion of a municipality. This is asserted with a thorough knowledge of what has been done elsewhere since the revival of public interest in and enthusiasm for local details, and with a consciousness also of the suspicion of arrogance and self-assumption naturally incidental to such pretensions. To accomplish so much, and with such a degree of self-satisfaction, has been no holiday task. Of the labor, expense, and responsibility involved, very little need be said. The proof is presented in these volumes. In their preparation more than twenty times the compass of material, expressly procured and arranged, in addition to the great collection of books read and examined for collateral information, was digested, condensed, and, in the pertinent newspaper phrase, "boiled down" to the present limits. In no sense of the word is this work founded upon, built up out of, or repeated from, any previous one on the same subject, or any of its branches. It is a new book, treating its theme in a new, comprehensive, and original manner, after exhaustive research, thorough examination, and critical comparison of the best authorities, and the most authentic documents and authoritative records. This digesting and assimilating process has not, perhaps, been carried as far as exigent critics might demand, but in this busy and bustling world there is not time enough to polish the front of a city hall as nicely as one would a mantel ornament of Parian marble. The proprieties of style have, however, not been neglected, for carelessness in that respect would have been equally unworthy of a theme so dignified, and of the liberality and beauty of form of the publishers' work.

A history so comprehensive in its objects and scope, and embracing such an infinitude of details, must necessarily have its limitations and defects, because of the impossibility of discussing fully a great variety of subjects without occasional errors. It would have been easy to escape from them by making the work less copious, by avoiding dangerous or controverted themes, and so gliding swiftly over the surface, generalizing and summing up instead of displaying all the facts.

The desire to leave nothing untold which could in any way throw light upon the history of men, events, and institutions in Philadelphia has made it impossible at times to escape repetition. Facts, which fall within the proper cognizance of the narrative of general events, will sometimes reappear in another shape in the records of institutions or in special chapters. But the fault will claim the reader's indulgence, because intelligent persons prefer a twice-told tale to one neglected or half told.

Several of the themes or chapters of the homogeneous whole have been treated by those who have some particular association or long acquaintance with the subject. In the diversity of writers there will of course be variety of opinions, but they make good the poet's description,

"Distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea,"

and may not be the worse for each offering a reflection, according to its turn to the light, without marring the unity of the general expanse.

Without Mr. Westcott's indispensable aid and invaluable stores of material on the History of Philadelphia, which he has been diligently collecting for the past thirty years, and which have been used in every department of this work, it would have been impossible to present the history of this great city in the satisfactory shape it now assumes. Indeed, as has been frequently stated in the following pages, Mr. Westcott has devoted a lifetime to the faithful, industrious, and intelligent pursuit of this history; few records have escaped him, and he has supplemented their evidence with recollections of a trustworthy character, and with testimony from a thousand sources, such as none but the most indefatigable antiquarian would seek or could procure. Mr. Westcott has also contributed to the work many valuable and unique drawings, portraits, maps, plans, etc., which are now printed for the first time; and during its progress he has also been constantly consulted by all engaged in the preparation of the special chapters, and besides furnishing important suggestions, facts, and items, he has read and corrected all the proofs, from the first page to the last. Besides the very efficient aid thus rendered during the various stages of the work, he has specially prepared for it the chapters on "Progress from 1825 to the Consolidation of the City, in 1854;" "Music, Musicians, and Musical Societies;" "Charitable, Benevolent, and Religious Institutions and Associations;" "Military Organizations, Armories, Arsenal, Barracks, Magazines, Powder-Houses, and Forts;" "Municipal, State, and Government Buildings;" "Court-Houses, Prisons, Reformatory and Correctional Institutions, and Almshouses;" "Public Squares, Parks and Monuments;" "Roads, Ferries, Bridges, Public Landings and Wharves;" "Telegraph," and many other minor subjects.

The authors would be unjust to themselves, and to the city whose history they have written, if they did not acknowledge, in this place, with feelings of profound gratitude, the cordial aid extended to them and to their undertaking by the press and people of Philadelphia. They have given the fullest encouragement throughout, and have helped materially in elaborating and perfecting the work. Important and valuable assistance and information have been received from the following persons, to whom also particular recognition is due:

To Frederick D. Stone, librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, for valuable memoranda and suggestions made to the authors during the progress of their work; to Frank Willing Leach, for biographical sketches and details in regard to the press and libraries of Philadelphia; to Rev. W. B. Erben, for the preparation of the history of the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and its institutions and church work; to Martin I. J. Griffin, for the history of the Catholic Church, and its institutions, societies, schools, and church work; to Bishop Matthew Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. William Cathcart, D.D., of the Baptist Church, Rev. Charles G. Ames, of the Unitarian Church, Rev. W. J. Mann, D.D., of the Lutheran Church, Rev. W. M. Rice, of the Presbyterian Church, John Edmunds, of the Congregational

Church, and Rev. Chauncey Giles and T. S. Arthur, of the Swedenborgian Church, for essential assistance in the preparation of the history of their respective denominations; to Albert H. Hoeckley, for his chapter on "Clubs and Club Life;" to Charles R. Hildeburn, the librarian of the Athenæum, for many kindnesses of various sorts; to Isaac H. Shields, attorney-at-law, for his complete chapter on the intricate and important subject of "The Municipal Government of Philadelphia;" to Lloyd P. Smith, librarian of the Philadelphia and Ridgway Library, for many kindnesses and courtesies in smoothing the way, and contributing to the work the details for the history of the libraries under his charge, including free access to and use of valuable documents; to William Perrine, who contributed to the work the chapters on "Progress from the Consolidation Act, in 1854, to the Civil War," "After the Civil War," and "Education;" to Rev. Jesse Y. Burke for sketch of the Pennsylvania University; to Hon. James T. Mitchell, who kindly revised the chapter on the "Bench and Bar;" to John Hill Martin, author of "The Bench and Bar of Philadelphia," who furnished valuable Civil Lists, and, with a kindness and courtesy not to be forgotten, allowed the authors to extract all that they wanted from his able work; to Wm. B. Atkinson, M.D., who revised the chapter on the "Medical Profession," and S. D. Gross, M.D., LL.D., who read the proofs of the same; to Charles A. Kingsbury, M.D., D.D.S., for materials on Dental Surgery and Institutions; to Lewis D. Harlow, M.D., for sketches of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Medical Colleges; to Miss May Forney, for the chapter furnished by her upon "The Distinguished Women of Philadelphia;" to Professor R. M. Johnston, who prepared the chapter on "Literature and Literary Men;" to Robert R. Dearden, A. J. Bowen, J. H. C. Whiting, and John A. Fowler, for much valuable material on the history of insurance in Philadelphia; to Clifford P. MacCalla, Charles E. Mayer, Edward S. Roman, John W. Stokes, George Hawkes, Walter Graham, William Hollis, John M. Vanderslice, and John Magargee, for valuable assistance in the preparation of the chapter on "Secret Societies and Orders."

Among others to whom acknowledgments are especially due may be mentioned the late Edward Spencer, Charles H. Shinn, Nathaniel Tyler, Professor P. F. de Gournay, John Sargent, Samuel W. Pennypacker, Dr. W. H. Burke, Professor Oswald Seidensticker, James J. Levick, M.D., Rev. W. M. Baum, D.D., Frederick Emory, and Professor W. H. B. Thomas, who have furnished much valuable information and assistance.

The publishers have most liberally met every desire, in respect of letter-press and engravings of portraits, maps, and other illustrations; they have spared no expense or effort to make the mechanical execution of the volumes equal to its subject, and they have helped in every difficulty while the work was in progress.

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HISTORY OF PHILADELPHIA.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY OF PHILADELPHIA.

"Pulchra duos inter sita stat *Philædelphæa* rivos;
Inter quos duo sunt millia longa via.
Delator hic major, *Scutill* minor ille vocatur;
Indis et Suevis notus uterque diu.
Ædibus ornatur multis urbs limite longo,
Quæ parva emicuit tempore magna brevi.
Hic plateas mensor spatii delineat æquis,
Et domui recto est ordine juncta domus."

—THOMAS MAKIN, *In laudes Pensylvænicæ perurbe*, 1729.

HISTORY, as men have come to learn, is not simply the annals of kings and queens, of factions and parties, nor must it rest with recording the battles and movements of armies and the proceedings of parliaments and assemblies. To satisfy intelligent inquiry, to instruct as well as amuse, it should present a picture of the country and the people, and show how external circumstances and internal relations have reciprocally acted one upon the other to mould character and determine events. The court, the forum, the public assemblage are not to be neglected, but the full history of a country or a period cannot be written until we have accompanied the people to their firesides, and seen how they lived, ate, dressed, thought, spoke, and looked. The historian should be an artist, full of sincerity, full of imagination, and even a degree of sentiment for his work, but that work must be founded in the first instance upon close, accurate, exhaustive study of the age, the men, the manners and customs, and all the private concerns, as well as the public performances of the community which is dealt with. In the pursuit of such inquiries nothing which is relevant can be trivial, for history resembles a *post-mortem* examination, which must be so conducted as to enable us not only to reconstruct an

actual living frame from inanimate remains, giving accurately all the details of race, age, sex, complexion, frame, general conformation, and individual peculiarity, but to show also with firm and irrefutable demonstration what was the lesion under which the vital powers were extinguished, what organs were affected, and how their disorder came to be climaxed in dissolution. An era or an epoch is as the life of a man, and must be studied with the aid of the scalpel and the microscope. In no other way can an accurate and vivid reproduction of the past be effected. Especially should the historian avoid interpreting a past age by the feelings, sentiments, and experiences of the present. He must, as nearly as possible, assimilate himself to the times and the men he is describing, analyze their shortcomings and prejudices in the same atmosphere and light that engendered them, and enter into the period as if he belonged to it. Thus, as Taine has acutely said, "through reflection, study, and habit we succeed by degrees in producing sentiments in our minds of which we were at first unconscious; we find that another man in another age necessarily felt differently from ourselves; we enter into his views and then into his tastes, and as we place ourselves at his point of view we comprehend him, and in comprehending him find ourselves a little less superficial."

The historian who holds this opinion of his duty and his task must always look with peculiar pleasure upon all that concerns the birth, growth, and development of cities, for it is in these congregated and crowded communities that man is seen working at most freedom from the restrictions and limitations of nature and evolving the greatest results from that complex and co-operative force which we call society. Civilization itself is the product of civic and social life, and depends for its continuance upon the maintenance of society in a healthy civic condition. The city is the fountain of progress; it is the type, however, and exemplar of the State, though often its forerunner.

The city of Philadelphia must always be an object of particular and inexhaustible interest to the student of American history and American institutions. Peculiar in its origin and initial institutions,—a city which was made and did not spring spontaneously from the concurrence of circumstances and surroundings,—it yet took its place at a very early day as the focus of

NOTE.—The author wishes to state in advance that not only the present chapter, but much of all that succeeds it, has been prepared in association with Thompson Westcott, and with the indispensable aid of his manuscripts, his collections of material, his researches, and his extensive publications on the subject of the history of Philadelphia. He has devoted a lifetime to the faithful, industrious, and intelligent pursuit of this history; few records have escaped him, and he has supplemented their evidence with recollections of a trustworthy character and testimony from a thousand sources, such as none but the most indefatigable antiquarian would seek or could procure access to. Such aid, such cheerful co-operation, such fruitful products of untiring industry in special investigation cannot fail to make the present work luminous in respect of that intimate local information and those obscure but essential particulars into which so few histories descend.

American tendencies and aspirations, and became the centre and the birthplace of the United States as an independent Commonwealth. In the military and in the political history of this nation Philadelphia occupies the foremost place. It was founded as an asylum of peace and the home of pacific industry, but it became not only the sport and the prey of contending armies, but the arsenal of the war-making power of the continent during seven years of eager and fluctuating contest. The greatest of deliberations were carried forward to national conclusions within its venerated walls, and from it as a centre were derived those impulses to sublime action which attain even grander proportions as they recede in the vista of time. Here, too, American industry was first fostered in a peculiarly national and American way, until a continental policy grew out of local practice and the successes which attended local experiment. Philadelphia has besides a history of its own, which catches in a peculiar manner the light of the *genius loci*. In many respects of constitution, institutions, municipal rule and law, construction, manners and customs, it is dissimilar from other cities and possesses a physiognomy all its own. It is the aim of the present work to give the history of Philadelphia with accuracy and intelligence, omitting nothing that will contribute in any degree to illustrate its origin and growth, its national importance, and its peculiar local features,—to paint a portrait of the city as it was and as it is, in which every lineament shall be truthfully portrayed and represented with life and vigor enough to make its fidelity acknowledged by all. If these objects can be attained by zeal, sincerity, and faithful, patient, and exhaustive research, the author has no fear of the reception which awaits his formidable undertaking.

"Philadelphia," says the worthy Dr. James Mease, in his "Picture" of the city, published in 1811, "lies on a plain nearly level, and on the western bank of the river Delaware, in 39 degrees 57 minutes of north latitude, and 75 degrees 8 minutes of longitude west of London. It is about one hundred and twenty miles distant from the ocean by the course of the river, and sixty in a direct line; its elevation above low-water mark ranges from two to forty-six feet, the highest part being between Seventh and Eighth Streets from Schuylkill." This topographical description is not, however, so accurate as that of Mr. Makin, the learned schoolmaster, quoted at the head of this chapter, and which his successor, Proud, the historian, has rendered into stanzas after the style of Alexander Pope,—

"Fair Philadelphia next is rising seen,
Betwixt two rivers plac'd, two miles between,"—

and so on. This is not precisely what Mr. Makin says, but it will serve. The peculiarity of the site proceeds from the fact that the city, placed upon the western side of one great river, lies almost immediately upon the delta of another stream not so large, yet of considerable length and volume, and draining a wide sec-

tion of country. The Delaware empties at a distance below into a wide bay, but the Schuylkill has a true delta, comprising several mouths. When the Swedes first came upon the spot these outlets were still more numerous than now, and it has been conjectured, not without probability, that in some prehistoric period some one of the main debouches of the stream was from Fairmount, or some point between that and the Falls of the Schuylkill, eastward across to the Delaware at or about Kensington, by the beds of the streams, creeks, and coves now or formerly known by the names of Frankford, Cohocksink, Pegg's Run, Gunner's Run, etc.¹ If this were the case really, Philadelphia would properly be described, so far as the original city is concerned, as occupying the upper part of an island in the delta of the Schuylkill, where its several mouths empty into the Delaware.

The range of hills and mountains in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania is invariably from northeast to southwest. The streams of these sections, on the other hand, flow in a general course from northwest to southeast. They are thus forced to cut through the ranges transversely in their course to the sea. What the Potomac does at Harper's Ferry and Point of Rocks and the Susquehanna between Harrisburg and Port Deposit, the Delaware repeats at the "Water-Gap" and the Schuylkill at Fairmount. The Potomac, in bursting through the South Mountain of Maryland and Virginia, needed the waters of the Shenandoah to aid it. In the same way the Schuylkill is reinforced by the Wissahiecon before it cuts through the Fairmount barriers. The Delaware and the Susquehanna neither of them have risen as far west as the loftier and broader breastworks of the Alleghanies, their upper streams passing to the eastward of these ranges and descending almost on north and south parallel courses from the neighborhood of the noble table-lands of central New York, where the flattening out of the mountains has enabled an easy artificial stream for commerce to be constructed from the great lakes to the Hudson River. The Schuylkill rises in the eastern foot-hills of these mountains, and, fed by many small streams and forest rills, makes a tortuous way through an uneven country to the Delaware, with which it mingles by mouths so obscure and insignificant that the Dutch called it "hidden river," and the early Swede cartographers confounded it with the minor coves and creeks which indent the western bank of the Delaware in so many places from the Horekill to the Neshaminy. Leaving

¹ On Hill's map of the city, 1796, the approach of Falls' Run to the head of Wing-hocking, which flows into Frankford Creek, and the ponds and hollows stretching across on the line of Pegg's Run, are marked in such relief as to give a topographical plausibility to this idea. A canal was at that time cut across part of the peninsula in such a way as to show a design to unite the two rivers at that point. An original cut-off of the Schuylkill at the Falls would account for this insignificance of the river's mouth where it actually and finally empties into the Delaware. The assumption that there was such a cut-off, however, must be left where it belongs, in the domain of pure conjecture.

out the strictly alluvial country, we may assume that it is the general topographical characteristic of Philadelphia County to consist of gentle ranges of hills running from northeast to southwest, separated by valleys or low plains, and cut transversely by numerous streams flowing from northwest to east and southeast, except where the water-shed deflects them into the Schuylkill, in which case their course is from a little east of north to a point or two west of south. This of course is the general description only. There are many exceptions, the character of which will be shown farther on. Each of these streams, cutting through the ranges of high ground, had its own conterminous valley, and these valleys interrupted and broke up the bluffs bordering on the Delaware, which otherwise would have been continuous. These bluffs, it must be remarked, on the Delaware side had the true characteristics of river dykes or levees, the result, in part at least, of glacial action. They rested upon gravel, and were higher than the land back of them, so that the original ground upon which Philadelphia stands did not drain to the river directly, but backwards to the smaller streams, which broke through the dyke at intervals. In the tide-washed flat lands near the debouch of the Schuylkill the minor streams originally flowed indifferently between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, with openings into both rivers, like canals. When there was a freshet in the Delaware that river must have overflowed by Hollandaer's Kyl and half a dozen more such estuaries into the Schuylkill.

The true latitude and longitude of Philadelphia we give from a compilation made by Prof. B. A. Gould for one of the numbers of "The American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac." The data are determined for the observatories in each case (Independence Hall being here taken):

PHILADELPHIA, N. Latitude, $39^{\circ} 57' 7.5''$. (MS. communication from Prof. Kendall); Longitude E. from Washington (U. S. Coast Survey):

	m.	s.
By 5 sets Eastern clock-signals . . .	7	33.66
By " Western " . . .	"	33.60
Mean	7	33.63

The mean, by comparison with the next East station (Jersey City), is $7^{\circ} 33.64$

Hence the longitude in arc is $358^{\circ} 6' 35.4''$ from Washington, and from Greenwich, $75^{\circ} 9' 23.4''$.¹

¹ On July 5, 1773, the Right Honorable the Earl of Dartmouth, who was at that time Colonial Secretary (he had succeeded Lord Hillsborough one year before) in the cabinet of George III., wrote to the Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania (John Penn, the son of Richard Penn, who was the fifth child of William Penn by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill) propounding certain "Heads of Enquiry relative to the present State and Condition" of Pennsylvania. The answers to these inquiries were transmitted to Lord Dartmouth under date of Jan. 30, 1775. In the communication the following occurs: "The City of Philadelphia, situated near the Conflux of Delaware and one of its chief Branches, the Schuylkill, is the most considerable Town in the Province, or indeed in

The city is 96 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, 125 miles in a direct line northeast of Washington, and 85 miles southwest of New York. Its greatest length, north-northeast, is 22 miles; breadth, from 5 to 10 miles; area, 82,603 acres, or 129.4 square miles. The surface between the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill varies in elevation from 30 to 300 feet, the alluvial flats, however, having originally no actual relief above the line of high tide, while in the district west of the Schuylkill the face of the country is undulating to a degree which is almost rugged in contour and romantic in aspect. The valley of the Wissahiccon and the reservations made for Fairmount Park have long been celebrated for their effective scenery and the fine composition of forest and stream, rocky hillsides, deep vales, and wild ravines.

Penn's original city was laid off in the narrowest part of the peninsula between the Delaware and the Schuylkill Rivers,—the belt of the irregular-shaped urn or vase, so to speak, which is thus formed,—and five or six miles above the mouth of the latter river. If we might take the peninsula to be a guitar, and could place the strings across the instrument instead of lengthwise, they would represent the contour of the old city's streets, bounded on the west by the Schuylkill, on the east by the Delaware, determined on the north by Vine Street, and on the south by South Street, or Cedar Street, as it was formerly called. The distance between the Delaware and the Schuylkill on Market Street was 10,922 feet 5 inches ($2\frac{1}{10}$ miles). The distance from north side of Vine Street to south side of Cedar (or South) Street was 5370 feet 8 inches, being 90 feet 8 inches over one mile. Excluding the width of streets the space was divided thus: From Cedar to



North America. The State-House in this City lies in North Latitude, $39^{\circ} 56' 53''$; its Longitude from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, computed West, $75^{\circ} 8' 45''$; or, in time, 5 hours and 35 seconds. This Latitude and Longitude were both fixed by accurate astronomical Observation at the Transit of Venus, 1769." In the Journal of Mason and Dixon, November, 1763, we learn that these surveyors established an observatory in the southern part of Philadelphia, in order to find the starting-point of the parallel which they were to run off. Their point of departure was "the most Southern part of Philadelphia," which they ascertained to be the north wall of a house on Cedar Street, occupied by Thomas Plumstead and Joseph Huddle, and their observatory must have been immediately adjacent to this. The latitude of this point they determined to be $39^{\circ} 56' 29''$. In 1845, when the northeast corner-stone of Maryland could not be found (it had been undermined by a freshet, and was then taken and built into the chimney of a neighboring farm-house), the Legislatures of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware appointed a joint commission, who employed Col. Graham, of the United States Topographical Engineers, to review Mason and Dixon's work so far as was requisite in order to restore the displaced corner. Col. Graham, in the course of his measurements, determined the latitude of the Cedar Street observatory to be $39^{\circ} 56' 37.4''$ north. This is $8.3''$ more than the latitude given by Mason and Dixon. If we add the distance from Cedar Street to Chestnut Street, 2650 feet, we have for Independence Hall latitude as determined by Mason and Dixon, $39^{\circ} 56' 55''$; as determined by Col. Graham, $39^{\circ} 57' 03''$. The slight variation in these calculations is surprising. That reported by Governor Penn may have been based upon data differing from those of the surveys of 1761 and of Mason and Dixon. The house selected by Mason and Dixon was on the south side of Cedar, east of Front, No. 30, standing in 1883.

Lombard Street, 322 feet; to Pine, 282 feet; to Spruce, 473 feet; to Walnut, 820 feet; to Chestnut, 510 feet; to Market, 484 feet; to Arch, 664 feet; to Race, 616.5 feet; to Vine, 632.3 feet, making, with the width of the streets added, an area of nearly two square miles, or twelve hundred and eighty acres. The width of the squares from the Delaware to the Schuylkill varied from three hundred and ninety-six to five hundred feet.¹ In 1854 the limits of the city were widely extended, so as to embrace the whole of Philadelphia County, including the area and dimensions given above. This was effected by the "consolidation" of all the suburbs and outlying districts and townships with the city proper. Consolidated Philadelphia is bounded on the east by the Delaware River, on the northeast by Bucks County, on the north-northwest and west by Montgomery County, on the west and the south again by Delaware County and the Delaware River. The northeast boundary line follows Poquessing Creek from its mouth along towards its source, the ancient boundary of Byberry; just northwest of the old road to Newtown the line corners and runs southwest in a straight line to the Tacony at what was called Grubtown; from this point it goes straight northwest on the boundary of Bristol township to a corner more than a mile northeast of Mount Airy; thence a mile southwest to the line of German township; thence northwest four miles to a corner; thence southwest straight to the Schuylkill at the point of the old soapstone quarries, crossing the Wissahiccon about half a mile northwest of Chestnut Hill. The line now follows the bed of the Schuylkill southeast to a point just below the mouth of the Wissahiccon, from this corner crossing southwest in a straight line to Cobb's Creek at a point a mile and a fourth west from Haddington; thence by Cobb's Creek to the junction of Bow Creek north of Tinnecum, and by the east bank of Bow Creek to the Delaware. The distance from the extreme northeast corner of Byberry to the extreme southwest corner of Kingsessing is between twenty-three and twenty-five miles. From League Island northwest to the Chestnut Hill corner is very nearly fifteen miles; from the soapstone quarry on the Schuylkill across to the mouth of the Poquessing it is fifteen miles; and from Gloucester Point to the ford at the old Blue Bell tavern is seven miles. The general statement of the "face of the country" in the old maps, made on the basis of townships, is: City, "level;" "level;" Blockley, "gentle declivities;" Bristol, "hilly;" Byberry, "pretty level;" Dublin, "gentle declivities;" Germantown, "hilly;" Kingsessing, "mostly level;" Moyamensing, "level;" Moorland, "pretty level;" Northern Liberties (out part), "mostly level;" Oxford and Frankford, "gentle declivities;" Passayunk, "level;" Penn, "mostly level;" Roxborough, "hilly." Of the townships,

Blockley and Kingsessing were west of Schuylkill, bordering on Montgomery and Delaware Counties; Kingsessing, Passayunk, Moyamensing, Southwark, City, Northern Liberties, Oxford, and Dublin were touched by or bordered on the Delaware; Byberry bordered on Bucks and Montgomery; Moreland, Dublin, Oxford, Bristol, Germantown, and Roxborough bordered on Montgomery; and Roxborough, Penn, City, and Passayunk had the Schuylkill on their west.

The most picturesque and agreeable approach to Philadelphia is from the northwest, crossing the Schuylkill above the Falls, and descending by way of the Ridge or the Germantown road. The least imposing approach, so far as the land surface is concerned, is by the west bank of the Delaware, following the line of the old King's road and the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad. This road, however, is made beautiful by the aspect of the noble river lying upon the right in broad and generous reaches, and seeming to rise above the level of the foot-passenger as he looks across its populous and busy bosom; by the multitudinous evidences of a gigantic industry, employing force and machinery with an intelligent usurpation that inspires new conceptions of man's power over nature; and by the gentle beauty of the margin of firm land in Delaware County parallel to the river at about an average distance of a mile inland. This, called "the water-shade," marks the bank of the prehistoric river before its present margin of flats was upheaved, and its moderate elevation and rounded slopes afford many fine building sites, while contributing largely to the advantage of the adjacent manufacturing establishments. This line of approach, moreover, was that by which the early settlers came to Philadelphia, the route of the Swedes and of William Penn. We cannot do better than follow in their footsteps in attempting to trace up the topography of Philadelphia.

The circle of twelve miles radius from New Castle as a centre which defines the boundary of the State of Delaware on the northeast, touches the banks of the Delaware River a few rods northeast of the mouth of Naaman's Creek or Kill, a stream whose several forks rise not far inland of the water-shed line. The land through which the body of the creek flows is flat and diluvial in its origin, as is all the land from the river's margin to the "water-shade," from this point until Crum and Ridley Creeks are reached, when we begin to encounter marsh, swamp, and pure alluvium or mud deposits. The Swedes held most of the land in this section at the time of Penn's arrival. Oelle (or Woolley or Willy) Rawson owned the mill-site on the creek where the King's road crossed it. Naaman, it is supposed, was an Indian chief who gave his name to this kill, a fact which Lindstrom's map seems to show. He was one of the sachems treating with Governor Printz on his first arrival, and Campanius quotes a friendly speech he made on that occa-

¹ Hazard's third volume of Watson's Annals.

sion. The arc of the boundary circle dips into the river in what was the land of Nathaniel Langley. Adjoining him on the northeast were plantations sold by Penn to William Hewes, Robert Bezar, William Clayton, William Flower, Sandeland, and other old settlers. These lands lie in Chichester township. The main public road from Concord to Chichester (or rather to Marcus Hook landing), which was laid out as early as 1686, reached the Delaware between the lands of Clayton and Sandeland, and here was doubtless a landing and a shipping place from a very early period. Marcus Hook, with the adjacent creek, variously called Marrieties Kill, Chichester Creek, Memanchitonna (*La Rivière des Marikes* is Lindstrom's translation of the name), was deeded by Queen Christina to Lieut. Hans Amundsen Besh, the deed including all the land to Upland. It afterwards fell into various hands. The Marrieties Kill, like Naaman's, was the main channel of several forks rising in the front part of the water-shade. All the rivers in this section which have been or will be described are, without exception, tidal and salt-water streams from their mouths to the rising ground of the water-shed, where they lose their character of coves or estuaries and become brooks, rills, or inland rivers, with volume ample for milling purposes but too much fall for navigation. The Swedes gave the name of "Finland" to this entire township, the Indian name of the district being Chamassung.

Several creeks or kills of minor importance, but all of which extend inland across the railroad and the ancient King's road, succeed one another to the northeast of Marcus Hook—Middle Run, Stony Creek, Harwick's Kill, Lamako Kill, etc.—until we come to Chester Creek. The character of the face of the country hereabouts as it was originally may be gathered from the fact that before Upland (now Chester) acquired its importance as the seat of the colonial court, the old King's road diverged to the left to avoid the low lands, and crossed the creek at Chester Mills, at the foot of the water-shed. Afterwards it was continued along the water-front, passed through the town, and then made a sharp angle to the left in quest of firmer ground. On the southwest side of Upland Kill, from the mill and ford to the Delaware, the land was originally owned by Holbert Henriksen, John Bristow, and Robert Wade, the latter a Quaker early settler, who entertained Penn at his house, Essex House, the site at least of which had been formerly occupied, and the house probably built, by the daughter of the Swedish Governor Printz, Armgart Pappagoya. Chester Creek, Upland Kill, or Mecoponacka was called by Lindstrom Tequirasi (otherwise Techoherassi), from the Indian name of a property bordering on it and fronting on the Delaware, which had been patented by Oele Stille, and was later the home of Rev. L. Carolus. This Stille property, however, some of it marsh or flooded land, extended northeastward probably from

Ridley Creek to Crum Kill, and Lindstrom seems to have wrongly named it Stille's or Priest's Kill, being the alternate names of Ridley Creek, and the stream was most likely called also after Stille's property. The streams which give volume to Chester Creek rise some of them in Chester County, flowing through several townships of Delaware County, and furnishing a good deal of water-power to factories and mills. Many of Penn's thrifty followers—Caleb Pusey, the Sharplesses, Crosby, Brassy, Sandeland, etc.—took up land on it or adjacent to it. Ridley Creek and Crum Kill, the next streams northeast of Chester, were also important for mill purposes. The neck of land at the debouch of these creeks upon the Delaware was marshy, and this was mostly occupied by Swedes. Mattson, Van Culen, Johnson, Hendrikson, Cornelis, Mortenson, Nielson are names of settlers along this water-front from Ridley Creek to Tinneum, while back of them, on the water-shade, we find the Quakers took up large tracts,—Simcock, Harvey, Maddock, Steadman, Ashcom, Hallowell, Whitacre, etc. The Swedes called the settlements northeast of Finland "Upland," then came "Carcoen's Hook" lands, then "Tennakong." Amesland comprised a portion of Darby and Ridley townships. Crum Kill was, as Lindstrom interprets, *La Rivière Courbée*, or Crooked Kill, otherwise Paperack or Peskohockon in Indian dialect. These names on the Delaware present almost insuperable difficulties from their variety and confusion, the fact that the Indians seem to have had no standard titles for their streams, and the want of any rule in guiding the attempts of Europeans to give a phonetic interpretation to the Indians' indistinct, guttural pronunciation. Amesland Creek (Amesland, or Amas-land, is said to mean the "midwives' land") was formed by the junction of Darby and Cobb's Creeks. It flowed southeast into the Delaware, separating Tinneum from the mainland and Amesland. But at this point we find a network equally of names and rivers, all equally running into swamp and confusion. The delta of the Schuylkill begins here, and here also Philadelphia begins, for, though Bow Creek is the formal county line at the Delaware, the actual boundary is Darby Creek, after it has united with Minquas Kill, Cobb's Creek, and the true Amesland Kill, the Muckinpatius or Mokornipates Kill, a smaller stream than the Darby, flowing into it between its junction with Cobb's Creek and its mouth.

The topography of this lower part of Philadelphia is peculiar and must not be slighted. There have been great changes in the face of the country, in its levels and contour, and in the direction and beds of its water-courses since the days of the Swedes and the early Quakers. Some streams have disappeared, some have changed their direction, nearly all have been reduced in volume and depth by the natural silt, the annual washing down of hills, by the demands of industry for water-power, the construction of mill-

dams and mill-races and bridges, the emptying of manufacturing refuse from factories, saw-pits, and tan-yards, and by the grading and sewerage necessary in the building of a great city. In this process old landmarks and ancient contours are not respected, the picturesque yields to utility, and the face of nature is transformed to meet the exigencies of uniform grades, levels, and drainage. The Board of Health, the Police Department, the City Commissioners, and the Department of Highways have no bowels of compassion for the antiquarian and the poet. They are the slaves of order, of hygiene, of transportation, of progress.

Darby and Cobb's Creeks both rise in the slate beds of the upper corner of Delaware and the adjacent townships of Montgomery County and flow eastward towards the Delaware, each augmented in volume as they descend through the mica, slate, and gneiss regions parallel to each other. After they reach the margin of the "water-shade," which is here as far inland as Heyville on the Darby and the Burd Asylum on Cobb's Creek, the two streams approach each other in the diluvial lowlands, uniting just below the towns of Darby and Paschallville. The common stream, now called the Darby, flows east with serpentine course until it touches the edge of the alluvium and marsh section, when it turns more towards the left, and with two or three sweeping curves reaches the Delaware. Just after the turn is made the Darby receives the waters of the Amesland or Muckinpatius Kill, and the neck of land between was well known to the Swedes under the name of Carcoen's Hook, a name it still retains.¹ This section at the bend, a low, marshy flat, is cut by several canal-like streams or guts, forming the two islands, Hay and Smith's. The neck was early occupied by the Swedes, and the names of the Boons (Bondes), Mortonsons, Keens, Streckets, Cornelis, Jonsens, Mounsens, Jörans, Petersons, Hanssens, Joccums, Urians, and Cocks may be found on all the old land-plats of that region. Darby Creek was called by the Indians Nyecks, Mohorhootink, or Mukruton; Cobb's Creek, named after William Cobb, a contemporary of Penn, was also called Karbus or Carcoen's Creek by the Swedes, a corruption of the Indian name of Karakung, or Kakarakonk, and by the English, Mill Creek. This name came from the old Swedes' mill, built by Governor Printz, at the ford where the old Blue Bell tavern and Paschallville now stand, the crossing of the Darby road. Cobb took the mill after Penn came in, and gave his name to the stream. The mill was used by a wide circuit of people, from the Swedes at Upland and Tinnecum to the Welsh at Haverford and Merion and the first Quakers in Bucks County. From its bend towards the left to its mouth Darby Creek flowed west and south of Tinnecum Island, dividing it from

the main land. This tract is all alluvium, except one spot of firm ground, where the underlying gneiss rock comes boldly to the surface. Tinnecum, Tennakong, Tutenaiung was the site selected by the Swedish Governor, Johann Printz, for his fort of Nya Götheborg, and for his residence of Printz Hall. The channel used by vessels at that time probably flowed on the west side of the Delaware, in which case Printz's fort commanded it. Off Tinnecum in the Delaware was a long, narrow sand and mud and marsh spit, designated by the name of Little Tinnecum Island, and somewhat above it, in the river channel, was Hog Island, as it is now called, but which the Indians knew as Quistquonck, or Kwistkonk, and the Swedes dignified with the title of Keyser Island, or Îles des Empereurs, as Lindstrom explains on his map. Tinnecum Island is cut in half by a kill of many forks, uniting it with the Darby, and traversing the island in several directions. This stream is known as Plum or Plom Hook, and its branches are variously called Long Hook, Grom Creek, and Middle Creek. On the Delaware side of Tinnecum were situated Printz's Hall and the first Swedish Church and churchyard on the Delaware, consecrated in 1646. This spot is now occupied by the Philadelphia Quarantine station and the Lazaretto Hospital, the site of the ancient fort and grounds belonging to it being adjacent to what is now Tinnecum Hotel.

On the right or east side of Darby Creek, midway between the junction with the Karakung and the sharp bend of the creek to the left, Minquas Kill enters it. This once broad tidal estuary, which united the Schuylkill and the Delaware with the Darby by a four-pronged fork, is differently called Mincus and Mingoos Creek, and derives its name from the Indian nation, the Iroquois, whom the Delawares called Minquas or Mingoos. The Susquehannocks, who were of this race, frequented these swamps, probably to facilitate their military operations against the warlike Nanticokes of the Delaware peninsula. The Swedes called this kill with its southernmost fork Church Creek, because they used it in going by boat from Kingessing, Karakung, and the islands near the Schuylkill to the church at Tinnecum. At the elbow of Darby Creek, where it turns to encircle Tinnecum, it is joined by Bow Creek, another tidal estuary, which connects it with the Delaware opposite Hog Island. Bow Creek or Kill, the southern boundary of Philadelphia, was called by Lindstrom Boke Kyl, Beech Creek, and also Kyrke Kill, or Church Creek, as it was another route to Tinnecum. Bow Creek, with Church Creek, Bonde's Creek, and another small kill, one of the mouths of the Schuylkill, combined with the Minquas Kill, the Delaware, and the Schuylkill to form three small islands, more or less entirely marsh land and liable to floods and tide overflow. These were Minquas or Andrew Bonde's Island, Abahommuny Island, and Schuylkill Island, the first occupied by Andrew

¹ Carcoen's Hook, Kalkonhatten, place of wild turkeys. Carcoen's Hook was the neck formed by the junction of Crum Kill and Little Crum Kill.

Boone or Bonde, and the other two by Peter Cock, both of them Swedes and among the earliest settlers. All this region is now fast, firm land, and the streams we have been describing, once so considerable, have dwindled into insignificance or disappeared. The Swedes called the district east of Darby Creek and Minquas Kill, Tennacong; that west of Minquas Kill, between Cobb's Creek and the Schuylkill, was Kingesse or Kingessing, a Swedish hamlet, where the Duke of York's court used sometimes to hold its sessions instead of at Upland, and west of that, and divided from Kingessing by the Darby road, was the district called Arunnamink. Above Quistkonk or Hog Island, and immediately at the mouth of the Schuylkill, on the west, was Mud Island, a bank of tide-washed alluvium, where Mud Fort was built and offered such a gallant resistance to the English during the Revolutionary war. This island is now fast and solid and united to the mainland.

We have now reached the point of junction of the Schuylkill and the Delaware Rivers. The Schuylkill was called by the Indians indifferently Manajunk, Manajung (Swedish spelling), Manaiunk, and Lenni Bicki (having some allusion to the linden-tree or its bark). Lindstrom terms it the Menejackse Kill (another Indian name), but also designates it as the Skiar-kill, *elle* (or) Linde River. *Skia-kill* in Swedish would be "Brawling Creek," a derivation no better than that from the Dutch of hidden or "Skulking Creek," from its insignificance and obscurity of its mouth. On Lindstrom's map, indeed, the river is marked as if it were no bigger than Crum Kill or Plum Hook. It is really, however, a stream of extensive drainage, having its source in the coal-fields west of the Blue Mountains, descending by Pottsville, Reading, and Norristown, by beautiful valleys, to the Delaware. Its chief tributaries—Maiden Creek, Manatwamy, Monocacy, Tulpehocking, Little Schuylkill, Norwegian, Mill Creek, Perkiomen, and Wissahiccon—flow through a goodly expanse of territory. From its junction with the Delaware to the Falls above Fairmount no important affluents are received by the Schuylkill upon either side. Opposite the mouth of Minquas Kill there is still a small stream draining through the swamp, called Sepakin Kill, and above it the Piney or Pinneyes (an Indian name, interpreted to mean "sleepy"), a small creek, emptied into the east side, at the site of the Swedish fort and trading-post, Korsholm, now occupied by the Point Breeze Gas-Works. Drainage has obliterated this stream; the old Passayunk road used to border it. Nearly opposite, marking the boundary line between Kingessing and Arunnamunk, the Inkoren Kill (named after Andries Inkhoreen, a Swedish landholder) flowed from the west side of Schuylkill. The next stream on that side which was important enough to bear a name (excepting the runlets called Botanic Creek and Peach Creek, on the property of Peter Joccum and Moens Jonson, which afterwards John

Bartram owned) was Mill Creek, a brook large enough to support two mills. It rose in Upper Merion township. Near its mouth was the property of Hans Moens, containing such an eligible mill-seat that the Upland court gave the owner the option of erecting a mill upon it or surrendering the land to his neighbors who would build. Gray's Ferry bridge is three blocks below the mouth of Mill Creek. This ferry was for the convenience of travelers to Darby by the Darby road. In the neck between Mill Creek and the Schuylkill is situated Woodlands Cemetery, which was laid out upon the fine grounds of William Hamilton's country-seat, called "The Woodlands." Mill Creek, in the course of its descent from Merion, passes through the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane and a corner of the Cathedral Cemetery. This stream, now obliterated, was once romantic and attractive. A branch of it, called George's Run, nearly touches the southwestern extremity of Fairmount Park, and bisects Hestonville. In the part of Philadelphia (Twenty-seventh Ward) we have been speaking of only one brook of importance—Thomas' Run—flows into Cobb's Creek. Beyond the Almshouse grounds, on the north, is Beaver Creek, then no more streams on the west side of the Schuylkill until Fairmount Park is reached. On the east side used to be Minnow Run, flowing from Bush Hill through Logan Square, and reaching the Schuylkill by a winding route, in the course of which two or three spring-heads lent their waters to it. Another small brook emptied into the east side of the Schuylkill below Fairmount; a third, Darkwoods Run, below Lemon Hill; a fourth, Falls Run, reached it at the Falls.

About half a mile beyond the Falls the Schuylkill receives the waters of the romantic Wissahiccon. The Quakers gave this stream, which has delighted both poets and artists, and is the most charming accessory to the beauties of Fairmount Park, the unromantic name of Whitpain's Creek, from the original settler on its bank, John Whitpain, who built a "great house" in Philadelphia, too big for his humility, and in the large front room of which the Provincial Assembly used to meet. The Indian meaning of Wissahiccon, however, is said to be "catfish," and certainly "Catfish Creek" is not susceptible of adaptation to poetical forms of speech. The Wissahiccon rose in Montgomery County, in the same water-shed which supplies the sources of Stony Run, the Skipack, Pennepacka Creek, and the southwestern branch of the Neshaminy. Its chief branches were Paper-Mill Creek, on which the father of the astronomer Rittenhouse built the first paper-mill in Pennsylvania, a mill that supplied the presses both of William Bradford, of Philadelphia, and Christopher Saur, of Germantown, and Cresheim Creek, named for the Rhenish town from which the earlier settlers of Germantown came. The northwest corner of Philadelphia approaches, but does not touch, the banks of the Perkiomen.

The Delaware River, the eastern boundary of Philadelphia, which the Indians called by several names not having any especial relevancy,¹ rises on the border of Greene and Delaware Counties, N. Y., on the western slope of the Catskill Mountains, in two branches, the Popacton and the Oquago, which unite at Hancock, on the line between Pennsylvania and New York. It flows southeast, continuing to form the boundary between those States, until it reaches Port Jervis, where it turns southwest, flowing at the western base of the Kittatinny Mountains until it bursts through these at the Water Gap. At Easton it receives the volume of the Lehigh River, and from the Water Gap to Bordentown speeds southeastward as if intent upon reaching the Atlantic at Barnegat or Egg Harbor. At Bordentown it encounters the bluffs, however, and turns southwestward again, until at New Castle it resumes its seaward direction, soon widening into Delaware Bay. Between Port Jervis and the mouth of Naaman's Creek it is the boundary separating New Jersey from Pennsylvania; below that it divides New Jersey from Delaware. It has many tributaries within the limits of Philadelphia, besides inclosing several islands in the arms of its channel. The first of these islands above the mouth of the Schuylkill is that low-lying mud-bank (as it used to be) called League Island, a tract of over nine hundred acres, which during the civil war the city of Philadelphia purchased and presented to the United States government for a navy-yard, in order to expedite the removal of the existing navy-yard from its place on the river-front in Southwark. League Island is separated from the mainland by a narrow sort of canal called the Back Channel. Into this Back Channel empties Hollandaer's Creek, named for Peter Hollandaer, second Swedish Governor on the Delaware. This stream also flows into the Delaware at the beginning of Oregon Avenue. It is a tidal estuary traversing what was once a swamp, and is considerably diverted from its original course, since there seems to be no doubt that it once crossed the neck, also uniting the Schuylkill as well as the Back Channel with the Delaware. The Swedish records make mention of Rosamond's or Roseman's Kill, which cannot now be traced with certainty, beyond the fact that it was one of the branches of Hollandaer's Creek. Hay Creek was another of these intersecting streams; a third bore several names, among which were Dam, Hell, Holt, Float, or Little Hollandaer; Jones' Creek was a fourth, and Malebore fifth of these marshland conduits for the tide. Malebore's Creek was called by the name of an Indian chief; it was also called Shakanoning, or Shakaning. The Indian name for Rosamond's Creek was Kikitchimus, meaning the woodchuck. Hollandaer's Creek and its branches made two islands of the extremity of the peninsula, the one on the Delaware side being originally called

by the Swedes by a name which Lindstrom interprets as Ile de Rasins, Grape Island, now Greenwich Island, and the one on the Schuylkill side Manasonk or Manayunk Island. Careful study of the old surveys and narratives will enable all these points of interest in the southwestern necks to be made out with sufficient accuracy, and their relations to one another determined. Moyamensic (Moyamensing) marsh, which also had a kill of its own, we read, comprised sixty-four acres, lying between Hollandaer's and Hay Creek. This latter creek was 93 perches south of Hollandaer's and Rosamond's Creeks, 158 perches south of Hay. Bonde's Island is called $1\frac{1}{4}$ Swedish miles—8.31 English miles—from the old Swedish Church at Wicaco; Matson's Ford, $17\frac{1}{2}$ English miles from that central point of Swedish associations; Kingsessing, 5 miles; Carcoen's Hook, 9.9 miles.

Dock Creek, the next stream towards the northeast after passing Hollandaer's, was in many respects the most interesting of all the Delaware tributaries within the limits of Philadelphia. A street now covers its bed, a wharf marks the place where it emptied into the Delaware, but its course may still be distinctly traced. In fact, the Philadelphia of the primitive Quakers was built quite as much with reference to this stream as to Penn's plans and the plats of Surveyor Holme. The Indians called it Cocconacon, but the name of Dock Creek was shorter and more descriptive from the time of the English settlement, for the obvious reason that the stream was used as a dock or quay for all the smaller craft. Boat-yards and tan-yards were established along its banks, it was encumbered with depots for lumber, and the first landing-place and the first tavern of Philadelphia were planted at its mouth. In those early days it was thought to be a good thing for the well-to-do merchant of the Quaker City to build his mansion on the slope in sight of the creek, his garden and lawn extending down to its green banks. One of its branches rose west of Fifth Street and north of Market Street, another began west of Fifth Street between Walnut and Prune Streets, the two uniting about where the Girard Bank now stands. At Third Street the creek widened into a cove, receiving here another branch, which flowed into it from the rear of Society Hill. Penn and the early inhabitants were anxious to have this creek become a permanent dock, but it lost its usefulness from being filled up and made shallow with rubbish and tan-bark, it became foul and unwholesome from accumulated filth, and the doctors raised an outcry against it as the fruitful source of malaria, typhus and yellow fever, and the summer diseases of children, so that in 1784 an act was passed requiring it to be arched over. At the northeastern mouth of this creek was the sandy beach known as Blue Anchor Tavern landing, for several years the chief public wharf the city had. Opposite the wharves on the Delaware front between Fitzwater and Arch Streets, and in mid-

¹ See Chapter III. for the names and dates of discoveries, etc.

channel of the river, was one long, narrow island, since separated into two by a canal. Smith's Island and Windmill Island, as the upper and lower ones were subsequently named, are really but one island of gradual growth and importance. On the maps of Thomas Holme, the first surveyor, the island is put down as bars or shoals in the river's bed, extending from opposite Spruce Street to a point below Cedar Street. The accumulation of sand, silt, and refuse brought down by the ice and by spring floods united these bars and flats and lifted them above the surface and the overflow of tides. They became fast land, and the new island was leased unto an enterprising man. John Harding built a wharf and a windmill on it, and it took its name from the latter structure. The island was not exactly a permanent establishment for some time, as it washed away at one end as fast as it grew at another; however, bathing resorts were stationed upon it, willow-trees were planted and flourished on it, and Thomas Smith, an old occupant, became so identified with it that it finally took his name. A canal was cut through the island in 1838 to promote the rapid transit of ferry-boats, and railroad companies now own the southern section, that to the north of the canal being called at present Ridgeway Park, and used as a public resort. The present Treaty Island, which belongs to New Jersey and lies in the bed of the Delaware opposite Kensington, was patented as early as 1684 by Thomas Fairman (an early Quaker, in whose house Penn spent the first winter in Philadelphia), under the name of Shackamaxon Island, of which name Treaty Island is a reflection, Shackamaxon or Kensington being the place where Penn's reputed treaty with the Delawares was negotiated. After Fairman's death it was called Petty's Island, from John Petty, the then owner.

Willow Street, as laid out at present, represents part of the bed of the stream called Pegg's Run, named from Daniel Pegg, who owned extensive tracts of meadow, marsh, and upland in the Northern Liberties on the Delaware border. The Indian title of this stream was Cohoquinque; one of its branches rose about the neighborhood of Fairmount Avenue and Fifteenth Street, the other west of Eleventh between this avenue and Green Street; at Vine Street east of Tenth Street they united to flow northeast to the Delaware. Much of the ground bounding on this stream was marshy and alluvial, liable to be flooded both by tides and freshets, and requiring dykes and ditches to fit it for cultivation even as meadow. At the next bend of the Delaware above the mouth of Pegg's Run the river received the waters of Cohocksink Creek, a stream composed of Mill Creek (so called from its being the site of the mill built by Penn, where the Globe Mills were later) and the Coozaliquenague, rising above Jefferson Street near Broad, where the Gratz property lay. Cohocksink (Cuwenasink) is supposed to mean "pine grove." About the northern limits of Kensington another kill flowed into the

Delaware from the west, by the English called Gunner's Run, after Gunner Rambo, a Swede settler who held adjacent lands; the Indian name was Tumanaramaning; its sources were found on the west of Fair Hill, near Harrowgate, where was a mineral spring, and near Nicetown and the old Cedar Grove property.

At "Point-no-Point" is the mouth of Frankford Creek, the product of the Wingohocking, Tacony, Little Tacony, and Freaheath Creeks. The Swedes called the whole stream Tacony (Taokanink), and gave the same name to all the districts north and east of Wicaco, or, as some say, and the fax-lists of the Dutch and Duke of York's Governors show, from Carcoen's Hook to the Falls of the Delaware. The source of the name is doubtful; some take it from Tekene, a Lenape word supposed to mean "inhabited." On Lindstrom's map the Swedish and French equivalents are Aleskyns Kylan, "*La Rivière des Anguilles écorchées*," Skinned Eels River. The Wingohocking (Winge-hacking) is thought to mean "a good place for planting." This stream is also called "Logan's Run," because it flows by Stenton, the country-seat of James Logan, Penn's secretary; it rises near Mount Airy, and the Tacony in Montgomery County. Indian dialects afford the philologists the same chances to disagree which they seek in more polished tongues. A small stream rising in Dublin township and entering the Delaware near the United States Arsenal staggers under the triplicate *alias* of Sissin-iockisink, Wissinoming, and Little Wahank, derived, says one, from Wischanmunk, "where we were scared;" says another, from Wissachgamen, "vineyard."¹

Above Frankford Creek what is called Dublin Creek empties into the Delaware, a stream which is the product of four small forks, and which is often called by its Indian name of Pennipacka or Penniceacka. Two miles north of this is the Poquessing, the northeast boundary of Philadelphia, a stream

¹ Very little dependence can be placed on the spelling or interpretation of these Indian words, and particularly little upon attempts to get at the meaning of Indian names of things and places by analysis and recombination of their roots. Some illustration of this fact may be found in the vocabularies collected by Maj. Ebenezer Denny, and inserted in his journal, which has been lately published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Maj. Denny collected these words in Ohio in 1785-86, while at Fort McIntosh and Finney, from Delawares. One gives for "very bad" the word *nachellessu*, the other *matta-wissh*; the words are similar, but the consonants differ. Probably Maj. Denny heard the same word each time, but the pronunciation was not distinct enough to enable him to catch the proper form of spelling. So, again, "woman" is in one place *ochyne*, in another *auquene*; evidently the same word, with the same difficulty in writing it down phonetically. "Sleep" in one place is *negayeah*, in the other *caawela*; "pipe," *ohquakny* and *hobocaw*; the numerals are *gutter*, or *necolaty*; *nechshaa*, or *neeswoy*; *nuchhac*, or *nethicay*; *neras*, or *neueay*, etc. When it comes to give these Indian sounds an English form and interpretation after reaching us through a Swedish, Dutch, or French medium, the difficulty is increased almost immeasurably, and a decent skepticism is the only defense behind which criticism can shelter itself if it would avoid absurdities and escape glaring contradictions. It is for this reason that in this chapter Indian words and their translations are treated as allegations rather than facts; and this will continue to be done throughout.

coming down from Montgomery County by a circuitous course, in which it receives the waters of Byberry Creek and several minor brooks. The ancient spelling of this name is Poetquessing and Pouquessing, interpreted by Lindstrom as "*Rivière de Kakamons*," or (as a variation) "*Rivière des Dragons*."

We describe an eligible farm as being well watered, and having due proportions of meadow, intervalle, upland, and forest, with a various and undulating surface, all susceptible of tillage. By well watered a farmer means "water in every field." The description suits the topography of the site of Philadelphia exactly. If the city as Penn found it had been divided into twenty-five-acre lots, it would have been so proportioned as to have water in every field. A perfect network of small brooks and spring-heads inland joined one another on their way to the main trunk arteries, the Delaware and the Schuylkill. Their courses were various, their volumes now small now great, and the surface of the city's site was like a complicated map, yet the general topography of Philadelphia obeyed the general rule of the Atlantic States,—streams flowing from northwest to southeast, hills ranging from southwest to northeast. In this case the Delaware from Burlington, in its changed course, represented the ocean, the common receiver, and the Schuylkill flowed southeast into it after taking up the small streams on its eastern side, which were prevented by the water-shed from reaching the Delaware directly. The intersection of the valleys between hills by the valleys following water-courses apparently cut up the surface into detached elevations and depressions, but there was still a regular rise from tide-level at the Schuylkill delta to three hundred feet in Bristol, and three hundred to four hundred feet in Germantown and Roxborough, and there was besides a regular "water-shade" at the margin of the alluvium, beginning at Point Breeze on the Schuylkill, and tending northeast to Society Hill. From this point the "water-shade" ran flush with the bank of the Delaware, except where the stream valleys cut through it, up to near Kensington, where it receded inland for some distance. The first spot in the southeast where the underlying gneiss rock broke through the alluvium so as to form an elevation was at a point midway in Kingsessing, east of Minquas Kill. Here, at a place called Blakeley, and near by the old Bowling Green, was a considerable hill, a spur repeated opposite on the west side of Darby Creek, and again just by the mouth of the Schuylkill, where the old pest-house used to be. This was Peter Cock's land at one time, and his house may have been here. The next elevation on Cobb's Creek was a spur adjacent to the bridge at the Blue Bell Tavern, called Pleasant Prospect. St. James' Church was built on it. This elevation corresponded with that which began on the east side of the Schuylkill below Gray's Ferry. It was the beginning of the "water-shade" which extended east toward South-

wark. From Society Hill the bluffs on the Delaware front were continuous, except where streams cut through, with an elevation of fifteen to fifty feet, averaging about thirty feet. A line drawn from the Blue Bell Tavern bridge to Southwark would touch Point Breeze, which is the beginning of continuous rising ground on the Schuylkill. The Passayunk road, midway between Schuylkill Lower Ferry and Cedar (now South) Street, passed over another considerable elevation. The plateau of the original Philadelphia laid out by Penn was not broken much except on its eastern and western sides, where it came to the rivers. On the line of the Northern Liberties, however, Philadelphia County showed a sort of terrace, extending from Cobb's Creek almost to the Delaware, and rising into occasional domes, as at Fairmount and Bush Hill, with corresponding elevations west of the Schuylkill. North of this terrace another rose still higher, beginning with Green Hill on Cobb's Creek (the Morris property), then, as we pass eastward, George's Hill, Lansdowne, Belmont, and Mount Prospect, and east of Schuylkill, Fairmount, Lemon Hill, Mount Pleasant, Edgely Point, Vineyard Hill, Laurel Hill, Green Hill, and several other elevations. From the spurs of Lower Merion township another terrace stretched eastward, having among its domes various gentle rises, but not so steep or abrupt as near the Schuylkill River. Still another terrace rose to the northward, conspicuous in which range were Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill.

The hills and streams are included in the class of natural landmarks. Roads are artificial landmarks, which nearly always are found to be as old as any settlement, and almost as enduring. A certain habit of use clings to all old-established roads, making a change in their bed very difficult. We have elsewhere spoken to some extent of the oldest roads in Philadelphia County. The first of these was the Darby road, though it is possible that there was a still older road of the Swedes from the Lower Schuylkill Ferry between Tinnecum and Wicaco. The Darby road crossed Cobb's Creek at the Swedes' mill and Blue Bell Tavern; it ran northeast towards the Schuylkill, crossing it at Gray's Ferry, but originally, it is supposed, only at Middle Ferry, where High Street touched the river. The old York road followed the bed of this road from Upland, proceeding through Market Street (High Street) in Philadelphia to Front Street, and thence by the bed of the road to Bristol. Another route was to go north by way of Second Street to the junction of the Germantown and Frankford roads, and follow the latter. Later the York road followed the margin of the Delaware from Chester, crossing Tinnecum, and crossing the Schuylkill by the Lower Ferry, where it could either pass eastward, striking the Moyamensing road to Wicaco on the Greenwich and Gloucester Point road, or else follow the Passayunk road to Dock Creek draw-bridge, and so get into

Second or Front Street. What was called the "Federal road," from Gray's Ferry to Southwark (to meet the Darby and Great Southern road), was not laid off until 1788. The "Baltimore Post and Stage Road," however, long preferred the line from Middle Ferry (Market Street bridge) to the Blue Bell Ford. At Middle Ferry (or Woodlands, just west of it) the Chadd's Ford road began, running southwest, crossing Cobb's Creek where the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad now crosses it, and thence to Kellysville. This road, now Baltimore Avenue in Philadelphia, became Delaware County turnpike after crossing the county line. The Westchester road ran due west from Middle Ferry, on the line of the present Market Street, for some distance. The road to Lancaster ran northwest from the same ferry, crossing Cobb's Creek at West Haverford. The Haverford road ran northward above the Lancaster and the West Chester roads, passing through Haddington. The Manatawny or Ridge road, running from the corner of Vine and Ninth Streets, in Philadelphia, to Norristown, in Montgomery County, had its counterpart in the River road, which started from the Lancaster road and followed the west bank of the Schuylkill into Montgomery County. From Vine Street and Schuylkill Front Street a road proceeded to Fairmount, then diminished to the narrow dimensions of a country lane, turned northward, rounding Lemon Hill, and cutting the Ridge road at Turner's lane, which latter extended to the Germantown road north of Fair Hill. There were several minor roads, all now streets, between the Germantown and Ridge roads north of Turner's lane, and between that and the county bounds. The Germantown road passed from the end of North Second Street through the Northern Liberties to Fair Hill, nearly due north. Just beyond this elevation the Township Line road left the Ridge road at the old Botanic Garden, and went northwest in a straight line, dividing Roxborough township from Germantown. This road crossed the Wissahiccon at Dewees' mill and went to Perkiomen Town. Another Township Line road crossed the Germantown road at Logan's Hill, and the Wissahiccon at Weiss' mill, going thence to the Lutheran Church at Barren Hill, where it intersected the Ridge road. At Naglee's Hill the Germantown road parted with Fisher's lane, running northeast across the Old York road. At the market-house in Germantown Indian Queen lane led off southwest; parallel to it, a little more north, was School-house lane, opposite which Church lane branched off northeastward to Lukens' mill, where it struck the Limekiln road running north. Farther up Germantown road, at Green Tree Tavern, was Meeting-House lane running east, and Rittenhouse Mill lane running west; the road to Abington crossed at Chew's house; Trullinger's lane and Gorgas' lane at Beggartown; Miller's lane went east from Mount Airy; Allen's lane west from the same point; Mermaid lane east and Kerper's and Weiss' Mill lanes west from Chestnut

Hill. At this point the Germantown road forked, one branch going towards Reading, the other towards Bethlehem. Mermaid lane going northeast intersected the Limekiln road, and the two became the road to Skipack, a more easterly branch running towards Bethlehem. The old York road (one branch of it) followed the Germantown road to Sunville, and thence went north by Miles Town through Bristol township. The Frankford road ran eastward from Front Street, passing farther east by Harrowgate and Holmesburg. It had many branches and feeders leading to various points in Bucks and Montgomery Counties.

The sites of forts afford another means for clearing up the topography of any locality. They are ordinarily put in commanding places, where lines of travel or a wide sweep of country may be kept under control of their guns. The Dutch, the Swedes, the English, and our own countrymen have all erected forts at different epochs within the present limits of Philadelphia. The history of these forts belongs to subsequent chapters, as part of the regular account of events to be narrated. Their sites, however, are part of the topographical history of the city. The earliest of these structures was Fort Beversrede, erected by the Dutch, and, it is affirmed, before the Swedes established themselves upon the river. It was built where it would be convenient for the beaver trade with the Indians, and it must have served that purpose, for we find that the Swedish Governor Printz went the length of building a trading-house directly in front of it, not a biscuit-toss away, in order to destroy its utility. Fort Beversrede stood on the east bank of the Schuylkill, in the district of Passayunk, opposite the debouch of Minquas Kill, where the river-bank begins to rise, beyond the Penrose Ferry bridge. The Susquehanna Indians appear to have used Minquas Kill to come out from their hunting-grounds, and a trading-post at that point would naturally attract them. The Delawares and Iroquois also came down the Schuylkill in their canoes, making a portage at the Falls. The second Swedish fort was built at Nya Götheborg, or New Gottenburg, on that outcrop of gneiss rock which gave a patch of dry land to Tinnecum Island. The Swedes imitated the Dutch in building a fort in Passayunk, on the property given by Queen Christina to Lieut. Sven Schute. It was on the east side of the Schuylkill above Beversrede, probably on the rising ground at Point Breeze. Manayunk, another Swedish stockade on the Schuylkill, "on Manayunk Island," probably near the junction with the Delaware. Fort Gripsholm was built by Governor Printz on an island in the Schuylkill, "within gunshot of its mouth." Its site is disputed, but Mr. Westcott conjectures that from the Dutch descriptions of it by Andrew Hudde it was most probably built at the mouth of Minquas Kill, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, on Province Island. The block-house at Wicaco, which was con-

verted into a church in 1677, became the site of the venerable church Gloria Dei of the Swedes, and was convenient to the settlers of that race in the district of Passayunk and Moyamensing. This spot was the first rising ground on the Delaware above the mouth of the Schuylkill, and as such was a favorite point of defense against foes expected to come up the river. As such it was used in 1747 when the "Association Battery," the first fortification of the Quaker City, was erected by a committee at the time of the renewal of hostilities between France and Great Britain. The Friends would not build forts, but the Penn family promised the artillery if the citizens would erect the breastworks, and the Association Battery was built with this understanding by "the Association for General Defense," part of the funds for it being raised by a lottery. About the same time and by the same devices another battery was erected upon Society Hill, on the bluff between Lombard and Cedar Streets. During the Revolution a fort was erected on Mud Island, in the Delaware, off the shore of Kingsessing and between Hog Island and Province Island. This fort was begun in 1773 by the Province of Pennsylvania. It was a position commanding the channel of the river and the *chevaux-de-frise* between it and Red Bank. Subsequently to the Revolution it was called Fort Mifflin, after Pennsylvania's general and Governor, Thomas Mifflin. At the capture of Philadelphia by the British the fort was gallantly defended by Col. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, holding out against an overwhelming force of British until nine-tenths of its garrison was *hors du combat*. In 1776, Gen. Israel Putnam was deputed by Congress to provide for the safety of Philadelphia and look after its fortifications. The object sought was defense on the land as well as the seaward side. Putnam made his surveys and began his intrenchments, of which next year the British showed their approval by adopting and completing them. A battery was thrown up on Darby Creek or Tinnecum Island, below Mud Fort. The British entered the city in 1777 and commenced fortifying it, after they had reduced Mud Fort and Red Bank. A battery was erected near Reed and Swanson Streets, the Association Battery at Wicaco was renovated and armed, and a third battery put up near Swanson and Christian Streets, on the other side of Wicaco. A fourth battery was erected on a wharf at Kensington, above the mouth of the Cohocksink. On the land side Putnam's unfinished lines were followed up with a series of redoubts and intrenchments, protected by outworks and abattis. The first of these was on the bank of the Cohocksink, east of Front Street and above the Frankford road, a square redoubt, commanding the approach to the Northern Liberties by three important roads. It was flanked with abattis and redans. The next redoubt was west of the Germantown road, north of Poplar Street; the third was on the same line, west of Third Street, and the fourth northwest of that, with a redan to support its flanks.

The fifth battery and redoubt was at the corner of the present Poplar and Sixth Streets; the sixth, east of the Ridge road near Fairmount Avenue; the seventh, near Fairmount Avenue on Bush Hill. An advance battery on the Ridge road covered the approach to this redoubt. Number eight was near the intersection of Twentieth Street with Fairmount Avenue; ninth, near Lemon Hill; tenth, on the northwest slope of Fairmount Hill. This commanding point had also small batteries on its west and northeast slopes. There were rifle-pits in advance of the redoubts on all the main roads, and a lunette was thrown up on the Ridge road below the present site of Girard College. This line, it will be noted, was the line also of fine residences and country-seats. It commanded generally what would have been the south bank of the Schuylkill, provided that river ever actually crossed to the Delaware from above Fairmount to Kensington. Two or three fascined redoubts were built on the hills on both sides of the Schuylkill commanding the Lower and Middle Ferries. In the time of the late civil war, when it was feared Philadelphia would not be safe from Confederate raids, this important spot was once more fortified. In 1812 forts were erected on the east side of Gray's Ferry, commanding that road of approach, and on the same elevation west of the Schuylkill, opposite Hamilton's Grove.

A good deal has been said in regard to the early occupants of land along the Schuylkill and Delaware on the site of Philadelphia, and much more will be found on this subject in connection with the narrative as it progresses. It is necessary to the full comprehension of a city's topography, and it is also an integral part of that city's history, to trace the lines on which population spread from point to point until the wilderness became thickly settled. It is not needful, however, to give the names and the lots taken by all the first settlers of Penn's newly laid off city, since one lot is but the pattern of all the others, and the history of one is the history of all. That history will be found to be fully treated. But with regard to land outside the city the case was different. Here men had a choice, and the eligibility of this or that locality is illustrated by the promptness of its occupancy as compared with the taking up of others. Fortunately there are extant maps which enable us to give the ownership of tracts in Philadelphia at several intervals with very satisfactory exactness. The first and most important of these maps is that of Thomas Holme, Penn's first surveyor-general, who began in 1681 "A Map of the Improved Parts of the Province of Pennsylvania." It is remarkably clear and accurate for the first survey of a wooded wilderness, is well engraved, and a handsome *fac-simile* of it has recently been republished. Beginning, as we did when tracing the streams, at the south corner, we find the line of swamp northeast of Bow Creek very clearly marked and colored in green. Peter Ellet, who held the point of land where Cobb's and Darby

Creeks unite, held also the point on the east side of Cobb's Creek, and a piece of dry land in the swamp to the east, which he had to reach by a bridge or causeway. There are three other dry spots in these swamps, occupied by Andrew Boon, Ernest Cock, and Peter Cock. These were old Swedish titles, confirmed by patents from Upland Court under the Duke of York's laws. No other land is marked as being held southwest of Schuylkill and east of Minquas Kill. Northwest of this kill and of Peter Ellet's land is the tract of Otto Ernest Cock, running up to the Swedes' Mill tract. On the east of these are the lands of Oelle Dalbo, I. Hunt, Enochson and Jonas Neilson, and then come the farms of Widow Justice, Andreis Justeison, Andrew Peterson, and Robert Longshore. A large tract northwest of these is assigned to Peter Joccum, Thomas Pascall, Wm. Clayton, Neil Jonson, Mouns (Moens) Jonson, and Lawrence Hedding. Northwest of these again are "The Liberty Lands of Philadelphia City," a broad, long belt, crossing the Schuylkill above the city, extending to Frankford Creek and the Wingohocking in one direction, and descending to the Delaware between Pegg's Run and Vine Street. This tract included Springetsbury Manor, Fairmount, and in fact the entire townships of Blockley, Penn, and Northern Liberties, except a part of the latter on the Delaware front. On the east side of Schuylkill, northwest of this tract, are lands which belonged to Robert Turner, Richard and Robert Vicaris, and the "German Township Company," their tract being bounded north and northwest and northeast by "Gulielma Maria" and "Penn's Manor of Springfield." Roxborough is assigned respectively to Phil. Tatham, Francis Fincher, James Claypoole, Samuel Bennett, Charles Hartford, Richard Snee, Charles Jones, Jonas Smith, Jasper Farmer, and the Plymouth Company, whose tract extends into Montgomery County. When we return to the Delaware we find the farms on that stream from the Liberties up marked down to Andrew Salung, Michael Neelson, Thomas Fairman, Samuel Carpenter, John Bowyer, Robert Turner, Gunnar Rambo and Peter Nelson, Mouns Cock, George Foreman, Wm. Salway, and Eric Cock. Northeast of Frankford Creek is Taconing (Tacony) township, bounded by the Little Tacony and the Delaware. Between the Little and Great Tacony were holdings of Thomas Fairman, Henry Waddy, Robert Adams, John Harper, John Hughes, John Bunto, Henry Waddy again, Benjamin East, etc. In Bristol, between the Tacony and Wingohocking, the holders were John Moon, Griffith Jones, Thomas Bowman, Barnabas Wilcox, John Goodson, Richard Townshend, John Barnes, Samuel Carpenter, John Songhurst, and Benjamin Whitehead. From Taconing township to Dublin or Pennepack Creek on the Delaware were Enoch & Keene, George Hutchinson, Charles Claus, Neels Nelson, Peter Rambo, Erick Meels, Antony Salter, Elenor Holme, Ha.

Salter, Charles Thomas, Thomas Sare. West of these were John Duckett, John James, Kat. Martin, Joseph Ashtot, John Simmer, Richard Worrul, Thomas Levesly, Robert Fairman, Walter King, Richard Dungworth, William Chamberlin, and Joseph Phipps. Coming down on the northeast side of Dublin Creek, and south of Moreland Manor, we find Daniel Heaphy, William Stanley, Silas Crispin, John Mason, Allen Foster, Jam. Atkinson, Joseph Fisher, Robert Turner, Samuel Claridge, Thomas Holme, Peter Rambo, Jr., Lase Bore, and Benj. Acrod. This brings us to the Poquessing. The original occupants of Byberry were Robert Fairman, Thomas Young, John Carver, Edward Godwin, Nicholas Rideout, Giles Knight, John Tibby, Thomas Cross, Samuel Ellis, Daniel Jones, Andrew Griscomb, George John, and Collis Hart.

The names upon Holme's map, however, do not always include a case of actual occupancy. Many allotments were never taken up at all by the parties who subscribed for land; many never immigrated; many let their subscriptions lapse without payment, and the assignments in numerous cases were altered or modified by the Proprietary Government. This is shown, for example, in Reed's map, reproduced in *fac-simile* in 1846. On this map the Northern and Western Liberties are no longer unoccupied, and it is evident that many landholders under Swedish, Dutch, and English grants, ignored by Holme, have had their claims and locations recognized. Peter Cock, for instance, had a two-hundred-acre tract of this description in Blockley west of Mill Creek; William Warner and son three large tracts northwest of this, stretching from Schuylkill half-way to Cobb's Creek on the line of the Haverford road. Jurian Hartfelder's patent for four hundred and fifty-seven acres at what was afterwards Campington, southwest of Cohocksink Creek, is now mapped. The Swansons, who owned Coaquinnoc as well as land at Wicaco, having given up the former, are assigned in recompense a large tract, twelve hundred and twenty acres in all, west of Springettsbury, and lying between that and the Welsh purchase of Griffith Jones and John Roberts. This Swanson tract was on both sides the Schuylkill from the Falls to Fairmount. Northwest of it and between it and the purchases of Pastorius for the Frankford (Germantown) Company were numerous small farms averaging not over fifty acres, of which one is put down to Penn's Deputy Governor, William Markham, and one to Dennis Rockford. Actual settlers and "Welcome" passengers or immigrants of 1682-83 are found among these landholders' names in goodly numbers. Shakamaxuhk (Shackamaxon, Kensington) lands appear in a large tract without names, while Kensington proper appears to be laid off into town lots; but northwest of these many names familiar in the first years of Penn's proprietorship are found, and they do not agree in many instances with names attached to the same

localities in Holme's map. Among these names are those of Holme himself, Nicholas Moore, Thomas Lloyd, John Goodson, James Claypoole, James Harrison, Christopher Taylor, Robert Turner, Joseph Fisher, Isaac Norris, Joseph Grownen, Society of Free Traders, John Mifflin, Samuel Carpenter, John Songhurst, Enoch Flower, John Barber, Thomas Bowman, Robert Greenway, Silas Crispin, Nicholas Waln, Thomas Pudyard, etc., all names recorded among those of the first Quaker settlements and names of persons prominent in the history of Philadelphia and the province.

The quaint-looking map of Nicholas Scull and I. Heap is dated 1750. It is small and not very precise, yet it conveys a good deal of topographical information. On this map Bow Creek is distinctly marked and named, but it opens on the Delaware at Mud Island; Minquas Kill is called Kingesse Creek, Boon's Island retains its name, but Simcock now owns Peter Ellet's land, and the names of Boon and Cock are no longer found on these swampy lands. The middle of the three islands that now appear east of Mingo Creek is called Carpenter's; the one at the mouth of Schuylkill, Province Island. Joccum holds his own southeast of the Darby road, and the lands west of Penrose Ferry belong to Bonsal and Jones Hunt. On the east side of Schuylkill at this point, going northwest, the names are Hannis, Penrose, Cox, Lord, Morris, Cadwallader, Rambo, and then we come to Gray and Gray's Ferry. Besides these there are not many names in all of the Southwark, Moyamensing, and Passayunk peninsula; Cox, Brockden, Morris, Wharton (Wharton's lane named for him), Duche, Pemberton, Lorenz, Turner, Davey, Sims, Griffin, Powell, Lawrence, Crouse, and Poll are all of them. Northwest of the Darby road, on Cobb's Creek, the names are found of Rambo, Stilly (Stille), Whitman, showing that the Swedes still held their own here. On the Darby road, between Blue Bell Tavern and Gray's Ferry, were Gibson, Bartram, Hanby, White, Jones, Coffman (Kaufman), Richard, Lois, and George. The Warners still held on the Schuylkill west from Fairmount; Scull kept the Upper Ferry, Springett-bury became a small, insignificant tract. Bush Hill adjoins ground of Plumsted, Swansons still hold (under the name of Shute) their tract east of Schuylkill, and Mifflin, Harrison, etc., remain where they originally planted. The house of Isaac Norris at Fair Hill is given with a cupola on it. There is another on James Logan's mansion at Stenton. The families of Waln, Greenway, More, Ashmead, Whitman, Griffith appear still on original sites in the northeast, yet after all there has been a woful thinning out of "first purchasers."

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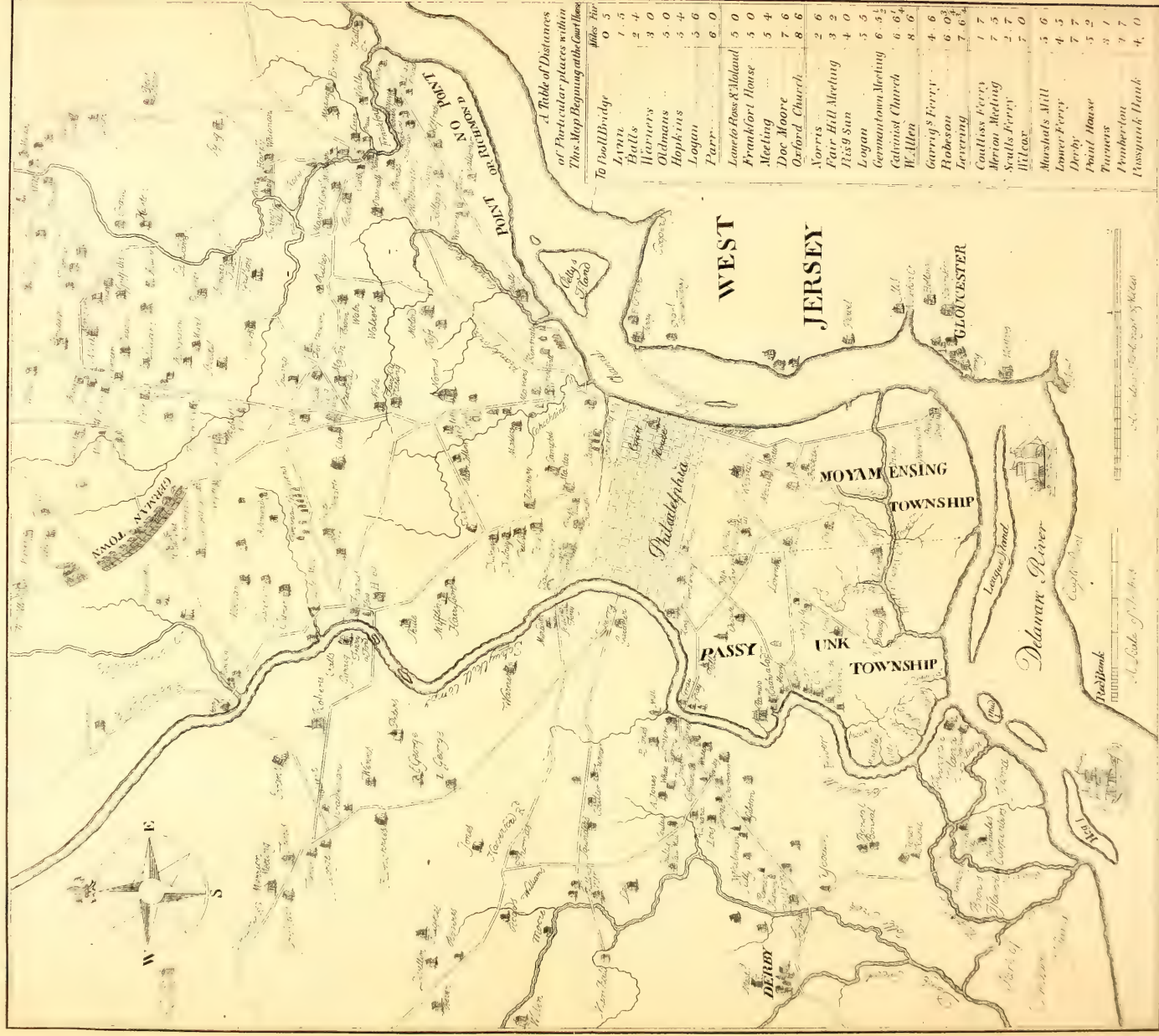
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A MAP OF PHILADELPHIA AND PARTS ADJACENT.

—*1750*

BY N. SOULL AND G. HEAP.



A Map of the

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THE M. S. S. S.



sinking, and the peculiar way in which the ranges of hills are divided into knobs and domes by the transverse ravines along the course of the streams, are curiously illustrated upon these maps. No Philadelphian would be able to recognize the contour of his city if the streets, roads, and houses should be removed from this checker-board scheme of knolls and ravines, with a stream at the bottom of every hollow. The idea that Philadelphia is a flat and level city disappears in the presence of so much evidence of variety of grade. It may be added, in conclusion, that both the surface contour and the subsoil of Philadelphia are favorable to good drainage; none of the rock-masses are so continuous nor are the underlying clays so tenacious as to prevent water from sinking through them.

To complete the chronographic history of Philadelphia it is proper to add something concerning the city's political and quasi-political divisions. The city, laid off in 1681-83, was part of Philadelphia County, which, having about its present northern and southern boundaries, with the Delaware on the east, extended westward indefinitely towards the State line. From time to time other counties were cut out of it until the present western boundary was practically established by the erection of Montgomery County in 1784. In 1701 (October 25th), Philadelphia was chartered by William Penn as a sort of borough city, with a government of its own, separate from that of the State and county. This charter, which is said to have been modeled upon that of the old city of Bristol, England, bestowed only a very limited sort of municipal authority upon the mayor and corporation of the town. It was, however, divided into wards as the population increased, though the adjoining districts, boroughs, and townships of this county were not incorporated with the city until its final consolidation in 1854. The previous act of incorporation of the old city was passed March 11, 1789, but the charter of 1701 had been materially modified several times in this interval. In 1749, when Dr. Franklin, Joseph Shippen, Chief Justice Allen, and others took the census of the city, it comprised ten wards, named Mulberry, Dock, Lower Delaware, Upper Delaware, South, North, Middle, and the wards between, and named for High (or Market) Street, Chestnut Street, and Walnut Street, inclusive, with Fourth Street on the west. Upper and Lower Delaware, High, Chestnut, Walnut, Dock were on the east. There were four western wards,—Mulberry, North, Middle, and South. In 1800 the ward division was improved and the number increased to fourteen, seven commencing at the Delaware and ending at Fourth Street, and seven extending from Fourth Street to the Schuylkill. This shows that half the population of the city at that time was east of Fourth Street, south of Vine Street, and north of South Street. These wards were thus laid off—Delaware side: New Market Ward, South to Spruce Street; Dock Ward, Spruce to Walnut

Street; Walnut Ward, Walnut to Chestnut Street; Chestnut Ward, Chestnut to Market Street; High Street Ward, Market to Arch Street; Lower Delaware Ward, Arch to Sassafras Street; Upper Delaware Ward, Sassafras to Vine Street. Schuylkill side: Cedar Ward, South to Spruce Street (west of Fourth Street); Locust Ward, Spruce to Walnut Street; South Ward, Walnut to Chestnut Street; Middle Ward, Chestnut to Market Street; North Ward, Market to Arch Street; South Mulberry Ward, Arch to Race Street; North Mulberry Ward, Race to Vine Street.

Philadelphia now comprises thirty-one wards, a less number, in proportion to the increase of area and population, than it had in 1800. The First Ward of the city begins on the Delaware at Wharton Street, runs west to the Passayunk road, down the latter to Broad Street, and thence south to the Delaware, taking in the whole of League Island. This ward includes part of Southwark, partly incorporated in 1762, the oldest district of Philadelphia County. Parts of the Swedish settlements of Wicaco and Moyamensing are within its limits, and it includes also Greenwich Island, with Girard Point, Martinsville, etc. Adjoining the First Ward on the left, and bounded by the Schuylkill River, up to Washington Avenue, Ellsworth Street, Passayunk road, and Broad Street down to League Island, the Twenty-sixth Ward is found. It includes a portion of what was once Moyamensing and part of Passayunk; it lies "down the Neck," and includes what was once nearly all meadow, with, however, solid ground above Point Breeze. Moyamensing, originally a farm tract deeded to Stille, Clensmith, and Andries, Swedes, in 1664, and confirmed to Stille, Andries, Bankson, and Mattson in 1684, later became a township. When it was incorporated, in 1812, it had an area of two thousand five hundred and sixty acres. Passayunk (called by Lindstrom, Paisajunglh, and variously named in former times Passumung, Perslayonk, Passayon, etc.) is said to have been the site of an Indian village, and to mean "a level place." The first survey of it included a tract of one thousand acres, granted to Lieut. Swen Shute in 1653. It was afterwards patented by Governor Nichols to the brothers Ashman and others. The Twenty-sixth Ward contains two cemeteries, the County Prison and the Point Breeze Gas-Works, Point Breeze Park, Girard Point, and the oil wharves. Opposite the Twenty-sixth Ward, on the other side of the Schuylkill, is found the Twenty-seventh Ward, taking in all the southwestern part of the city, between Bow, Darby, and Cobb's Creeks and the Schuylkill to Market Street, in West Philadelphia. Suffolk Park, the Almshouse property, Mount Moriah and Woodlands Cemeteries are within its extensive limits. It contained Kingessing and part of Blockley townships, the Darby and Baltimore roads, and the villages of Paschalville, Maylandville, West Philadelphia, Hamilton, and other ancient and modern settlements. North of the

Twenty-seventh Ward, still on the west side of the Schuylkill, and bounded by the city limits from Cobb's Creek to the corner opposite the mouth of the Wissahickon, is the Twenty-fourth Ward, which included the rest of Blockley, part of West Philadelphia, Mantua, Hestonville, Haddington, etc., with the grounds of the insane asylum and the greater part of Fairmount Park, with all its historic sites. Originally it was part of the Western Liberties, and it contained the district of Belmont also, which took its name from the country-seat of the Peters family, so distinguished in the Revolutionary and subsequent periods of the history of Philadelphia. Blockley was one of the oldest townships of the county, and contained originally seven thousand five hundred and eighty acres.

Returning to the Delaware side we find the Second Ward small and compact in comparison with those just mentioned, lying north of the First, from Wharton to Passayunk road, then to Ellsworth, to Broad, and to Christian Streets. This was a part of Wicaco, and the old United States Navy-Yard, now occupied by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, was within its limits. The Third Ward, having the same boundaries south, east, and west as the Second (Broad Street and the Delaware), lies north of it, following Mead Street from Delaware Avenue to Second, and German Street west to Passayunk road, to Fitzwater Street, thence to Broad Street. The Fourth Ward is north of the Third, within the same limits east and west, running up to South Street, west to Broad Street. These three wards include all the remaining part of Southwark and a portion of Moyamensing to the old city limits. West of them, from Broad Street to the Schuylkill, lies the Thirtieth Ward, between South and Washington Avenue, running west along the latter to Gray's Ferry road, up that road to Ellsworth Street, along Ellsworth to the Schuylkill River, then to South Street and to Broad Street. The United States Arsenal and Naval Asylum are in this ward. The Fifth Ward lies between Seventh Street and the Delaware, South Street on the south and Chestnut north. It abounds in the historic monuments of Philadelphia, for here the town began, here Penn first landed, and here the Declaration of 1776 was adopted and signed. Windmill Island, in the Delaware, belongs to the Fifth Ward.

The Sixth Ward lies north of the Fifth, with Seventh Street for its western limit, and Vine Street on the north. West of Seventh Street, extending to the Schuylkill, are the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Wards, Spruce Street marking the north limit of the Seventh, its southern line South Street; Chestnut Street is the north boundary of the Eighth; Arch Street of the Ninth, and Vine Street of the Tenth. Old Philadelphia, therefore, is entirely included in Wards Five to Ten, inclusive.

The Eleventh Ward extends up the Delaware from Vine Street to Poplar, with Third Street on the west. On the west of Third Street, as far as Sixth Street,

from Vine to Poplar Street, is the Twelfth Ward; west of that the Thirteenth Ward extends to Tenth Street; the Fourteenth, to Broad Street; and the Fifteenth, to the Schuylkill, all three with Poplar and Vine Streets on north and south. The Eleventh and Twelfth and part of the Thirteenth Wards were in what was the Northern Liberties. The land was part of Jurian Hartfelder's original purchase, called Hartsfield. Part of the Fourteenth and of the Fifteenth were in Springettsbury Manor, including Fairmount and Lemon Hill. Willow Street occupied the bed of Pegg's Run. Spring Garden District was partly in this parallelogram. It contains the Eastern Penitentiary and the Fairmount Water-Works. In this group were also to be found the so called town of Callowhill, between Vine and Willow Streets and Front and Second, in the Northern Liberties, Campington, where the British barracks stood, the towns of Bath and Morrisville. Fairmount Park extends along the western boundary. The Sixteenth Ward is bounded on the east by the Delaware River, and on the south by Poplar Street. It extends on the north along Maiden or Laurel Street to the Frankford Road or Avenue, northward along the latter to Girard Avenue, and thence to its western boundary at Sixth Street. The Seventeenth Ward lies just north of it, between Girard Avenue and Oxford Street, and Sixth and Frankford road. The Eighteenth Ward is part of old Kensington, with the Frankford road on the west, the Delaware on the east, Maiden Street on the south, and Norris Street on the north. Immediately above is the Thirty-first Ward, cut out of the old Nineteenth, bounded east by the Delaware, south by Norris Street, west by Frankford road as far northwest as Oxford Street, then along Oxford to Sixth, Sixth to Lehigh Avenue, along the latter to Frankford road, and then by that road to Westmoreland Street, thence to the Point road, and thence, substantially in the same direction as Westmoreland Street, to the Delaware River. Here was an Indian town, perhaps a council-seat, called Shackamaxon; here was the tree in front of Fairman's house, under the branches of which, it is alleged, William Penn held his treaty with the Indians, and here was ground owned before Penn's time by Lasse Cock, Gunner Rambo, and other Swedes. The Nineteenth Ward lies north of the Seventeenth. It extends along Frankford road from Norris to Oxford Street, then to Sixth, then to Germantown Avenue, then to Lehigh Avenue, along the same to Kensington Avenue, then to Front Street, along the latter to Norris, and along Norris to the intersection of Frankford road. The Twentieth Ward is west of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Nineteenth Wards, extending along Sixth Street from Poplar to Susquehanna Avenue, then west to Eleventh, south to Montgomery Avenue, and along the latter west to Broad Street, thence south to Poplar, and thence to the place of beginning. The Twenty-ninth, again,

is west of the Twentieth, with Broad Street on the east, and extending west to the Schuylkill, with Montgomery Avenue on the north and Poplar Street south. Girard College is in the Twenty-ninth Ward. The Twenty-eighth, a large ward, lies north and west of the Twentieth and Twenty-ninth, and west of the Twenty-fifth and Nineteenth, Sixth Street and the Germantown road marking its east line, and the Schuylkill its west, Montgomery Avenue on the south, School lane northwest, and Wissahickon and Roberts Avenues north. This ward has seven cemeteries in it, with Laurel Hill and Schuylkill Falls on the west. The villages of Nicetown and Rising Sun are partly in it. The Twenty-first Ward, on both sides the Wissahickon, contains Manayunk and the township of Roxborough. The Twenty-second Ward, besides Germantown and Chestnut Hill, has a number of villages, —Somerville, Branchtown, Crescentville, McCartersville, Olney, Feltonville, Milestown, Pittville, etc. The Twenty-fifth Ward, created out of portions of the old Nineteenth and Twenty-third Wards, begins on the Delaware River at a point where Lehigh Avenue would intersect if continued in a right line, and along Lehigh Avenue to Germantown Avenue, along the latter to the line of the Twenty-second Ward, along that line to Frankford Creek, along the creek to the Delaware, and down the latter to the place of beginning. It has in it Hunting Park, the New Cathedral Cemetery, Cooperville, Harrowgate, Franklinville, and Bridesburg. The Twenty-third Ward, the city's northeast corner, contains the old townships of Oxford, Byberry, Lower Dublin, and Moreland, the boroughs of Frankford, Tacony, and Holmesburg, and the settlements and villages of Olney, Milestown, White Hall, Volunteertown, Cedar Grove, Rockville, Hollinsville, Torresdale, Mechanicsville, Pleasantville, Smithfield, Knightsville, Bustleton, Verreeville, Sandy Hill, and Fox Chase. Byberry, Oxford, Moreland, and Dublin are all old-established townships.

Philadelphia County before 1784 contained much territory which had not been subdivided into townships. On the creation of Montgomery County, the following were in the county as of its present boundaries: Moyamensing, Passyunk, Northern Liberties, Oxford, Bristol, Byberry, Moreland, Lower Dublin, Frankford, Germantown, Roxborough, Blockley, and Kingsessing. These were all that remained of forty-seven townships existing in 1741. The county of Montgomery took away with it the townships of Amity, Abington, Creesham, Cheltenham, Douglass, Upper Dublin, Franconia, Frederick, Gwynedd, New Hanover, Upper Hanover, Horsham, Limerick, Montgomery, Upper Merion, Lower Merion, Norriton, Plymouth, Providence, Perkiomen, Skippack, Salford, Springfield, Towamensing, Whitpain, Worcester, and Waymensing. Berks took Allemling, Amity, Colebrookdale, Exeter, Murder Creek, and Oley.

In Philadelphia's 82,700 acres there are more than twelve hundred miles of streets. Their continuous

length would extend four hundred miles beyond Chicago, or reach to New Orleans. A man walking four miles an hour and ten hours a day would need a good month to traverse them all. There are about six thousand streets, lanes, alleys, and courts, all told, but a plain and simple method of enumeration enables the stranger to find any place in any one of them, the number of the house describing in what part of the city it is to be sought. Names of streets have undergone great changes in Philadelphia since Penn established his system of numbering them from the Delaware running from north to south, and using names of trees for streets running east and west. Any such method ought to have been adhered to, if for no other reason at least to protect a city from the *maiserie* and bad taste of city councilmen, who are commonly presumptuous in proportion to their ignorance. At present the nomenclature of streets in Philadelphia resembles a "Dolly Varden" print of a very irregular pattern,—one style here, another style there, particularly colored and piebald all over. A street name should not be *outré* in its form, nor difficult to pronounce; it should signify something, either an object, a person, or an event, and it should never be changed when once permanently bestowed.

CHAPTER II.

THE GEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE, VEGETATION, AND ANIMALS OF THE SITE OF PHILADELPHIA.

THE geology and the flora and fauna of a section so large as that occupied by the city of Philadelphia must needs be a comprehensive and interesting study, embracing, as this region does, an area of 129.4 square miles, and including within that area all the varieties of soil and all the diversities of surface to be looked for in a range of elevation from tide-washed, alluvial flats to rock-faced bluffs and granite ledges three hundred feet high (over four hundred at Chestnut Hill), and scarred with the marks of those rude wars of the giants which are typical of the glacial period. Much attention has been given to this subject from the days of James Logan, Benjamin Franklin and the American Philosophical Society, John Bartram, and Alexander Wilson down to the present time, and much has been written and published concerning the natural history and physical characteristics of Philadelphia, in both a comprehensive and a fragmentary and special way. It is hard to find, however, any brief and clear *résumés* of the general subject, couched in language such as all can understand without having scientific vocabularies at their fingers' ends, and condensed within such a space that it does not become a laborious task to read them. No ordinary reader can afford to ransack the

journals of the American Philosophical Society, or compare together all the five hundred and seventy thousand specimens in the collections of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences in pursuit of information of this kind, but every one is capable and willing to master the important features, briefly and plainly set forth, of the order of rocks, plants, and animals appertaining to his place of abode. Without having room for hypothesis, without giving space to speculation, it is proposed here to present the leading facts bearing upon these matters, in as concise a form as may be. We will not be quite so brief and concise, however, as some of the old writers. For instance, Dr. Mease, in his "Picture of Philadelphia," seems to have conceived that such a subject could be exhausted and dismissed in a paragraph. "The immediate substratum of Philadelphia," he says, "is clay of various hues and degrees of tenacity, mixed with more or less sand, or sand and gravel. Underneath, at various depths, from twenty to nearly forty feet, and also on the opposite shores of New Jersey, are found a variety of vegetable remains, which evidently appear to have been left there in remote period of time by the retiring waters; hickory-nuts were found a few years since in digging a well upwards of thirty feet beneath the surface, and the trunk of a sycamore (buttonwood) tree was discovered in Seventh near Mulberry Street, near forty feet below, imbedded in black mud, abounding with leaves and acorns. About sixty feet distant from that place, and nearly at the same depth, a bone was found; the stratum above was a tough potter's clay. In various other parts of the city, and even at the distance of several miles in the country, similar discoveries have been made. Sharks' teeth are occasionally dug up many feet below the surface near Mount Holly. All these facts seem to prove the truth of the opinion first delivered by our countryman, Lewis Evans, that the site of Philadelphia formed part of the sea, whose coast was bounded by a reef of rocks (they are formed of gneiss, micaceous schist, and other primitive rocks), some two, three, or six miles broad, rising generally a little higher than the adjoining land, and extending from New York westwardly by the Falls of Delaware, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, Gunpowder, Patapsco, Potomac, Rappahannock, James River, and Roanoke, which was the ancient maritime boundary, and forms a regular curve. The clay and other soil which compose the borders of the rivers descending from the upland through this tract are formed by the soil washed down with the floods and mixed with the sand left by the sea." And that is all which Dr. Mease has to say of the geology of Philadelphia.¹

¹ It is of course understood that geology as a science is altogether modern. It did not properly exist before Werner wrote, and the Freiberg professor was not born until 1750. Werner, De Saussure, Cuvier, Hutton first brought paleontology into existence by showing that rocks were to be profitably studied, not as stones, but as beds of fossils. This was the key to the cryptogram of the rocks. But the meteorology and

The geology of Philadelphia presents many difficulties, and no satisfactory solution of them has yet been reached. There was a geological survey of the State of Pennsylvania made fifty years ago, under the supervision of Prof. Henry D. Rodgers, which established many facts in the geognosy of the State, but was not sufficiently thorough to enable the geology of the difficult eastern portion to be determined. The geological map of this survey was published in 1858. Since that time great advances have been made in systematic investigation. A second geological survey of the State is in progress, the preliminary reports of which were made in 1874, and further reports have been made annually since then, under the auspices of a State commission and the superintendence of Prof. Peter Lesley, State geologist. Mr. Charles E. Hall is making the examination of the rocks on the lower Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers. Mr. H. C. Lewis and Rev. G. F. Wright are studying the surface deposits, moraines, etc., of this section. Mr. Hall has already made a report of progress (1881) for his section, including a large geological map of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Montgomery Counties, with special analyses of minerals, made by Dr. F. A. Genth and his son. There have also been published in this connection a historical sketch of geological explorations in Pennsylvania and other States by J. P. Lesley, a preliminary report of the mineralogy of the State by Dr. Genth, and a "Special Report on the Trap Dykes of Southeastern Pennsylvania" by Prof. T. Sterry Hunt. These various reports enable the

geognosy, the flora and fauna and mineralogy of the earth, had been universally studied before that, and the philosophers of early Philadelphia gave as much attention to their own section as most others were contemporaneously receiving. Isaac Lea, of Wilmington, in 1817 contributed to the Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences a brief study of the minerals of Philadelphia. Gerhardt Troost, an alumnus of Leyden and Paris, who came to this country in 1810 in the interest of manufacturers of chemicals, and who did much to advance the knowledge of the country's mineral wealth in several sections, in Maryland and Tennessee as well as Pennsylvania, published in 1826 a regular "Geological Survey" of Philadelphia, giving pretty accurately the rock forms and stratifications of the environs of the city. Since then the subject has been handled more or less fully by P. A. Brown, G. W. Carpenter, H. D. Rodgers, F. A. Genth, H. C. Lewis, C. E. Hall, and others. The earlier treatises, however, while they contain many facts, are worthless as systematic presentations of scientific knowledge. Accurate examination and acute observation go for nothing in support of antiquated and obsolete formulæ. Modern geology takes no account of the ancient contest between the Neptunians and Plutonians. Science is greater than its greatest masters, and it resigns even a Newton and a Cuvier to oblivion in respect of matters where their hypotheses have been superseded by the progress of modern discovery. In mineralogy, Berzelius, Werner, De Lisle, Haüy, and Mohs are giving place to a modern school which is growing up under the light of the new chemistry; in botany, Linnæus and De Candolle are becoming as obsolete as Dioscorides and Cessalpinus; in geology and the associated sciences, Catastrophists are no longer heeded, and even Agassiz, Cuvier, and Carpenter are falling in the rear behind the followers of Lamarck and Darwin, and incisive and destructive heralds of development and evolution like Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, Buchner, Haeckel, Virchow, Cope, and Gegenbaur. The old geologists, it has been well remarked, are like the knights who fought about the color of the shield. In fact we cannot, in this science, advance from limited, particular data to broad generalization; we must bring the sum of extensive general knowledge to the understanding of special facts revealed by particular localities.

progress made in determining the geological features of the Pennsylvanian country to be understood.

Prof. Lesley, in speaking of the geological maps and profiles of cross sections accompanying the report on Philadelphia County, remarks that "it must not be supposed that the geology of the district is fully understood. Geologists will have much to discover in years to come. A deep obscurity still shrouds parts of its underground structure and constitution, especially west of the Schuylkill." There are many difficulties, says the professor, in making proper examinations. "The surface of the country is under high cultivation. The water-courses are shallow. Extensive areas are marked by recent gravel and clay deposits. Rock exposures, though numerous, are small and isolated. Plications, faults, and even overturns are the rule, rather than the exception; and metamorphism is universal. Mineral beds are rare. Fossils are absolutely wanting. Characteristic lithological features are evident enough on a large scale; but when looked for on a small scale they fail the geologist at every stage of his progress, along any belt of outcrop, and fade into each other, or repeat themselves and alternate so rapidly and monotonously, in the visible groups of strata exposed, that special classification in vertical order becomes almost impossible." The future systematic geology of the district, the professor adds, must largely depend on artesian well borings. In constructing the map there is a practical difficulty growing out of the number and confusion of azoic rocks, all of a metamorphic character. "We have a country of mica schists, garnet schists, granitic, syenitic, hornblende, and micaceous gneisses, with included serpentine, steatite, talc schists, chrome iron beds, and disseminated gold, all of them rocks which it is still impossible to assign with the least confidence to any age."

Geology is so much a matter of classified, tabulated names and their definitions that it cannot be intelligently discussed apart from this system of grouping and interpretation. Prof. Hitchcock, in preparing a tentative geological map of the United States, adopts the following scheme, the oldest formations being first given:

(a) Eozoic.		(b) Palæozoic.	
(1) Silurian;	(2) Devonian;	(3) Coal Measures.	(and lower carboniferous).
(c) Mesozoic.		(d) Cenozoic.	
(1) Triassic	(2) Cretaceous.	Tertiary; Alluvium; Volcanic.	
and Jurassic.			

"The eozoic (dawn of life) embraces all formations older than the paradoxide beds, including the metamorphic Appalachian schists," says Prof. Hitchcock. Philadelphia, in Prof. Hitchcock's map, rests entirely upon the eozoic formation. A better and more general scheme is that of Prof. James D. Dana, and which our geologists usually follow, with some modifications. It may be rudely represented thus:

		AGE OF MAN.		EPOCH AND SUB EPOCHS.	
EUROPEAN GEOLOGY.	MAMMALIAN AGE.	Post-Tertiary.....		(xvii.) Pleistocene.	
		Tertiary.....		{ (xvi.) Pleiocene. (xv.) Miocene. (xiv.) Eocene.	
		Cretaceous.....		{ (xiii.) Upper and Lower Chalk (Upper Cretaceous). (xii.) Middle Cretaceous (Upper Green Sand). (xi.) Lower Cretaceous (Lower Green Sand).	
	REPTILIAN AGE.	Jurassic.	Wealden Epoch.	{	(x.) Wealden.
			Oolitic Epoch.	{	(ix.) Upper Oolite (Portland Clay). (viii.) Middle Oolite (Oxford Clay).
			Liassic Epoch.	{	(vii.) Lower Oolite (Stonesfield). (vi.) Upper Lias. (v.) Marl Stone.
		Triassic.....		{	(iv.) Lower Lias. (iii.) Keuper. (ii.) Muschelkalk. (i.) Bunter Sandstein.
	CARBONIFEROUS AGE.	Permian.....	{ (xv.) Permo Carboniferous.		
		Carboniferous.....	{ (xiv. c) Upper Coal Measures. (xiv. b) Lower Coal Measures. (xiv. a) Millstone Grit.		
		Sub-Carboniferous.....	{ (xiii. b) Upper Sub-Carboniferous. (xiii. a) Lower Sub-Carboniferous.		
AMERICAN GEOLOGY.	DEVONIAN AGE, OR AGE OF FISHES.	Catskill.....	{ (xii.) Catskill.		
		Chemung.....	{ (xi. b) Chemung. (xi. a) Portage.		
		Hamilton.....	{ (x. c) Genesee. (x. b) Hamilton. (x. a) Marcellus.		
	SILURIAN AGE, OR AGE OF MOLLUSCS.	Upper Helderberg.....	{ (ix. c) Upper Helderberg. (ix. b) Schcharie. (ix. a) Canda-Galli.		
		Upper Silurian.	Oriskany.....	{ (viii.) Oriskany.	
			Lower Helderberg.	{ (vii.) Lower Helderberg.	
	AZOIC AGE.	Lower Silurian.	Salina.....	{ (vi.) Saliferous.	
			Niagara...	{ (v. b) Medina. (v. a) Oneida.	
		Hudson....	{ (iv. b) Hudson. (iv. a) Utica.		
			Trenton.....	{ (iii. b) Trenton, Black River, (iii. a) Chazy. Birds' Eye.	
Potsdam...			{ (ii. b) Calciferous. (ii. a) Potsdam.		
.....		{ (i.) Azoic.			

The ascent from primitive rocks to those more recent is from the bottom of the column, beginning with azoic rocks, or those in which there are no fossils, corresponding to Prof. Hitchcock's eozoic. Geologists recognize two great divisions of rocks: (1) the *massive* or (igneous) *primitive* rocks, which form the earth's crust. These have been formed by the action of heat, underlie all others, or have been forced up through them from beneath. Such are granite, basalt, porphyry, etc. (2) The *sedimentary*

or stratified rocks, which have been deposited by water as limestone, clays, etc. A third form of rock is the *metamorphic*, resting on the igneous rocks, underlying the stratified rocks, containing no fossils, or scarcely any, stratified, yet having been violently changed (metamorphosed) by heat or water, or both. Of such are gneiss, mica slate, talcous slate, etc. The rocks which underlie Philadelphia are almost all of them metamorphic. Geologists divide rocks as to their antiquity into several *ages*, as the azoic (eozoic), paleozoic (or the age of primary forms of life, etc., such as mollusks), mesozoic, or secondary age, and cenozoic, or tertiary age. Philadelphia County shows none but rocks of the azoic and the paleozoic ages. The paleozoic age is divided into Upper and Lower Silurian, Devonian, and Carboniferous periods or epochs, and Philadelphia can show but few paleozoic strata of a more recent epoch than the Lower Silurian formation. This formation comprises eight stages or groups, and Philadelphia County again confines itself principally to the lowest of these groups, the Potsdam sandstone. The primitive rocks are in many places, however, overlaid by the drift brought down by floods and glaciers and by the mud deposited from rivers. This is not a stratification, but a superficial and (geologically speaking) a recent deposit. It is classed as belonging to the modern epoch, the age of man. The glacial drift period is assumed to be like a wedge between the tertiary or post-tertiary period and the age of man. Its characteristic mark is the deposit of gravel and boulders. The county of Philadelphia shows many of these erratic boulders or "gray-heads." In many places the primitive rock is overlaid with deep beds of gravel, and in other places the recent alluvium rests in deep beds both upon the primitive rock and upon the gravel; sometimes it rests upon both at once, overlying the gravel which overlies the bed of azoic rock.

The general system for the rocks embraced in Montgomery, Bucks, and Philadelphia Counties is recent alluvium, Trenton Gravel, Red Gravel, Philadelphia Brick Clay, Yellow Gravel, Bryn Mawr Gravel, Iron-Bearing Clay, Wealden Clay, Trap, New Red Sandstone (mesozoic), Serpentine, Chestnut Hill Garnetiferous Schists, Manayunk Mica Schists and Gneiss, Philadelphia Mica Schists and Gneiss, Quartzose Slate and Mica Schists of South Valley Hill, Slate and Limestone alternations, Magnesian Limestone and Marble (No. 2), Edgehill Rock (Quartzite and Conglomerate), Potsdam Sandstone (No. 1), Syenitic and Granitic Rocks. Of these the first six are of recent formation; Wealden clay belongs to the Cenozoic epoch; the slate, sandstone, and conglomerate of the new red sandstone formation are of Mesozoic; the syenites and granites are of the Laurentian system of primitive or metamorphosed rock, and the slates, mica schist, marble, limestone, and slate and limestone alternations belong to the calciferous, Trenton and Hudson River groups, Cambro-Silurian

epoch, Paleozoic period, metamorphosed rocks. With respect to distribution, we find the Potsdam sandstone¹ along the northern edge of Philadelphia County in two places. The syenite group is found north of Chestnut Hill. "Otherwise," says Mr. Charles E. Hall, "the mica schists and gneisses occupy the entire county, unless limestone be proven to exist north of Somerton and flanking the Potsdam sandstone on the south. Its existence is exceedingly doubtful."² The gneissic and micaceous series of rocks in Philadelphia County seem to belong to one geological formation. Sharply-defined subdivisions have not been thus far detected. The belts of rocks fade into and blend with one another in a sort of imperceptible gradation and transition. The "pitch" of the rock is generally northward except along the northern edge, where there is a reverse "dip." This is so invariable as to be a great aid to the geologist in tracing the true relations of these rocks to one another. The entire northern portion of Philadelphia County is covered by gravel. Along the Delaware River mud or alluvial deposits are frequent. They cover the greater part of the south end of the city. The gravel-beds flank these mud deposits along the course of the river. This belt of gravel was deposited by the river before it had receded to its present channel; it marks the ancient bed of the Delaware. The gravel is exposed wherever streets have been graded down. The Trenton or river-shore gravel gradually merges into what are known as the Philadelphia brick clays, mixed with or bounded by the red and yellow gravels. These red gravels are so characteristically high in their colors that William Penn would not employ them when he laid out the walks of his garden and lawn at Pennsbury Manor, and directed his steward to get the gravel from the pit near by and not from Philadelphia, as that was "too red." In other words, he preferred the Trenton to the Philadelphia red clay gravel. The gravel-beds in the southern part of Philadelphia are at least one hundred feet deep. The gravels are composed of and have been derived from the paleozoic rocks along the course of the upper Delaware,—débris brought down by ice action and floods.

The garnetiferous group of Philadelphia County is exposed across the northern end, between Chestnut

¹ So called from a sandstone found and determined in New York by the State geological survey. All the groups in geology east of the Alleghenies are arranged on the basis of this survey. The Potsdam stone is a fine agglomerate of sand, with occasional specks of mica in it. In Philadelphia its strata are *synclinal* generally; *i. e.*, they dip towards each other so as to form basins.

² Report of Progress, C^o, p. 90. By syenite is meant simply a form of granite (from Syene, in Egypt) in which the tough hornblende predominates instead of mica. Granite is composed of feldspar (the chief ingredient), quartz or flint, and mica. Gneiss is a bastard granitic agglomerate, with a slaty structure. Quartz is a form of flint, and when ground produces sand; feldspar, when ground, yields clay; thus the alluvium of the Philadelphia flats overlying the gravel and the primitive rocks is, in fact, composed of the same substance as these solid masses of crystallized and apparently adamantinite solidity. So it is also with the soils.

Hill and the Schuylkill River. "Its northern limit is a diagonal line across the northern corner of the county." Its southern limit is less clear, but indications are found half-way between Lafayette Station and Manayunk. The rocks in this belt are garnetiferous mica schists (schists are rocks having a slaty structure, but otherwise not dissimilar to gneissic rocks), thin-bedded sandy gneisses, and hornblende slate. They are peculiar in having deposits of serpentine and steatite.¹ Serpentine occurs on the north-western edge of Chestnut Hill, extending across the Wissahiccon to a point half-way to the Ridge road. It is also found not far above Manatawna, and again half-way between that point and Lafayette. These strips of serpentine are on a line with and belong to the same geological "horizon" as the steatite quarry on the Schuylkill below Lafayette Station.

The belt of Manayunk mica schists and gneisses is visible along the Schuylkill from the Falls to a point half-way between Manayunk and Lafayette Station, its north boundary being south of Chestnut Hill, and its south line in the vicinity of Germantown. There is a gradual transition of this belt on the north to the Chestnut Hill schists, and on the south to a micaceous feldspathic gneiss. There are extensive exposures of hornblende slates between the Falls and Manayunk, on the line of the Schuylkill, and there is a small bed of steatite below the mouth of Cresheim Creek. The belt of Philadelphia mica schist and gneiss extends from the Poquessing to Cobb's Creek, and from the Delaware to the Falls of Schuylkill. In the eastern part of the county it extends north beyond the county line. Exposures of it may be found on the Schuylkill from Gray's Ferry up, and on the Poquessing, Pennepack, and Tacony Creeks. All through this belt, as in the other belts which have been described, the gneisses and schists are continually merging into one another with an avoidance of sharp transitions. There are beds of hornblende rock in several places, the largest along the Schuylkill above Columbia bridge, and on the river-bank at the south end of the river road, below the Strawberry Mansion. Above this point there is an alternation of feldspathic micaceous gneiss and slaty micaceous schists. This same alternation is observed below Columbia bridge to Gray's Ferry, with occasional lenticular beds of quartz in the mass. Feldspar predominates near Gray's Ferry, and forms deposits of kaoline, some of which are very pure and white. South of Gray's Ferry the micaceous gneiss is exposed along the river. At the western end of Market Street, on the east bank of Cobb's Creek, is a quarry of quartzose hornblende gneiss, resembling that at Columbia bridge, and there is a quarry of compact gray gneiss at Frankford.

¹Serpentine is a compact rock of a greenish drab color; it is an unstratified hydrated silicate of magnesia in composition, while steatite is soapstone, a magnesian silicate also, and allied to talc, mica, and asbestos. All these minerals are apt to occur in close proximity to one another, and serpentine is often, if not usually, accompanied with chromic iron ore.

The arrangement of the Delaware River gravels and clays illustrates the geological history of Philadelphia. The Delaware flows in a southeast direction from Easton to a point a short distance below Trenton, where it turns and flows southwest to and beyond Philadelphia. This bend is a right angle, and is caused by the river striking the hilly outcrop of the New Jersey cretaceous formation. At an earlier period the river passed by or through much more of this marl or chalky formation than now. Its bed was apparently north and northwest of its present bed, and it must have worked its way along the line where the marl-beds joined the solid rock. The bed of the old river is probably marked by the limits of the Trenton gravel. This extends along the river from Yardleyville, on the Delaware, in Bucks County, above Trenton, to Darby Creek, below Philadelphia. Between Morrisville, opposite Trenton, and the mouth of the Poquessing Creek there are two sets of terraces and escarpments, marking an earlier course of the river, and showing that at one time it cut off across country without going around the long angle at Pennsylvania. The belt of red clay and gravel which extends above the Trenton gravel is composed of the debris of all the geological formations existing along the course of the Delaware, together with those of the sands and conglomerates of the edge of the New Jersey Cretaceous and perhaps Tertiary formations also, undermined by the river and carried down by its floods in the process of time. Among these debris are large angular blocks of sandstone and quartzite. The clay is in many cases bedded with the gravel, or deposited in large masses, as, for example, one west of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane and several patches on this range east of the Schuylkill. Mr. Hall is not satisfied whether this deposit be the wash of the cretaceous beds or a deposit similar to the glacial clays of the Hudson River, but he seems to incline to the latter opinion. The age of the deposit, he observes, is "unquestionably not remote from the glacial period. The material which forms much of the gravel with which the clay is associated owes its transport to glacial agencies. Whether the ice did or did not extend to this latitude may still be questioned; but I think there is little question as to the period when the angular blocks were brought south and deposited here with the gravel." Fragments of unmistakably fossiliferous rock—Oriskany sandstone and Helderberg slate—have been found in various places. As to the Bryn Mawr gravel, which only exists at an elevation of four hundred feet above tide, Mr. Hall does not know its origin, though he suggests it may be the remains of a Tertiary or Upper Cretaceous formation swept away by flood and glaciers, and that it is connected with the Cenozoic deposits of New Jersey, the ancient Delaware having carried away all the deposits of this sort covering the intervening space,—that is to say, having once flowed with a current three hundred feet deep above

the present city of Philadelphia. But, in fact, Mr. Hall looks upon the Delaware River from Trenton to Chester as representing, in part at least, "the ancient coast line of the Atlantic Ocean."

Professor Lesley, after summing up the results of the survey thus far, comparing the results attained by Professor Rogers in 1836-58 with those reached by Mr. Hall, and stating the difficulties attending the investigation, concludes that it is impossible just now to locate the Philadelphia series of rocks exactly as to time and place in the general geological series; "all speculation is therefore fruitless," he says, "and we are left in almost total ignorance of the real state of things." We only know that these deposits are enormously thick. "If it were not for these faults" (breaks in the strata), says Professor Lesley, "we could assert that from the kaoline outcrops at Gray's Ferry up to the soapstone quarries above Manayunk the total pile of micaceous and hornblending schists and gneisses measured about twenty-five thousand feet, representing in ancient times a mountain range as high as the Alps, now eroded nearly to a level nowhere more than four hundred feet above sea-level." Allowing for every fault, he thinks the ancient thickness might have been equivalent to a level of ten thousand feet above tide. Nothing can more emphatically illustrate the intensity of the geological disturbance at this point than the fact that the site of Philadelphia may at one time have occupied the side of a mountain range from ten thousand to twenty-five thousand feet high, and at another may have been two hundred or three hundred feet below the surface of an ocean. In regard to the glacial movement, the Pennsylvania geologists are waiting for the report of Mr. Henry Carvill Lewis, who is now tracing the moraine deposits across Pennsylvania. But some interesting facts are already known on this subject so far as Philadelphia is concerned. The great Delaware glacier has been partly traced by the moraine which it left. It crosses the Delaware River near Belvidere, below the Water Gap, in a straight line north of west to Beach Haven, on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, and thence to Lycoming Creek near Ralston. It passed diagonally over mountains and valleys without ever swerving from its course, crossing the top of the Kittatinny Mountain as if it despised to creep through the Water Gap at the mountain's foot. On the very top of the mountain, as a sign that it had been there, it left a block of Helderberg limestone more than six feet long. It had brought this from a valley below and five miles distant. The Oriskany stone has been brought sixty miles down the valley of the Schuylkill and deposited in West Philadelphia. Others have come down the Delaware through the Water Gap, yet Professor Lesley thinks it "more than doubtful" whether solid ice ever reached Philadelphia. "Floating fragments of the back country glaciers undoubtedly reached the Philadelphia neighborhood." The professor also doubts if

the ocean level ever rose sufficiently to explain the Bryn Mawr gravel, four hundred feet above tide. "It is, however, quite certain," he concludes, "that the Delaware River once flowed in a channel several hundred feet above its present bed, and has cut down since then to its present level. Its deposits of various ages are visible in terraces and patches at various elevations. This is in conformity with what we know of most of the rivers of the world," and the cases of the French rivers, the Seine and the Somme, are adduced in illustration. In the graveled terraces of the latter river at Abbeville remains of prehistoric man have been found. "Similar gravels," says Professor Lesley in conclusion, "line the sides of the Delaware River valley, and human implements of a remote antiquity have been found in them at Trenton." Attention has been called to the fact of such deposits in the alluvium and gravel by Kalm, the Swedish botanist, by Dr. Mease, in his "Picture of Philadelphia," and by John F. Watson, the antiquarian. Kalm's account in 1749 is curious. It may be found in the second volume of his travels, where he says that he once called together the oldest inhabitants of the village of Raccoon (Gloucester Co., N. J.) to converse with them on the natural history of the country. There came to the meeting Mäns Keen (Kyn), Aoke Helm, Peter Rambo, William Cobb, Sven Lock, and Eric Ragnilson. They told Kalm that whenever a well was dug in Raccoon, they always found at the depth of twenty or thirty feet great numbers of clam and oyster shells, sometimes reeds and rushes, once a hank of flax. "Charcoal, firebrands, great branches, blocks, and Indian trowels had often been found very deep in the ground." Peter Rambo found marine animals, petrified or burnt wood, a huge spoon, and some bricks. Mäns Keen, at the depth of forty feet, found chestnut wood, roots, and stalks, etc., and reported that at Elfsborg, when the Swedes first built their fort there, they found, twenty feet below the surface, broken earthen vessels and good whole bricks.¹

In connection with the soil and rocks which underlaid the site of Philadelphia a great variety of minerals were found. The binary compounds, sulphides and arsenides, were represented by a bastard graphite or plumbago which has been found at Robinson's Hill; bismuthite exists in tourmaline in a granite vein in the masses of gneiss on the west side of Schuylkill, over against Fairmount Water-Works, and these rocks, as well as the Frankford gneiss, contain molybdenite. The Frankford gneiss also shows copper pyrites in pinchback brown crystals, as well as fluorite or fluor-spar in purplish crystalline masses. Menalcite exists in a quarry near Columbia bridge and in the gneiss opposite Fairmount; magnetite or lodestone at Chestnut Hill; crystals of limpid quartz in the soil at several places, in the Darby country particularly and

¹ Mickle, "Reminiscences of Old Gloucester."

While there are no conspicuous treatises on the specific subject and limited to the one locality, our information in regard to the natural history of Philadelphia, its flora and fauna, is full and satisfactory. All the early descriptive writers have had much to say on this subject, as if it fascinated them. The works of the Bartrams, the Darlingsons, Kalm, Wilson, and others have added a touch of genius for pleasant writing to the attractiveness of the theme itself. The scientific treatises of Darlington are become classics, and every lover of flowers and birds has heard something charming about John and William Bartram and Alexander Wilson. With Darlington and other writers on Chester, with the exhaustive way in which various naturalists have from time to time illustrated the botany and animal life of Bucks, Montgomery, and Chester Counties and the sections of New Jersey opposite to Philadelphia, it is easy to tell the whole story of the city's flora and fauna. The beauty and the strangeness, the wild luxuriance and shaded mysteries of the primeval forest, however, must be left to the imagination. The pen cannot describe them. In subsequent chapters will be found many quotations from the early writers, showing how vividly they were impressed with the landscape. That was wild without being savage. It was stately and imposing, yet had something of a parklike look, while the occasional birch-bark canoe along shore and the thin curling blue smoke from an Indian's lodge here and there did not disaccord. The undergrowth was not greatly tangled, save in damp and springy places, and the immense proportion of full-grown trees in the primitive forest always lends to it a certain dignity and patriarchal aspect. In the swamps there were great white cedars, almost as venerable as the cypresses of the South, but one missed their bearding of gray Spanish moss. The stately elm spread and branched with full-grown vigor, and the oak was so much at home that Bartram enumerates twenty-one varieties as being found within the boundaries of Philadelphia County. Penn. in one of his early letters, enumerates black walnut, cedar, cypress, chestnut, hickory, sassafras, beech, and the oaks as among the most useful native trees. Of fruits growing wild he mentions the white and black mulberry, plums, strawberries, cranberries, huckleberries, etc. Apples and peaches were plentiful wherever the Indians had clearings, and Penn found them as good as any English peaches, "except the true Newington." His mind is not made up as to whether the fruit is native to the soil or not. Gabriel Thomas, in his little history of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey, after mentioning such wonders as the salamander stone (asbestos), "having Cotton in Veins within it, which will not consume in the Fire, though held there a long time," speaks of several sorts of wild fruits,—

"as excellent Grapes, Red, Black, White, Muscadell, and Fox, which upon frequent Experience have produc'd Choice Wine, being daily Cultivated by skilful Vineous. . . . Walnuts, Chesnuts, Filberts, Hockery Nuts,

Hartleberries, Mulberries, Rasherries, Strawberries, Cranberries, Plumbs of several sorts, and many other Wild Fruits in great plenty, which are common and free for any to gather." "The common Planting Fruit-Trees are Apples, which from a Kernel (without Inoculation) will shoot up to be a large Tree, and produce very delicious, large and pleasant Fruit, of which much excellent Cyder is made, in taste resembling that in England press'd from Pippins and Pearmains, sold commonly for between Ten and Fifteen Shillings per Barrel, Pears, Peaches, &c., of which they distil a Liquor very much like the taste of Rum, or Brandy, which they yearly make in great quantities. There are Quinces, Cherries Gooseberries, Currants, Squashes, Pumpkins, Water-Mellens, Musk-mellens, and other Fruit in great Numbers, which seldom fail of yielding great plenty. There are also many curious and excellent Physical Wild Herbs, Roots, and Drugs of great Vertue, and very sanative, as the Sassafras and Sarsaparilla, so much us'd in Diet Drinks for the Cure of the Venereal Disease, which makes the Indians, by a right application of them, as able Doctors and Surgeons as any in Europe, performing celebrated cures therewith, and by the use of some particular Plants only, find Remedy in all Swellings, Burnings, Cuts, &c. There grows also in great Plenty the Black Snake-Root (fam'd for its sometimes preserving, but often curing the Plague, being infused only in Wine, Brandy, or Rum), Rattle-Snake Root, Poke-Root, call'd in England Jallop, with several other beneficial Herbs, Plants, and Roots, which Physicians have approved of, far exceeding in Nature and Vertue those of other Countries."

Campanius, in his lively but careless narrative, speaks of the great quantity of rushes, with thick, strong roots, that grow in the marshes, and the hog's turnip, like the Jerusalem artichoke, that the Indians eat when their bread and meat give out. He speaks of "the fish-tree, which resembles box-wood, and smells like raw fish." It cannot be split, but melts away if fire be built around it. The Indians had peas, beans, and squashes before the white settlers came in, with gourds and melons. In the dialects of the Unamis, or Delawares of the lowlands, there were many names for tree, shrub, and plant which they must have become familiar with in the vicinity of where Philadelphia now stands. *Schau-we-min-shi* means the red-beech; *ga-winsch*, the green brier; *hob-be-nac*, the potato; *Coquoanoo*, the site of Philadelphia, is a corruption of *cu-we-quen-a-ku*, "the grove of tall pines;" *cu-wen-ha-sink* (Cohocksink), meaning "where the pines grow" from *cu-we*, pine-tree, *co-wa-nesque* (*ga-wun-shes-que*), "overgrown with briers;" *Hob-ben-i-sink*, "where there are wild potatoes;" *Perkiomen* (*Pak-ih-mo-mink*), "place of cranberries" from *pak-him*, cranberry; *si-pu-o-man-di-can*, "wild plums;" *topi*, the alder; *tom-bie*, crab-apple; *woap-i-min-sch* ("the white tree"), the chestnut-tree; *woap-hollach*, "wild hemp;" *wech-que-tank*, the willow; *wis-sach-gim*, grapes; *win-ak*, sassafras; *schind*, spruce; *mitz-hack*, gourd, squash, etc.; *ge-scund-hac*, pumpkins; *musquem*, corn; *mis-si-me-na*, apple.

A complete catalogue of plants in Philadelphia County would be out of place in a work of this character, but some mention may be made of prominent families, species, and varieties. The ferns were largely represented in a place containing so many shady and moist spots, rocks, and hollows and spring-heads in the depths of groves. Among these were several of the horsetail ferns (*Equisetaceae*), as the *E. arvense*, *E. sylvaticum*, *E. hyemale*, or scouring rush; the various polypodia, including maiden-hair, the purple brake, the *Dicksonia punctilobula*, or bladder-fern, ophioglossum,

and all the tribe of lycopods found in the latitude of Philadelphia; the *spagnidae*, *phascidae*, *hypnidae*, etc. There were full representations of the *hepatice*, or liverwort family, etc. Of the general class of phænogamous plants, the typical clematis (virgin's bower), tall anemone, the wind-flower, meadow-rue, crow-foot, buttercup, marsh marigold, wild columbine, larkspur, and black snake-root represent the order *Ranunculaceæ*; the magnolias have the *Magnolia glauca* (sweetbay, growing in the southeast of the county) and the *Liriodendron tulipifera*, or tulip-tree, so often called poplar. Of the *Anonaceæ*, the papaw (*Asimina triloba*) is mentioned by the early writers, and is said to grow now on Darby Creek; the moonseed (*Menispermum*) is common along streams; the *Berberis canadensis*, the *Podophyllum peltatum* (May-apple), and *Nelumbium luteum* (water-chinquapin, introduced from Connecticut), represent two small families. Of the *Nymphaeaceæ*, or water-lily family, Philadelphia used to be famous for its spatterdocks (yellow pond-lily, *Nuphar advena*), and its sweet water-lily (*Nymphaea odorata*). The *Sarracenia purpurea* (pitcher-plant, very rare) is found in wet places about Tinicum; the poppy family has the celandine and the blood-root to represent it. Among the *Fumaraceæ* are the common climbing fumitory, the *Dicentra cucullaris* (Dutchman's breeches), and the *Corydalis glauca*. The *Cruciferae* have *Nasturtium officinale* (common water-cress), *N. sylvestre* (yellow cress, peculiar to Philadelphia low grounds), *N. palustre* (marsh cress), *Cardamine rhomboidea* (spring cress), *C. hirsuta*, *Arabis dentata*, *Barbarea procera* (scurvy grass), *Sisymbrium canescens* (tansy mustard), *Sinapis alba et nigra* (but all natives of Europe), *Draba verna* (whitlow grass), *Lepidium virginicum* (wild pepper-grass), *Capsella* (shepherd's purse), *Herperis matronalis* (rocket), and *Lunaria rediviva* (honesty). The *Isatis tinctoria*, or woad, was introduced by Penn. Of the violet family, Philadelphia has *Solea concolor* (green violet), and *Viola rotundifolia* (round-leaved), *V. lanceolata*, *V. blanda* (sweet white), *V. cucullata* (common blue), *V. palmata*, *V. villosa*, *V. sagittata*, *V. pedata* (bird's-foot, grows on mica slate soils), *V. Muhlenbergii* (dog violet), *V. pubescens*, *V. tricolor* (pansy), and *V. odorata*. The sundew family (*Droseraceæ*) has *D. filiformis*. The St. John's-wort family (*Hypericaceæ*) has *Hypericum perforatum* (common St. John's-wort), *Ascyrum Cruz Andreæ* (St. Andrew's cross), *H. ellipticum*, *H. corymbosum*, *H. adpressum*, *H. nutitum* (the *Parvislorum* of Muhlenberg), *H. Virginicum* (*Elodea Virginica* of Nuttall). The pink family (*Caryophyllaceæ*) is represented by *Dianthus armeria* (Deptford pink), *Saponaria officinalis* (common soap-wort, "Bouncing Bet"), *Silene stellata* (starry campion), *S. Pennsylvanica* (common wild pink), *S. antirrhina* (sleepy catchfly), *Agrostemma Githago* (corn-cockle), *Stellaria media* (chickweed), *S. pubera*, *S. longifolia*, *Cerastium vulgatum*, *C. viscosum*, *C. oblongifolium* (north of Chestnut Hill), *C. nutans*. The purslane family (*Por-*

tulacaceæ) has *Portulaca oleracea* (common pursley) and *Claytonia Virginica* (spring beauty). The mallows (*Malvaceæ*) are represented by *Malva rotundifolia* (common mallow), *Abutilon*, *Avicennae*, *Hibiscus moschenotus* (Bow Creek swamp rose-mallow), *H. trionum*. The Linden or Basswood family (*Tiliaceæ*) has *Tilia Americana* (basswood; not common, though the Swedes and Indians both gave it as the local name of water-courses). The *Linum Virginianum* (wild flax) is the only one of that family. The wood-sorrels (*Oxalidaceæ*) have chiefly the *Oxalis stricta*, the yellow species. The *Geraniaceæ* (Cranesbill family) have the *G. maculatum* (the common plant); *G. Carolinianum*. The *Balsaminaceæ* (Balsam family) have the *Impatiens pallida* (Touch-me-not), *I. fulva*, and *Tropaeolum majus* (from Europe). The sumachs have *Rhus typhina* (staghorn sumach), *R. glabra*, *R. venenata*, and *R. toxicodendron* (poison oak and poison sumach). The Vine family show *Vitis labrusca* (fox-grape), *V. æstivalis* (chicken grape), *V. cordifolia* (winter grape), *V. vulpina* (muscadine), and *Ampelopsis quinquefolia* (Virginia creeper, American ivy). The Buckthorn family (*Rhamnaceæ*) show *Rhamnus catharticus* and *Ceanothus Americanus* (Jersey tea). The *Celastraceæ* yield *Celastrus scandens* (climbing bitter-sweet), *Eonymus atropurpureus* (burning bush), and *E. Americanus* (strawberry-tree). The *Sapindaceæ* yield *Staphylea trifolia* (the bladder-nut); *Acer saccharinum* (sugar-maple); *A. rubrum* (swamp maple); this is the "fish-tree" of Campanius; *Negundo aceroides* (box-elder). The Milkwort family furnishes *Polygala sanguinea*, *P. cruciata*, *P. verticillata*, *P. ambigua*, *P. Senega* (Seneca snake-root, referred to by Gabriel Thomas), *P. polygama* (*P. rubella* of Muhlenberg). Of the *Leguminosæ*, there are *Lupinus perennis* (wild lupine, Chestnut Hill), *Crotalaria sagittalis* (rattle-box), *Trifolium arvense* (stone-clover), with *T. pratense*, *T. repens*, *T. agrarium*, and *T. procumbens* (all the useful clovers); *Melilotus officinalis* and *alba*; *Medicago sativa* (lucerne), *Amorpha fruticosa*; *Robinia pseudacacia* (common locust), *R. viscosa*, *Tephrosia Virginiana* (goats' rue), *Desmodium nudiflorum*, *D. acuminatum*, *D. rotundifolium*, *D. canescens*, *D. cuspidatum*, *D. paniculatum*, *D. rigidum*, *D. Marylandicum*, etc.; *Lespedeza violacea* (three sorts), *L. procumbens*, *L. repens*, etc.; *Vicia sativa* (vetch); *Lathyrus venosus* and *Palustris*, *L. latifolius*, *L. odoratus*, *Cicer arvense*, *Phaseolus perennis* (wild bean), *P. helvolus*, *P. vulgaris*; *Apios tuberosa* (ground-nut); *Galactia globella* (milk-pea); *Amphicarpea monoica*; *Baptisia tinctoria* (wild indigo), *B. Australis*, *Cercis Canadensis* (Judas-tree), *Cassia Marylandica* (wild senna), *C. chamecrista* (partridge pea), *C. nictitans* (wild sensitive-plant), and *Gleditsia triacanthus* (honey-locust). Of the Rose family there are *Prunus Americana* (wild plum), *P. chicasa* (chicasaw plum), *P. spinosa* (sloe), *P. Pennsylvanica* (wild cherry), *P. avium*, *P. serotina*, *P. vulgaris*, *P. Virginiana*; *Spiræa opulifolia* (wine-bark), *S. salicifolia* (meadow-sweet), *S. tomentosa*; *Gil-*

lenia trifoliata (Indian physic); *Agrimonia eupatoria* and *parvifolia*; *Potentilla Canadensis* (common five-finger), *P. palustris*; *Fragaria Virginiana* and *vesca* (wild strawberries); *Rubus strigosus*, *R. occidentalis* (red and black raspberry), *R. villosus* (blackberry), *R. Canadensis* (dewberry), *R. hispidus*, and *R. cuneifolius*; *Rosa Carolina*, *R. lucida* (wild-rose), *R. rubiginosa* (sweet-brier); *Crataegus cordata*, *C. oxyacantha* (hawthorn), *C. coccinea*, *C. tomentosa* (blackthorn), *C. parvifolia*; *Pyrus coronaria* (crab-apple), *P. arbutifolia*, *P. malus*, *P. communis* (the Seckel pear is a native of Philadelphia), *P. Americana* (mountain ash), *Amelanchier Canadensis* (service-berry), and *Cydonia vulgaris* (quince). The *Lythraceae* have *Ammannia humilis*, *Lythrum lineare*, *Nesaea verticillata*, and *Cuphea viscosissima*. The Evening Primrose family (*Onagraceae*) furnish *Epilobium palustre*, *E. coloratum*, *Enothera biennis* (common primrose), *E. fruticosa* (sun-drop), *E. punilla*, *Gaura biennis*, *Ludwigia palustris* (water parsley), and *Circea lutetiana* (nightshade); *Myriophyllum scabratum*, *M. ambiguum* (pond plants), and *Opuntia vulgaris*. The Currant family is represented by *Ribes hirtellum* (wild gooseberry), *R. Floridum* (black currant), and *R. rubrum*. The Gourd family has *Sicyos angulatus*, *Cucumis sativus*, *C. melo*, *C. citrullus*, *Cucurbita pepo*, *C. melopepo*, *C. aurantia*, and *Lagenaria vulgaris* (all cultivated by Indians). Of the order of Saxifragas there are *Saxifraga Virginensis*, *S. Pennsylvanica*, *S. erosa* (Pennipack Creek), *Heuchera Americana* (alum-root), *Mitella diphylla* (bishop's cap), *Chrysosplenium Americanum* (golden saxifrage), *Itea Virginica*, and *Philadelphus coronarius*. The Witch-hazel family gives *Hamamelis Virginica*, *Liquidambar styraciflua* (sweet gum or liquidamber tree, used by the Swedes to make hubs for their cart-wheels, as Campanian notes). The *Umbellifera* or Parsley family is represented in Philadelphia by two species of pennyworts (*Hydrocotyle Americana* and *umbellata*), two species of black snake-root, the *Eryngium yuccifolium* (rattlesnake root), *Daucus carota* (carrot), *Heracleum lanatum* (cow-parsnip), *Pastinaca sativa* (common parsnip), *Archemora rigida* (cowbane), *Archangelica hirsuta* and *atropurpurea*, *Thaspium bardinode*, *Thaspium atropurpureum*, *Cicuta maculata* (musquash-root, water hemlock), *Sium lineare*, *Cryptotaenia Canadensis* (hone-wort), *Osmorrhiza longistylis* (sweet-cicely), *Conium maculatum* (hemlock), *Erigenia bulbosa*, *Apium petroselinum* (parsley), *A. graveolens* (celery), *A. feniculum* (fennel), *Anathum graveolens* (dill). The Ginseng order have *Aralia spinosa* (Hercules' club), *A. racemosa* (spikenard), *A. medicantis* (wild sarsaparilla), and *A. trifolia* (dwarf ginseng). The Dogwood family have *Cornus Florida* (common dogwood), *C. sericea* (silky cormel or kinikinnik), *C. paniculata*, *C. alternifolia*, and *Nyssa multiflora* (black gum). The Honeysuckle family is represented by *Lonicera sempervirens* (trumpet honeysuckle), *L. grata* (woodbine), *Dierilla Canadensis*, *Triosteum perfoliatum* (horse

gentian), *Sambucus Canadensis* (elder), *Viburnum nudum*, *V. prunifolium* (black haw), *V. lentago* (sheep-berry), *V. dentatum* (arrow-wood), *V. acerifolium*, *V. opulus* (snow-ball), and *V. lantanoides* (hobble-bush). The Madder family has *Galium aparine* (goose-grass), *G. asprellum*, *G. obtusum*, *G. triflorum*, *G. pilosum*, *G. circoceras* and *lanceolatum* (wild liquorice); *Diadicta teres* (button-weed), *Mitchella repens* (partridge berry), and *Oldenlandea cœrulea* (bluets). Of the Composite order there are iron-weed (*Vernonia noveboracensis*), *Elephantopus Carolinianus*, *Liatris squarrosa*, *L. spicata*, and *L. dubia*; *Eupatoreum purpureum* (trumpet-weed), *E. tenebrifolium*, *E. rotundifolium*, *E. perfoliatum* (boneset), *E. ageratoides* (white snake-root), *E. aromaticum*; *Mikania scandens*; *Conoclinium celestinum* (moist-flower), *Tussilago farfara*, *Sericocarpus solidageus*, *S. coryzoides*; Aster and starworts, a dozen leading varieties; *Erigeron canadense* (butter-weed), *E. Philadelphicum* (fleabane), *E. annuum* (sweet scabious), *E. strigosus*; *Diplopappus linarifolius*, *D. umbellatus*, and *D. amygdalinus*; *Boltonia asteroides* (Bartram), *Solidago squarrosa* (golden-rod), *S. bicolor*, and fourteen other varieties; *Chrysopsis mariana* (golden aster), *Inula helenium* (elecampagne), *Polymnia Canadensis*; *Iva frutescens*; *Ambrosia trifida* (rag-weed), *A. artemisiifolia* (hogweed), *Xanthium strumarium* (cockle-bur), *X. spinosum*, *Eclipta procumbens*, *Heliopsis lavis* (ox-eye), *Rudbeckia* (cone-flower), four varieties; *Helianthus* (sunflower), five varieties, including *H. tuberosus* (Jerusalem artichoke), and *H. annuus* (garden sunflower); *Coreopsis trichinosperma*, *Bidens frondosa* (beggar-lice), *B. connata*, *B. cernua*, *B. chrysanthemoides*, *B. bipinnata* (Spanish needles); *Helenium autumnale* (sneeze-weed), *Maruta cotula* (Mayweed), *Achillea millefolium* (yarrow, or mill-foil), *Leucanthemum vulgare* (ox-eye daisy), *Matricaria parthenium* (feverfew), *Tanacetum vulgare* (tansy), *Artemisia caudata* (wormwood), *A. vulgaris* (mugwort), *Gnaphalium polycephalum* (everlasting), *G. purpureum* (purple cudweed); *Filago Germanica*, *Erechtites hieracifolia*, *Oxalis atriplicifolia* (plantain), *Senecio aureus* (squat-weed), *Centaurea cyanus* (blue-bottle), *Cirsium* (thistle), seven varieties, including common thistle (*C. lanceolatum*), and Canada thistle (*C. arvense*); *Lappa major* (burdock), *Cichorium intybus* (chicory), *Hieracium scabrum* (hawkweed), *H. Gronovii*, *H. venosum* (rattlesnake-weed), and *H. paniculatum*; *Nababius albus*, *N. altissimus*, *Taraxacum densleonis* (dandelion), *Lactuca elongata* (wild lettuce), *Mulgedium acuminatum*, *Sonchus oleraceus* (sow thistle) and *S. asper*. The Lobelia family have the cardinal flower, the great lobelia (*L. syphilitica*), the *L. inflata* (Indian tobacco), the blue lobelia (*L. spicata*), and *L. Nuttallii*. The Campanulas have the marsh bell-flower, the tall bell-flower, and *Venus' looking-glass*. Of the heaths there are *Gaylussacia frondosa* and *G. resinosa* (the blue and the black huckleberry), *Vaccinium macrocarpon* (cranberry), *V. stamineum* (squaw huckleberry), *V. Pennsylvanicum*,

and *V. racillans*; the *Epigra* (trailing arbutus), *Gaultheria procumbens* (wintergreen teaberry), *Leucothoe racemosa*, *Clethra alnifolia* (white alder), *Kalmia latifolia* (mountain laurel), *K. angustifolia* (sheep laurel), *Azalea viscosa* (swamp honeysuckle), *A. nudiflora* (Pinxter flower), *Pyrola rotundifolia*, *P. elliptica*, *Chinaphila umbellata* (pipsissewa), *C. maculata*, *Monotropa uniflora* (Indian pipe), and *M. hypopitys* (pine-sap). The *Aquifoliaceæ* or Holly family give specimens (but infrequent) of *Ilex opaca* (American holly), and *I. verticillata* (black alder). The Ebony family is represented by *Diospyros Virginiana* (persimmon); the plantains by *Plantago major*, *P. lanceolata*, and *P. virginica*; the primulas (primroses) by *Dodecatheon Meadia* (American cow-slip), *Lysimachia stricta* (loose-strife), *L. quadrifolia* and *L. ciliata*, and the pimpernel (*Anagallis arvensis*). There is one bladderwort, *Utricularia vulgaris*; and one hignonla, the catalpa. The *Orobanchaceæ* have *Epiphegus Virginiana* (beech-drop), *Conopholis Americana* (cancer-root), and *Aphyllon urciflorum*. The *Scrophulariaceæ* have the common mullein, the moth mullein, the toad-flax (*Linaria Canadensis* and *L. vulgaris*, "butter-and-eggs"), *Scrophularia nodosa*, *Cheleone glabra* (turtle-head), *Mimulus alatus* and *M. ringens* (the monkey-flower), *Hemianthus micranthemoides*, *Veronica* (speedwells, seven varieties), *Buchnara Americana*, *Gerardia* (five sorts), *Castilleja coccinea* (scarlet painted cup), *Pedicularis Canadensis* (wood betony), *P. lanceolata*. The verbenas have *V. hastata* (blue vervain) and the white variety. The *Labiata*, or Mint family, are represented by the wood-sage or American germander, spearmint (*Mentha viridis*), peppermint and wild mint (*M. Canadensis*); *Lycopus Virginicus* (bugle-weed), *Cunila mariana* (dittany), *Pycnanthemum incanum* (basil), and five other sorts, *Origanum vulgare* (horse-mint or wild marjoram), *Thymus serpyllum*, *T. vulgaris* (thyme), *Melissa officinalis* (balm), *Hedeoma pulegioides* (pennyroyal), *Cottinsonia Canadensis* (rich-weed, horse-balm), *Salvia lyrata* and *S. officinalis* (sage); the fine flowering sages are from South America; *Monarda fistulosa* (wild bergamot), *Lophanthus* (hyssop), two sorts; *Nepeta cataria* (catnip) and *N. glechoma* (ground ivy); *Scutellaria* (skull-cap), six sorts; *Marrubium vulgare* (horehound), *Leonurus cardiaca* (motherwort). The Borage family have *Echium vulgare*, *Oenothera Virginianum*, *Lithospermum arvense* (common gromwell), *Myosotis palustris* (forget-me-not), *Cynoglossum officinale* (hound's tongue), *C. Virginicum*, *C. Morisoni* (beggar's lice); of the Water-leaf family (*Hydrophyllaceæ*) there are two sorts besides the *Ellisia nyctelea* and the *Phacelia parvifolia*; of the *Polemoniaceæ*, *Polemonia reptans* (Jacob's ladder) and *Phlox maculata* (wild sweet-william), *P. pilosa* and *P. subulata*, with *Pyridanthera barbulata*. Of the *Convulvulus* family, *Ipomea purpurea* (morning-glory), *I. pandurata*, *Convulvulus arvensis* (bindweed), *Cuscuta Gronovii* (dodder). The Nightshade family have *Solanum dulcanara* (bitter-sweet), *S. nigrum*

(nightshade), *S. Carolinense* (horse-nettle); *Physalis pubescens* and *viscosa* (ground cherry), *Datura stramonium* (jimson-weed); the *Solanum tuberosum* (potato), *S. melongena* (egg-plant), *Lycopersicum esculentum* (tomato), *Atropa belladonna* (deadly nightshade), *Nicotiana tabacum* and *Capicum annuum* (red pepper, Cayenne) are all allied to this family and all naturalized in Philadelphia County. The Gentian family gives the centaury, fringed gentian, *Gentiana saponaria* (soapwort gentian), *G. Andrewsii* (closed gentian), *Bartonia tenella*, and *Obolaria Virginica*; the family of *Apocynaceæ* gives the spreading dogbane and the Indian hemp (*Apocynum Cannabinum*). The Milkweed order yields *Asclepias cornuti* (common milkweed) and ten other varieties; the Olive family yields privet, fringe-tree (*Chionanthus Virginica*), white-ash, red-ash, and black or elder-leaved ash. There are two sorts of *Aristolochiaceæ*, the asarabacca (wild ginger) and *Aristolochia serpentaria* (Virginia snake-root). The poke-weed family have *Phytolacca decandea* (common poke); the Goosefoot family, *Chenopodium album* (lamb's quarters), *C. ambrosioides* (Mexican tea worm-seed); the amaranth, *Amaranthus albus*, *A. hybridus* (pig-weed), *A. spinosus*—prince's feather ("love lies bleeding"), is of this family—and *Acnida Cannabina*. The Buckwheat family has *Polygonum orientale*, *P. Pennsylvanicum*, *P. persicaria* (lady's thumb), and ten other sorts; *Fagopyrum esculentum* (buckwheat), *Rumex* (water-dock), four varieties, *R. acetosella* (sheep-sorrel), *Rheum raphaniticum* (pie-plant); of the *Lauraceæ* there are sassafras and benzoin (spice-wood); of the *Meze-reums*, the *Direa palustris*; of the *Santalaceæ*, the *Commandra umbellata*; of the mistletoes, *Phoradendron flavescens*. There are besides the *Saururus cernuus*, the *Ceratophyllum demersum*, *Callitriche verna*, *Podostemon ceratophyllum*, *Euphorbia corollata* (spurge), *E. maculata*, and *E. hypericifolia*, and the *Acalypha gracilens*. Of the *Urticaceæ* or Nettle family there are *Urtica fulva* (slippery elm), *U. Americana* (native elm), *Celtis occidentalis* (hackberry), *Morus rubra* (red mulberry), *M. alba*, *M. papyrifera*, *Maclura aurantiaca* (osage orange, naturalized), *Urtica dioica* (stinging nettle), *Laportea Canadensis*, *Pilea pumila* (richweed), *Parietaria Pennsylvanica* (pellitory), *Cannabis sativa* (hemp), *Humulus lupulus* (hop). Of the Plane-tree family, *Platanus occidentalis* (the sycamore or buttonwood-tree); of the walnuts, *Juglans cinerea* and *J. nigra* (butternut and black-walnut), *Carya alba* (shellbark), *C. sulcata* (hickory-nut), *C. tomentosa* and *C. microcarpa* (hickories), *C. glabra* (pig-nut hickory), *C. amara* (swamp hickory). Of the Oak family (*Cupuliferæ*) there are found in Philadelphia the *Quercus obtusiloba* (post-oak), *Q. alba* (white-oak), swamp chestnut-oak, swamp white-oak, yellow chestnut-oak, chinquapin-oak, willow-oak, laurel-oak, black-jack, scrub-oak (*Q. ilicifolia*), Spanish oak, pin-oak, quercitron-oak (*Q. tinctoria*), scarlet-oak, red-oak, the chestnut, chinquapin, beech, hazel-nut, and horn-beam or ironwood. Of the *Myricaceæ* are the wax-myrtle (bayberry) and the sweet fern; of the

Birches, *Betula nigra* (red-birch), and *Alnus serrulata* (smooth alder); of the Willow family (*Salicaceæ*), there are the *Salix tristis* (dwarf gray-willow), the low bush, weeping, basket, or osier, silky-leaved, petiolate, black, white, and brittle willows; the quivering aspen, large-toothed aspen, Athenian, Lombardy, and silver poplar (naturalized since 1785), and the *Populus candidans* (Balm of Gilead). Of the *Coniferæ*, there are *Pinus inops* (Jersey pine), *P. rigida* (pitch-pine), *P. strobus* (white-pine), *Abies Canadensis* (hemlock-spruce), *Thuja occidentalis* (American arbutus), *Cupressus thyoides* (white-cedar), and the *Juniperus communis* and *Virginiana* (savin). Of the *Arum* family there are *Arisema triphyllum* (Indian turnip), and *Dracontium*, the skunk-cabbage, the golden-club, and the *Calamus* or sweet-flag; of the Cat-tails, *Typha latifolia*, *Sparganium simplex*, and *S. ramosum*; of the Duck-weeds, *Lemna minor* and *L. polyrrhiza*; of the Pond-weeds (*Naiadaceæ*), *Najas flexilis*, *Ruppia maritima*, *Potamogeton natans*, *P. perfoliatum*, *P. lucens*, etc.; of the *Alismaceæ*, *Alisma plantago*, *Sagittaria variabilis*; of the Frog-bits, *Anacharsis Canadensis* and *Vallisneria spiralis* (eel-grass); of the Orchid family, *Orchis spectabilis*, *Gymnadenia tridentata* and *flava*, five sorts of *Plantathera*, *Goodyera pubescens*, *Spiranthes gracilis* and *cervua*; three sorts of *Pogonia*, *Calopogon pulchellus*, *Myurostylis ophioglossoides*, *Liparis lilifolia*, *Corallorhiza*, three varieties; *Aplectrum hyemale* (Adam-and-Eve), *Cypripedium pubescens*, and *acale* (lady's slipper). Of the Amaryllises, there is *Hypoxys erecta* (star-grass); of the Bloodworts, *Aletis farinosa*; of the Irises, the blue flag and fleur-de-luce, the Bermuda grass, the crocus, blackberry lily, and tiger-flower; of the Yams, *Dioscorea villosa*; of the Smilaxes, *S. rotundifolia* (greenbrier), *S. glauca*, and *S. herbacea* (carrion-flower); *Trillium cernuum* (wake-robin), and *Maclea Virginica* (Indian cucumber). Of the Lily family there are *Asparagus officinalis*, *Polygonatum giganteum* (Solomon's seal), *Smilacina racemosa*, *S. Canadensis*, *Convallaria majalis* (lily of the valley), day-lily, Star-of-Bethlehem, wild leek, field garlic, meadow garlic, *Lilium Philadelphicum*, *L. Canadense*, *L. superbum* (Turk's cap), *Erythronium Americanum*; of the Colchicum family, there are the bellwort, the bunch-flower, the white hellebore, the *Anianthium muscotoxicum*, the *Chamaelirium luteum*, and *Tofieldia pubens*. Of the Rush family, *Juncus effusus* (common rush), and six others; of the *Pontederiaceæ*, *Pontederia cordata*, the mud-plantain, and the water star-grass; of the Spiderworts, *Commelyna Virginica* and *Tradescantia Virginica*; of the *Xyridaceæ*, *Xyris Caroliniana*; of the Pipeworts, *Eriocaulon gnaphalodes*. The Sedges are represented by five varieties of *Cyperus*, seven of *Scirpus*, five of *Fimbristylis*, thirty-three of *Carex*, besides *Dulichium spathaceum*, *Eleocharis obtusa*, *E. tenuis*, and *E. acicularis*, and *Eriophorum Virginicum*; *Cyperus rotundus* is nut-grass; the *carex* do not vary much in appearance, though the catalogue of their varieties in Gray's Manual occupies nearly thirty pages. Of

the family of *Gramineæ*, or grasses, Philadelphia was the habitat of a great many genera and species; there were two *Leersia*, three *Agrostes*, five *Muhlenbergia*, five *Poa*, three sorts of *Elymus*, fifteen of *Panicum*, and three of *Andropogon*; among these were rice-grass, fly-catch, water-oats, meadow fox-tail, timothy, drop-seed grass, bent-grass, thin-grass, orchard-grass, herd-grass, poverty-grass, blue-grass, green-grass, cheat, wild-oats, bur-grass, red-top, nimble will, hair-grass, joint-grass, rattlesnake-grass, spear-grass, wire-grass, meadow fescue, darnel, couch-grass, wild-rye, sweet-scented vernal grass, millet, bottle-grass, sesame, and broom-corn.

Of the animals, birds, and fishes, the reptiles and insects of Philadelphia, the old writers make much mention, but it is still rather of a confused sort. Penn dwells upon the elk and deer, the bears, beavers, raccoons, rabbits, and squirrels, the turkeys, pheasants, pigeons, and partridges, and the water-fowl. The abundance of fish struck him, and he frequently commented upon them. Gabriel Thomas names "swans, duck, teal, geese, divers, brands, snipe, curlew, eagles, Turkeys (of Forty or Fifty Pound Weight), Pheasants, Partridges, Pigeons, Heathbirds, Blackbirds, and the strange and remarkable fowl called (in these parts) the Mocking-Bird, that Imitates all sorts of Birds in their various Notes. And for Fish, there are prodigious quantities of most sorts, viz.: Shadd, Cat-Heads, Sheep-Heads, Herrings, Smelts, Roach, Eels, Perch. As also the large sort of Fish, as Whales (of which a great deal of Oyl is made), Salmon, Trout, Sturgeon, Rock, Oysters (some six Inches long), Crabs, Cockles (some as big as Stewing Oysters, of which are made a Choice souper or Broth), Canok, and Mussels, with many other sorts of fish, which would be too tedious to insert. There are several sorts of wild Beasts of great Profit, and good Food, viz.: Panthers, Wolves, Fitchow, Deer, Beaver, Otter, Hares, Musk-Rats, Minks, Wild Cats, Foxes, Raccoons, Rabbits, and that strange creature, the *Possum*, she having a false Belly to swallow her Young ones, by which means she preserveth them from danger when anything comes to disturb them. There are also Bears, some Wolves, are pretty well destroyed by the Indians for the sake of the Reward given them by the Christian for that service. Here is also that Remarkable Creature, the Flying Squirrel, having a kind of Skinny Wings, almost like those of the Batt, though it hath the like Hair and Colour of the Common Squirrel, but is much less in Bodily Substance. I have (myself) seen it fly from one Tree to another in the Woods, but how long it can maintain its Flight is not yet exactly known. There are in the Woods abundance of Red Deer (vulgarly called Stags), for I have bought of an Indian a whole Buck (both Skin and Carcass) for two Gills of Gunpowder. There are vast Numbers of other Wild Creatures, as Elk, Buffaloes, etc., all which, as well Beasts, Fowl, and Fish, are free and common to any Person who can shoot or take them, without any lett, hinderance, or

opposition whatsoever. There are among other various sorts of Frogs, the Bull-Frog, which makes a roaring noise, hardly to be distinguished from that well known of the Beast from whom it takes its Name. There is another sort of Frog that crawls up to the tops of Trees, there seeming to imitate the Notes of several Birds, with many other strange and various Creatures, which would take up too much room here to mention." Campanius mentions tortoises, sturgeons, and whales. The rattlesnake, he says, has a head like a dog, "and can bite a man's leg off as clear as if it had been hewn down with an axe." The "sea-spiders" (king crab) are "as large as tortoises, and like them have houses over them of a kind of yellow horn. They have many feet, and their tails are half an ell long, and made like a three-edged saw, with which the hardest trees may be sawed down." The "tarn-fish" has no head, and is like a smooth rope, one-quarter of a yard in length and four fingers thick, and somewhat bowed in the middle. At each of the four corners there runs out a small bowel three yards long and as thick as coarse twine. "With two of these bowels they suck in their food, and with the other two eject it from them" (a sort of medusa, probably). There is also a devil-fish, called by the Indians "manitto," which plunges deep in the water and spouts like a whale.

That whales once frequented the Delaware does not admit of question. De Vries established the colony at Swaanendael as a *point d'appui* for the whale fishery; Vanderdonck says these mammals were frequently stranded on the shores and captured by Indians and settlers; Lambrechtsen mentions cod, tunny, and whale as among the fish of the North and South Rivers; Du Simitière's manuscripts contain an account of a whale that came up to Philadelphia. It will be noticed that Thomas mentions buffaloes as among the animals of Eastern Pennsylvania; the same thing is done by the author of the so-called "Plantagenet's Albion" pamphlet, and by Vanderdonck, the latter saying that "the buffaloes keep towards the southwest, where few people go." It has been said very positively that the American bison never came east of the Allegheny Mountains, and the general silence of early naturalists on the subject seems to make the statement probable. But the cause assigned, that the bison, a prairie animal, avoids mountains, is no longer admissible, for we now know that he hides in the deepest valleys of the Rocky Mountains, and climbs cliffs as daringly as he storms the snow-drifts. Besides, the bison could easily have passed round the mountains by way of the northern lakes, descending the Hudson, Delaware, and Susquehanna. The animal's frequenting-place was doubtless the treeless plains; but he may have easily come to visit, though not to stay, in the East. Evidently the Delaware Indians knew of the beast; they had a name for him (*Sinsilie*), and they called one of the branches of the Allegheny River

Sinsilie Hanna, "the stream where the buffaloes resort." The city of Buffalo, on Lake Erie, would seem to have its name from the resort of these animals, and there are four townships and one town called Buffalo in Pennsylvania. One Buffalo Creek, in this State, empties into the Juniata; another into the Susquehanna, both east of the Alleghenies; the name is also found in North Carolina, Georgia, and Maryland, at points east of the mountains. This is positive evidence, so far as the names of places go, in favor of eastern migrations of the bison; the non-mention of the animal by early writers is negative evidence against such migrations.

It is not necessary to present a full account of the zoology of Philadelphia County. Dr. Michener, B. H. Warren, Prof. Cope, Alexander Wilson, Spencer F. Baird, John Cassin, Dr. Joseph Thomas, Mr. Brewer, Mr. Barnard, etc., have collected all the information on the subject that is desirable, and a hundred times more than can be used here. Of the insectivora there are several bats, five shrews, and two moles, which are named; of the carnivora there are the panther, (*Felis concolor*), *Lynx rufus* (American wildcat), *L. Canadensis*; the American wolf, red fox, gray fox, weasels (three sorts), the mink, the ferret, the otter, the skunk, the raccoon, and the black bear. Of the marsupials, only the opossum; of the rodents, the squirrel family, including the cat, gray, red, black, and flying squirrels, the ground-squirrel or chipmunk, and the ground-hog or American marmot; of the *muridae* or rat family, there were the beaver, the musk-rat, the jumping mouse, the black and brown rats, the wood-rat, the house-mouse, field-mouse, meadow-mouse, and upland meadow mouse; of the porcupine family there was the American hedgehog; of the rabbits, two, the white and the gray. Of ruminants, the elk, the red deer, the buffalo (besides domesticated animals), the horse, and (among fossils near by in Chester County and in New Jersey) the *Elephas primigenius* and the mastodon. Among the birds Dr. Michener and Mr. Barnard have recognized two hundred species as belonging to the vicinity of Philadelphia, of which nearly a fourth might still be found. The vultures are represented by the turkey-buzzard; the falcons or hawks by the duck-hawk, the pigeon-hawk, the sparrow-hawk, the goshawk, and seven other species, the kite, the marsh-hawk, the golden and the white-headed eagle, and the fish-hawk. The owls have the barn-owl, the great horned owl, the screech, the long-eared, the short-eared, the barred, "saw-whet," and snowy owls; the cuckoos have two varieties; the woodpeckers eight varieties; the humming-birds have only one sort; there are five varieties of swallows; the whip-poor-will and shrike, or night-hawk, are common, and there are the king-fisher and the king-bird. There are eight sorts of fly-catchers, including the pewee; six varieties of the thrush, including the robin and the wood and hermit thrush; two kinds of wren, the blue-bird, the

titlark and the black and white creeper, the yellow-throat, the redstart, and the three water thrushes (*sciurus*). Of the warblers twenty-four varieties have been specified; of the vireos and fly-catchers twelve varieties; the butcher-bird and the mocking-bird were much more frequent in former times, but the cat-bird holds its own, though the brown thrush (*Mimus rufus*) is getting scarce. The marsh wren is common, but not so the other *thyrothori*. The gray creeper, the nut-hatcher, the titmouses and chickadees, the larks, tanagers, red-birds, grosbeaks are common; of the finches and cross-bills several varieties are named; there are thirteen named sorts of sparrows, four grosbeaks, two orioles, two black-birds, two sorts of crows; the jay, turtle-dove, wild pigeon, pheasant, partridge; twelve cranes, herons, bitterns, and ibises; three sorts of the plover; the kildeer, phalarope, woodcock; fifteen species of snipe, sand-pipers, etc., and seven or eight sorts of rail, curlew, and marsh-hen. The coot, swan, wild-goose, brant, and loon used to be very abundant on the Delaware—now scarce; the mallard, black duck, sprig-tail, teal, shoveler, summer duck, scaup, canvas-back, red-head, buffel-head, spine-tail, shell-drake, merganser are still shot, and in winter the Delaware is still frequented by five or six varieties of gulls and three sorts of grebes.

The reptiles of Philadelphia were never very formidable, but still, numerous. Sixteen varieties of salamander are catalogued, and eleven toads and frogs, including all the *Bufo*idæ, *Hylidæ*, and *Ranidæ*. Of the ophidians, two were venomous,—the banded rattlesnake (*Crotalus horridus*) and the copperhead. The other snakes were the worm snake, ring snake, chain snake, house snake, grass snake, black snake, garter snake, ribbon snake, yellow-bellied snake, water snake, and spotted and black viper. There was but one lizard, but nine tortoises, including the snappers.

The fish include ten varieties of perch (with the pike), four darters, a miller's thumb, a stickleback, a gar, trout, salmon, a dozen chubs, dace, shiners, etc., in the small streams; seven or eight mullets or suckers, six sorts of cat-fish, one variety of eel, two of sturgeon, three lampreys, etc. Of the mollusca there is no end of slugs and snails, *pupadæ*, etc., eighty-six varieties being catalogued, thirty or forty sorts of mussels and pectino-branchiates, and this is in addition to the salt-water shell-fish.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIANS.

WHEN Henry Hudson, in 1609, after having examined and sounded the entrance to Delaware Bay, entered and explored New York Bay and the North or Hudson River, he encountered the natives of the country, who called themselves Mohegans or Mohe-

canne. These savages had never seen white men; but after the first surprise and wonder, they met the strangers with the utmost confidence, and made a graceful display of their inexhaustible, generous hospitality, bestowing presents and spreading before the new-comers the choicest treasures of their little store. This visit of Hudson's seems to have made an indelible impression upon the Indians. The incident was handed down in vivid traditions from generation to generation, and Heckewelder heard an account of it from the Pennsylvania Indians, among whom he was doing his gentle duties as a missionary. The ship was mistaken for a supernatural visitant, and its captain and crew were esteemed as being far superior to earthly men. The simple natives fancied themselves blessed with the presence of some great Manitou, and they did their utmost to honor the occasion and propitiate the powerful strangers, whose house had white wings and at whose command were the resources of the elements, the lightning and the thunder. The Indians put on their gala-day costumes and bravest paint, brought out their fetishes and amulets, and prepared a sacrifice, a feast, and a dance. Hudson, *deus ex machinâ*, not to be outdone, met the natives in ceremonious state, furnished them with draughts of nectar,—in this case it was true Holland schnapps, poured forth from a junk-bottle, "fire-water," as the deluded savages most appropriately denominated it,—and made them drunk after the ancient English fashion. It is a point in the unconscious satire of history that the Indians of the temperate zone of North America were not sufficiently "civilized" to have discovered the means of intoxicating themselves by the manufacture of fermented or distilled liquors. The Mexicans had their pulque, the South American Indians their cushaw beer and wine, the Mobilians their "black drink," the Peruvians their coca and probably their "pisco" also, but the Algonkins and their kindred had no other drink but water, and their sole stimulant was tobacco, in the fumes of which they quieted their brains after the fullness of the banquet, or when the excitement of the chase or the war-path was over. This tobacco, and their bronze and clay pipes, handsomely ornamented, the Indians put at the service of their visitors, and it may be remarked, in proof of the universal reciprocity of service in exchanges, that if the whites taught the Indians the use of rum and introduced the smallpox among them, the Indians in return have taught the whole world, civilized and uncivilized, how to smoke tobacco.

The Indians who received Hudson were of the same nation as those who dwelt upon both sides of the Delaware Bay and River. They called themselves Lenni Lenape, or Renni Renappi, a name said to signify the "original people" or its equivalent.¹ The river upon

¹ There is some doubt as to whether Lenni Lenape is to be taken as meaning autochthones in an abstract sense, or whether it means, in a personal way, the boast that "we are the people," the men *par excellence*.

whose banks some of them dwelt they called after their own name, Lenape Wihittuck, Lenape River, and when the English decided that the name of the river should be Delaware they translated the Indian generic title into Delaware also, and so the tribe are called Delawares to this day. Between Hudson's voyage and the beginning of the eighteenth century there is frequent contemporary mention of the Lenape Indians and their kinsmen, the Nanticokes, and their neighbors, the Mengwes, Minquas, or Mingoes, who were known in Maryland as the Susquehannas, and whose remnant afterwards became known in Pennsylvania as the Conestogas. Capt. Cornelis Hendrickson, who explored part of the Delaware in 1615-16 in a small yacht built by Capt. Block in New York Harbor to replace his vessel which had been burned,¹ reported having met and traded with the Minquas, from whose bonds he redeemed three prisoners belonging to the Dutch trading company at Fort Nassau, up the Hudson. It is probable that Hendrickson encountered these natives at Christina or Upland Creek. His intercourse with them was the beginning of the Delaware River fur trade.

In 1623, Capt. Cornelis Jacobson Mey built Fort Nassau on the east side of the Delaware River, just below where Philadelphia now stands. Mey was agent for the Dutch West India Company, and the fort was intended as a trading-post. It was alternately occupied or deserted as trade demands required. In 1633, De Vries found the Indians in possession of it. De Vries himself, acting for some members of the Dutch Company, had bought from the Indians bodies of land on both sides of Delaware Bay near the ocean, and in 1630 a colony was planted under his direction at the Horekills or Lewes Creek, in Lower Delaware, and called Swaanendael, or Swanvale, a house being built and surrounded with palisades, to which the name of "Fort Oplandt" was given. In spite of the land purchase the garrison of this fort got into trouble with the Indians, and the entire party, some thirty men, were massacred. This land at Swaanendael was bought by Hossett and Hëysen, the commissary and captain of the expedition organized by De Vries, on May 5, 1631, from Sannoowouns, Wiewit, Pemhacke, Mekowetick, Teehepewwya, Mathamen, Sacoock, Anchoopoen, Janquens, and Pokahake, who were either Lenape or Nanticoke Indians. De Vries, humane as he was intelligent, saw at once on his return to the Delaware that the massacre at Fort Oplandt was provoked by some act of the garrison or its commander. He did not care to investigate too closely a deed which was irreparable, and which he was assured in his own consciousness must have originated in some brutality or debauchery of his own people, so he simply called the Indians together and made a treaty of peace with them, sealing it with presents.²

At the time of De Vries' plantation, and his expedition afterwards in 1633 up the Delaware, the Minquas appear to have been at war with the Lenapes on the other side of the river, and this may in part explain the hostile attitude in which the navigator found the Indians at several points. This fact will also explain the readiness of the sachems of New Jersey in that year to sell to Arent Corssen the land on the west side of the river on which Fort Beversrede was afterwards erected. In 1638 the Swedes came to the Delaware, and having established themselves at Christina and subsequently at other points, began an active and intimate trade with the Indians for furs. They too bought the land which they occupied, and appear to have lived with the savages on very familiar terms, for we find that they supplied interpreters for many years, supplanted the Dutch in the fur trade, and annually visited the Minquas in their strongholds in Cecil County and on the Susquehanna. When the Iroquois came to attack the Susquehannocks in their castle in 1662, they were baffled by a regular fort, constructed in European style by Swedish engineers, with bastions and mounted cannon.³ The Swedish Governors appear to have understood how to conciliate the Indians effectively, and were much preferred to the Dutch. The natives aided Pappegoya to put on shore the last party of Swedish immigrants who arrived in the Delaware after the subjugation of the colony by Stuyvesant. The instructions by Queen Christina's government to both Printz and Risingh were very minute in their injunction of friendliness and good conduct to the Indians.

De Laet, the contemporary Dutch historian, who was also one of the directors of the Dutch West India Company, and one of the patrons for whom De Vries purchased Indian titles on the Delaware, names some of the Indian bands in that section in his volume, *Novus Orbis*. Campanius states that the Swedes in his time had no intercourse except with "the black and white Mengwes," and he holds that the Lenapes were cannibals, in proof of which he adduces a story which is fully as authentic as his account of the rattlesnake. This author also speaks of

sacre of Hossett and his men to "mere jangling with the Indians" (in his interesting journals), and he himself had experience of Indian loyalty and kindness when kindly treated. The suggestion of debauchery grows out of the name given by the Dutch to Lewes Creek, which, says Smith, the historian of New Jersey, on the authority of a manuscript in the British Museum giving a Swedish account of the early settlements on the Delaware, "had its rise from the liberality of the Indians for lavishly prostituting, especially at that place, their maidens and daughters to our Hollanders." Hossett's party had no women with them, and it will be remembered that one of the earliest complaints of the Delawares to Penn's government was founded upon the charge that a settler's servants had made the males drunk and then debauched their wives. The complaisance which, according to Cadwallader Golden, the Indians extended to the whites on their first arrival might easily become a grave indignity when the whites were discovered to be no longer superior beings, but men like themselves. To meet with Amphitryons visitors must not cease to be Jupiters.

³ Parkman, "Jesuits in North America," p. 442.

¹ See next chapter.

² De Vries had witnessed with extreme disgust the cruelty and bad faith of the whites in their dealings with the Indians. He attributed the mas-

the broad faces, flat noses, large lips, and square teeth of the savages, adding that they often had their heads artificially flattened in infancy. The warriors sometimes wore necklaces made of thumbs of their enemies cut off after battle; the Indians (again Campanius is responsible) ate just when they happened to be hungry; they wore head-dresses of feathers and snake-skins, and fed upon bear's meat, venison, birds, fish, and maize, either in the shape of hominy or pone. When they traveled they mixed their cakes with tobacco juice to quench thirst. They painted their bodies with river mud or ochreous clays, and made no use of salt except as an antidote to epilepsy. In short, Campanius is utterly untrustworthy as an observer, although he is sensational enough as a *raconteur*. De Laet says the earth was their table as well as their bed,—"humo strati, aut super storeas junceas, somnum pariter atque cibum capiunt,"—while Campanius (giving Pastorius as his authority, however) absurdly makes them out as being such churls as to mount and sit cross-legged upon tables in Christian houses to which they were asked; they never, in fact, sitting cross-legged under any circumstances. We learn from De Vries that the Indians used the reed-pipe as a musical instrument, and Penn mentions the tambourine. De Laet seems to suppose that they had no religion. "*Nullus ipsis religionis sensus, nulla Dei veneratio*," he says, a singular misconception. George Alsop, in his little tract called "A Character of the Province of Maryland" (London, 1666), devotes a chapter to "A Relation of the Customs, Manners, Absurdities, and Religion of the Susquehannock Indians in and near Maryland." These were the Mengwes of Campanius, and the Susquehannoughs of Capt. Smith. Alsop says they are regarded as "the most Noble and Heroick Nation of Indians that dwell upon the confines of America; also are so allowed and lookt upon by the rest of the Indians, by a submission and tributary acknowledgment, being a people cast into the mould of a most large and warlike deportment, the men being for the most part seven foot high in altitude and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch; their voyce large and hollow, as ascending out of a Cave, their gait and behavior straight, steady, and majestic, treading on the Earth with as much pride, contempt, and disdain to so sordid a Centre as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same mould and Earth." They go naked summer and winter, says Alsop, "only where shame leads them by a natural instinct to be reserv'dly modest, there they become cover'd. The formality of Jezabel's artificial Glory is much courted and followed by these Indians, only in matter of colours (I conceive) they differ." They paint their faces in alternate streaks of different colors, and Alsop thinks, with other early writers, that their skins are naturally white but changed to red and cinnamon-brown by the use of pigments. Their hair is "black, long, and harsh," and they do

not permit it to grow anywhere except upon the head. The Susquehannas tattooed their arms and breasts with their different totems, "the picture of the Devil, Bears, Tigers, and Panthers," says Alsop. They are great warriors, always at war, and keep their neighbors in subjection. Their government is complex and hard to make out; "all that ever I could observe in them as to this matter is, that he that is most cruelly Valorous is accounted the most Noble," which is a very good approximation of the fact that the war-chief derives his rank or influence from his deeds. Our author adds that "when they determine to go upon some Design that will and doth require a consideration, some six of them get into a Corner and sit in Juncto, and if thought fit their business is made popular and immediately put in action; if not, they make a full stop to it, and are silently reserv'd." On the war-path they paint and adorn their persons, first well greased; their arms, the hatchet and fusil, or bow and arrows. Their war parties are small; they march out from their fort singing and whooping; if they take prisoners they treat them well, but dress them and anoint them so that they may be ready for the stake and torture when their captors return home. Alsop gives a full account of the process of torture, and declares that prisoners are hacked to pieces and eaten by the warriors. The religion of the Susquehannas Alsop regarded as an absurd and degrading superstition, they being devil-worshippers; but he admits that, "with a kind of wilde imaginary conjecture, they suppose from their groundless conceits that the World had a Maker." They sacrifice a child to the devil every four years, and their medicine men have great influence among them. Their dead are buried sitting, face due west, and all their weapons, etc., around them. The houses of the Susquehannas "are low and long, built with the bark of trees arch-wise, standing thick and confusedly together." The hunters go on long winter hunts; the women are the menials and drudges, and yet they are commended for their beauty of form, and their husbands are said to be very constant to them. "Their marriages," says Alsop, in conclusion, "are short and authentic; for after 'tis resolv'd upon by both parties, the Woman sends her intended Husband a kettle of boild Venison, or Bear, and he returns in lieu thereof Beaver or Otter Skins, and so their Nuptial Rites are concluded without other Ceremony."

What has been quoted above serves rather to prove how difficult it is to extract from contemporary writers a clear account of the Indians than to furnish an illustration of their actual situation and character. Nor do we get the satisfactory narratives we should expect from observers like Penn and Gabriel Thomas and Thomas Budd, though they must have seen the Indians often, face to face, in their homes and in the wigwags likewise. It is greatly to be regretted that a keen observer and judge of men like James Logan did not write the history of the

Delaware Indians, whom he knew so long and so intimately. As it is, the best account of these Indians which is to be found anywhere is a fragmentary sketch, only a few pages, by Charles Thomson, the secretary to the Continental Congress. This brief paper, which breaks off in the middle of a sentence,

is yet sufficient to explain to us why both whites and Indians dignified Thomson as the very incarnation of unadulterated truth, and add to the regret which all must feel that this eminent



nent patriot and civilian should have shrunk from writing the history of those great events in which he bore so large and yet so nebulous a part. We will presently speak further of this paper of Thomson's, which has been published among the memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Budd, who arrived in Burlington, N. J., as early as 1668, and had many opportunities to see and study the Indians, said of them, "The Indians told us in a conference at Burlington, shortly after we came into the country, they were advised to make war on us and cut us off while we were but few, for that we sold them the smallpox with the match-coats they had bought of us, which caused our people to be in fears and jealousies concerning them; therefore, we sent for the Indian kings to speak with them. . . . One

of them, in behalf of the rest, made the following speech in answer:

"Our young men may speak such words as we do not like nor approve of, and we cannot help that, and some of your young men may speak such words as you do not like, and you cannot help that. We are your brothers, and intend to live like brothers with you; we have no mind to have war, for when we have war we are only skin and bones, the meat that we eat doth not do us good; we always are in fear, we have not the benefit of the sun to shine on us, we hide us in holes and corners; we are minded to live in peace. If we intend at any time to make war we will let you know of it, and the reasons why we make war with you; and if you make us satisfaction for the injury done us, for which the war was intended, then we will not make war on you; and if you intend at any time to make war on us, we would have you let us know of it and the reason, and then if we do not make satisfaction for the injury done unto you, then you may make war on us, otherwise you ought not to do it; you are our brothers, and we are willing to live like brothers with you; we are willing to have a broad path for you and us to walk in, and if an Indian is asleep in this path the Englishman shall pass by and do him no harm; and if an Englishman is asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass him by and say, 'He is an Englishman, he is asleep; let him alone, he loves to sleep.' . . ."

Budd adds that

"The Indians have been very serviceable to us by selling us venison, Indian corn, peas and beans, fish and fowl, buck-skins, beaver, otter, and other skins and furs; the men hunt fish, and fowl, and the women plant the corn and carry burthens. There are many of them of a good understanding considering their education, and in their public meetings of business they have excellent order, one speaking after another, and while one is speaking all the rest keep silent, and do not so much as whisper to one another; we had several meetings with them. . . . The kings sat on a form, and we on another over against them; they had prepared four belts of wampum (so their current money is called, being black and white beads made of a fish-shell) to give us as seals of the covenant they made with us; one of the kings, by the consent and appointment of the rest, stood up and spoke."

William Penn, in his letter to the Free Society of Traders, written in 1683, has discoursed copiously about the Delaware Indians. It was not until his second visit, in 1699, that he became much acquainted with other tribes. In a letter of prior date to the one just spoken of, written to Henry Savell, from Philadelphia, 30th of Fifth month, 1683, the proprietary says,—

"The natives are proper and shapely, very swift, their language lofty. They speak little, but fervently and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without ^{y^e} help—I was going to say ^{y^e} spoyle—of tradition. The worst is that they are ^{y^e} w^ors for ^{y^e} Christians who have propagated their views and yielded them tradition for ^{y^e} w^ors & not for ^{y^e} better things, they believe a Diety and Immortality without ^{y^e} help of metaphysics & some of them admirably sober, though ^{y^e} Dutch & Sweed and English have by Brandy and Rum almost Debaucht ^{y^e} all and when Drunk ^{y^e} most wretched of spectacles, often burning & sometimes murdering one another, at which times ^{y^e} Christians are not without danger as well as fear. Tho' for gain they will run the hazard both of ^{y^e} and ^{y^e} Law, they make their worship to consist of two parts, sacrifices ^{w^h} they offer of their first fruits with marvellous fervency and labour of holy sweating as if in a bath, the other is their Canticoes, as they call them, ^{w^h} is performed by round Dances, sometimes words, then songs, then shouts, two being in ^{y^e} middle ^{y^e} begin and direct ^{y^e} chorus; this they performe with equal fervency but great appearances of joy.¹ In this I admire them, nobody shall want ^{w^h} an-

¹ Penn appears particularly anxious to show here and in his letter to the Society of Free Traders that the songs (or Canticoes, as he calls them) and dances of the Indians, which he enjoyed heartily, were purely religious in their character,—acts of exalted spiritual fervor. In fact, he

other has, yett they have propriety (property) but freely communicable, they want or care for little, no Bills of Exchange nor Bills of Lading, no Chancery suits nor Exchequer Acct. have they to perplex themselves with, they are soon satisfied, and their pleasure feeds them,—I mean hunting and fishing."¹

This letter is made much more full in the one to the Free Society of Traders, written in August of the same year. The natives, Penn says, are generally tall, straight in their person,—

"well built, and of singular proportion [i.e., of symmetry]; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with lofty chin.² Of complexion black, but by design, as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified, and using no defence against sun and weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is livid and black, not unlike a straight-looking Jew. The thick lips and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both sexes, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in signification full. Like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs; for instance, Octokekon, Rancocas, Oricton, Shak, Marian, Poquesian, all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *amua* is mother; *istimus*, a brother; *netsep*, friend; *usqueort*, very good; *pene*, bread; *metso*, eat; *mattu*, no; *hatta*, to have; *pago*, to come; Sepassen, Passijon, the names of places; Tamane, Secane, Menause, Secatareus, are the names of persons. If one ask them for anything they have not, they will answer, *matta ne hatta*, which, to translate, is 'not I have,' instead of 'I have not.'

"Of their customs and manners there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born they wash them in water, and while very young and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a strait thin board a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go [walk] very young, at nine months commonly. They wear only a small clout around their waist

was on record as opposing ordinary song and dance, saying of dancing, in the words of one of the ancients, "As many paces as a man maketh in dancing, so many paces doth he make to go to hell." [No Cross, no Crown, 1669, p. 86.] The Indians may have sung and danced at their religious services (if they had any), but unfortunately they sung and danced likewise after all their feasts, and especially when they had had one of their orgies, and the rum and cider were masters of the savages' ordinary decorum and stoical self-containment.

¹ Penn. Archives, vol. 1, pp. 68-9.

² Penn had noticed a singularity in the Indians' gait, yet did not detect what it was; yet it is so obvious that a few years back, in Kentucky, where the people still walk like the Indians, even a school-boy would recognize a person from the East by differences in his way of walking from the way of those to the manner born. The Indian steps with a perfectly straight foot and without turning his toes out, so that if the sun were upon his back the shadow of his shanks would entirely cover his feet. This tread is the antithesis of that of the sailor, who walks with his toes very much turned out, and the European and the Eastern man walk like him. In both cases convenience and propriety are suited: the sailor, by his mode of locomotion, is enabled to tread more firmly and safely upon an uncertain deck that is always uneasy; the Indian, by his mode, is able to walk more safely the narrow forest path, and to step also with greater strength and softness in pursuit of his enemy and his game where leaves to rustle and twigs to break are numerous. But the difference is that the sailor "rolls" in his gait and his shoulders swing from side to side, while the Indian's walk makes him carry himself singularly straight, his shoulders never diverging from a perpendicular. This little circumstance added materially to the outward appearance of gravity in the savage's general demeanor.

till they are big. If boys, they go a-fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen. There they hunt; and having given some proofs of their manhood by a good return of skins, they marry; else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that, while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands: otherwise the men are very affectionate to them. When the young women are fit for marriage they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen. They are rarely older. Their houses are mats or barks of trees, set on poles in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapt about them and a few boughs stuck round them. Their diet is maize or Indian corn divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call *homine*. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and peas that are good nourishment, and the woods and rivers are their larder. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us they salute us with an *Itah*! which is as much as to say, 'Good be to you!' and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages [all that passes]. If you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and, be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased; else they go away sullen, but say nothing. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practiced among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country. A king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred for atonement and liberty of marriage, as two others did to the kindred of their wives, who died a natural death; for till widowers have done so they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage for a portion; but when married, chaste. When with child they know their husbands no more till delivered; and during their month they touch no meat, they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them till that time be expired.

"But in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass through twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much; wealth circulates like the blood; all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land; the pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighboring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects; and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. . . . Since the Europeans came into these parts they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially, and for it they exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors they are restless till they have enough to sleep,—that is their cry, *Some more and I will go to sleep*; but when drunk one of the most wretched spectacles in the world!

"In sickness, impatient to be cured; and for it give anything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at these times a *tiaw*, or decoction of some roots in spring-water; and if they eat any flesh it must be of the female of any creature. If they die they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them as a token of their love. Their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they con-

time for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead, for, lest they should be lost by time and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fall-n earth with great care and exactness. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion; to be sure the tradition of it; yet they believe a God and immortality without the help of metaphysics, for they say, 'There is a Great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and that the souls of the good shall go thither where they shall live again.' Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest luck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labor of body that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form in the leaves of the stem and bake them in the ashes, and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money; it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white silver; they call it all wampum.

"Their government is by Kings, which they call Sachama, and these by succession, but always on the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious. Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffick, without advising with them, and which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties of land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and, in the name of his King, saluted me; then took me by the hand and told me, 'He was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke; because what he should say was the King's mind.' He first prayed me 'to excuse them, that they had not complied with me the last time, he feared there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take up much time in council before they resolve, and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.' Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of and the price, which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two. During the time that this man spoke not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile, the old grave, the young reverent in their deportment. They speak little but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say the spoil) of tradition, and he will deserve the name of wise that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed great promises passed between us, 'of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light,' which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachem-makers or Kings, first to tell them what was done, next to charge and command them 'to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before, and having now such an one, that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong,' at every sentence of which they shouted and said Amen in their way. The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence, or the person injured, or of the sex they are of. For in case they kill a woman they pay double, and the reason they render is, 'that she breedeth

children, which men cannot do.' It is rare they fall out if woler, and if drunk they forgive it, saying, 'It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.'

"We have agreed that in all differences between us six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice and you win them. The worst is that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices and yielded their traditions for ill and not for good things. But as low an evil as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good, then, might not a good people graft where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God, for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indians' conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

'For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean, of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: First, they were to go to a 'land not planted nor known'; which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe, and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of the like countenance, and their children so lively resemblance that a man would think himself in Duke's Place, or Berry Street, in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year; customs of women, with many other things that do not now occur."

So much wrote Penn concerning the aborigines of his province. Gabriel Thomas says (not repeating those matters in which Penn and he write identically) that

'When they bury their Dead, they put into the Ground with them some House-Utensils and some Money (as Tokens of their Love and Affection) with other Things, expecting they shall have Occasion for them again in the other World. And if a Person of Note dies very far from the Place of his own Residence they will carry his Bones home some considerable time after to be buried there. They are also very curious, nay, even nice, in preserving and repairing the Graves of their Dead. They do not love to be asked twice their Judgment about one Thing. They are a People who generally delight much in Mirth, and are very studious in observing the Virtues of Roots and Herbs, by which they cure themselves of many Distempers in their Bodies, both internal or external. They will not suffer their Beards to grow, for they will pluck the Hair off with their own fingers as soon as they can get hold of it, holding it a great Deformity to have a Beard. . . Their chief Employment is in Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling, and making Canoes, or Indian Boats and Bows, in all which Arts they are very dexterous and ingenious. Their Women's Business chiefly consists in planting of Indian Corn and pounding it to Meal in Mortars, with Pestle (as we beat our Spice), and make Bread, and draw their Victuals, which they perform very neatly and cleanly. They also make Indian Mats, Ropes, Hats, and Baskets (some of curious Workmanship) of their Hemp, which there grows wild and natural in the Woods of Great Plenty. In short, the Women are very ingenious in their several Employments as well as the Men. Their young Maids are naturally very modest and shamefast. And their young Women when newly married are very nice and shy, and will not suffer the men to talk of any immodest or lascivious Matters. Their Houses are, for the most part, cover'd with Chestnut Bark, but very close and warm, inasmuch that no Rain can go through. Their Age in Computation may be compared with the Christians. Their wearing Habit is commonly Deer-Skins or Duffles. They don't allow of mentioning the Name of any Friend after his Death, for at his Decesse, they make their Face black all over with black Lead, and when their Affairs go well with them they paint their Faces with red Lead, it being a Token of their Joy, as the other is of their Grief. They are great Observers of the Weather by the Moon. They take great Delight in Cloths of various Colours. And are so punctual that if any go from their first Offer or Bargain with them, it will be very difficult for that Party to get any Dealings with them any more, or to have any further Converse with them, and moreover, it is worthy of Remark, that when a company of them are got together they never interrupt or contradict one another,

"till two of them have made an end of their Discourse, for if never so many be in Company only two must discourse at a time, and the rest must keep Silence. The English and they live together very peacefully, by reason that the English satisfies them for their Land. . . . The Dutch and Swedes inform me that they are greatly decreased in number to what they were when they came first into this country, and the Indians themselves say that two of them die to every one Christian that comes in here."¹

To show what the early settlers of America thought about the Indians is a very different thing from showing what they really were. Observers were not trained in those days to report things as they are. They went to their work with settled prejudices, preconceived opinions, predilections, and that obstinate half-knowledge which is in so many cases worse than no knowledge at all. They would not look at the Indians except as they conformed to or differed from European standards and European social systems, and the narrow theories of the day, upon all matters connected especially with ethnology, absolutely prevented them from forming just opinions, even in respect to what they clearly saw. Hence a thousand wild and ridiculous speculations and dreams, mixed up with very little plain fact. Our early writers gave us, so to speak, all the alchemy and astrology of Indian history, while neglecting its plain chemical analysis, and the simple but comprehensive mathematical laws by which its vital system could be intelligently explained. We are told much of Indian kings and emperors, of council fires, peace-pipes, and wampum belts, but almost nothing of the Indian social system and domestic economy, and practically less than nothing in regard to Indian languages, since nearly all there is said upon that necessary factor in ethnological study is false and illusory. The hardest task which students of American antiquities to-day have to encounter is that of rescuing hard solid facts from the mass of opinion and speculation in which they are hidden and buried. The day for these theories is not yet quite passed away, as Prof. W. D. Whitney has observed in his lectures on "Language and the Study of Language:" "When men sit down with minds crammed with scattering items of historical information, abounding prejudices, and teeming fancies to the solution of questions respecting whose conditions they know nothing, there is no folly which they are not prepared to commit." But still men are content to speculate far less absurdly to-day than they did a century and more ago on this subject. We have just seen how gravely and calmly Penn put forward his hypothesis that the Delawares are descendants of the ten tribes of Israel; but scholars who have much more pretentiously devoted themselves to American antiquities have not rested with the ten tribes. The Indians have been derived successively from nearly every civilized country of the Old World; Wales,

Ireland, Scandinavia, Spain, Egypt, Phœnicia, India, and China have been called upon in turn to make themselves responsible for the institutions and the monuments of our American aborigines, and China and Mongolia are still favorites in this matter with the most serious and best instructed historians.²

¹ Bancroft, in his first edition, permits him-self enough dalliance with the hypothesis of a Calmuck or Mongolian immigration as to attempt to show that it was not impossible, perhaps not improbable. Grotius, De Laet, etc., speculated with less information perhaps than our historian, and with more prejudices, but not more widely from the purpose. Some writers have assumed that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, because they made adventurous voyages and passed outside the Straits of Hercules, must have come to America. Plato's myth of the Atlantides has been made to do service in buoying up a sunken continent out of the cozy depths of the ocean and the mermaid grottoes of fantastic legend. Mexico and Peru, as has been infallibly shown time and again, must have got their monuments from Egypt or from India.—Carnac, Luxor, Elephants are reproduced at Palenque and Uxmal, at Chohola and Cuco. Aristotle is quoted to show that the ancients must have had a knowledge of and intercourse with America. Slight similarities of costume, face, and habits have been seized upon as eagerly as Penn seized upon the fact that the Indians counted time by moons (as if Penn himself did not do the same thing!) to establish relationship for our barbarians with the children of Israel, with the fugitive Canaanites, etc. The sons of Prince Madoc of course have not been neglected. White Indians in North Carolina spoke the purest sort of a Cymric dialect, and some of the Shawanese are reported to have been seen carrying around Welsh Bibles in the same belt along with their tomahawks and scalping-knives. Menassah Ben Israel concludes, upon the same sort of data as those which convinced Penn, that the lost tribes emerged between California and the Mississippi, but Spizelius and those who followed him in the last century were content to ascribe the origin of our Indians to a country less distant than the Levant. China, Tartary, Siberia, and Kamtschatka, with the Aleutian archipelago, afforded a natural route for immigration, though no attempt is made to explain how the hordes of savages were able to make their way through the frozen wastes of Alaska and British America. The fact that Leif, son of the Northman, Eric the Red, did discover America in the year 1000 A.D. has made work for the pseudo-ethnologists as well as the poets in the scratchings on the Dighton rocks in Massachusetts, and the old mill at Newport, R. I., and has even led to the factitious discovery of supposed inscriptions upon the face of the masses of Seneca sandstone at the falls of the Potomac. The Norsemen themselves encouraged the belief that on the Atlantic coast, between Virginia and Florida, a white nation existed, who clothed themselves in long, snowy robes, carried banners on lofty poles, and chanted songs and hymns. These were supposed to be the Irish immigrants, who replied in pure Gaelic when Raleigh's seamen accosted them, and spared Owen Chapelain's life in 1669 because he spoke to them in Welsh. Alexander von Humboldt has condescended to listen to some of these fables, and to repeat them in his *Cosmos*. The Chinese or Japanese settlement of our continent, by vessels coming over the Pacific Ocean, has found many advocates. Spanish legends are adduced to confirm this view. M. de Guignes, in a memoir read before the French Academy of Inscriptions, contends that the Chinese penetrated to America A.D. 458, and adduces the description and chart of Fou Sang in proof. In our own day that ripe Philadelphia scholar, Charles G. Leland, has republished the story of the so-called island of Fou-Sang and its inhabitants. De Guignes holds that the Chinese were familiar with the Straits of Magellan, and that the Coreans had a settlement on Terra del Fuego. Another Chinese immigration is assigned to A.D. 1270, the time of the Tartar invasion of the "Central Flowery Kingdom." But there are other speculations still on this subject. Thomas Morton, in his "New Cannaan" (A.D. 1637), argues for the Latin origin of the Indians, because he heard them use Latin words, and make allusions to the god Pan. Williamson thinks that the race unquestionably springs from a Hindoo or a Cingalese source. Thorwgood, Adair, and Boudinot agree with Penn and Rabbi Ben Menassah. Roger Williams also said, "Some taste of affinity with the Hebrew I have found." Cotton Mather thought that "probably the Devil, seducing the first inhabitants of America into it, therein aimed at the having of them and their posterity out of the sound of the silver trumpets of the gospel, then to be heard throughout the Roman empire. If the Devil

¹ Gabriel Thomas. "Historical Description of the Province and Country of West New Jersey in America. London, 1698." In his *History of Pennsylvania*, Thomas simply repeats what Penn had to say about the Indians.

The study of our antiquities is certainly engirt with tremendous difficulties, and these are especially prominent when we approach the linguistic side of our ethnology. All the conditions of the problem of our native languages are perplexing. "The number, variety, and changeableness of the different tongues is wonderful." Each family almost constitutes a tribe; each tribe has its dialect; each dialect changes from year to year, so that the speech of this generation is barely intelligible to the next. Warfare was the normal state of the Indian, and the perpetual strife of petty tribes is thought to have been gradually extinguishing American civilization for many years; the culture of Mexico was yielding to the influence of barbarism, just as the mound-builders of our Mississippi Valley were extinguished before a later and more savage race. Climate and mode of life have also contributed to accelerate the differentiation of our American dialects, which are mobile and changeable intrinsically to a remarkable degree. We have studied these dialects only indifferently well and

had any expectation that by the peopling of America he should utterly deprive any Europeans of the two benefits, literature and religion, which dawned upon the miserable world (one just before, the other just after the first famed navigation hither), 'tis to be hoped he will be disappointed of that expectation." As for the source of the Indians Mather fancied them Scythians, because they answered Julius Cesar's description of "*difficilis invenire quam interficere*." But the fact of idle and comical opinions on this subject does not destroy the interest in these speculations, nor the utility of continuing our investigations, on a rational basis, into American archaeology. Humboldt has said, partly in apology and partly in a spirit of protest, that "I do not participate in the rejecting spirit which has but too often thrown popular traditions into obscurity, but I am, on the contrary, firmly persuaded that by greater diligence and perseverance many of the historical problems which relate to the maritime expeditions of the Middle Ages, to the striking identity in religious traditions, manner of dividing time, and works of art in America and Eastern Asia, to the migrations of the Mexican nations, to the ancient centres of dawning civilization in Aztlan, Quivira, and Upper Louisiana, as well as in the elevated plateaux of Cundinamarca and Peru, will one day be cleared up by discoveries of facts with which we have hitherto been entirely unacquainted." (Cosmos, vol. ii, 610, note.) Professor Whitney is less sanguine. "The linguistic condition of America," he says, "and the state of our knowledge respecting it being such as we have seen, it is evident how futile must be at present any attempt to prove by the evidence of language the peopling of the continent from Asia, or from any other part of the world outside. . . . What we have to do at present is simply to learn all that we can of the Indian languages themselves, to settle their internal relations, elicit their laws of growth, reconstruct their older forms, and ascend toward their original condition as far as the material within our reach and the state in which it is presented will allow; if our studies shall at length put us in a position to deal with the question of their Asiatic derivation, we will rejoice at it. I do not myself expect that valuable light will ever be shed upon the subject by linguistic evidence; others may be more sanguine, but all must at any rate agree that as things are the subject is in no position to be taken up and discussed with profit." Nevertheless, Professor Whitney insists that greater diligence should be devoted to the study of our antiquities. "Our national duty and honor," he contends, "are peculiarly concerned in this matter of the study of aboriginal American languages as the most fertile and important branch of American archaeology. Europeans accuse us, with too much reason, of indifference and inefficiency with regard to preserving memorials of the races whom we have dispossessed and are dispossessing, and to promoting a thorough comprehension of their history. Indian scholars and associations which devote themselves to gathering together and making public linguistic and other archaeological materials for construction of the proper ethnology of the continent are far rarer than they should be among us."

during a brief period; they have no literature, their traditions are scanty and ill-preserved; the tribes themselves in many instances have wasted away from war, pestilence, famine, and the blighting shadow of the white man. These things make the search for the elements and radical character of our American dialects a difficult and arduous undertaking, and it is no wonder, the circumstances being such, that the ancient history of the continent is buried in the deepest obscurity. But we know that the continent had a history.

"Indicia of a numerous and civilized population, over whose memories and labors unnumbered ages have rolled, are yet discoverable on the shores of our ocean lakes, on the banks of our mighty rivers, and in the depths of our impenetrable forests. But these teach us no more of the ancient inhabitants than is known of the most aged of mortals,—that they were, and are not. We are doomed, perhaps, to be forever ignorant of the origin and progress of that race which preceded the inhabitants found upon our coasts at the first visits of Columbus and his successors, who are supposed not only to have adorned our country with the works of science and art, but to have conquered and enlightened a large portion of those climes which ignorance and pride have denominated the Old World."¹

Gordon here refers to the theory of Thomas Jefferson, which many others have coquetted with, that America, being the oldest hemisphere, might also have been the home of the elder races of men. The theory, whatever its merits may be in other respects, ought to be useful in the way of "retort courtoise" to those who insist that our continent has been peopled from elsewhere. There is no necessity within the domains of strict science for believing that our Indians are not autochthones,—sprung from the soil itself. Voltaire has suggested that we should be no more astonished that the discoverers found men in America than that they found flies. But if the hypothesis of migration be insisted upon, America is as good a place to migrate *from* as to migrate *to*. Franklin, upon this point, seems to have coincided with Jefferson. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur,² in his account of Franklin, represents "Poor Richard," in the course of some comments upon the works of the mound-builders, as saying, "This planet is very old. Like the works of Homer and Hesiod, who can say through how many editions it has passed in the immensity of ages?" And the philosopher throws out the suggestion, without advocating it, that the mound-builders may have been swept away by some cataclysm of nature in prehistoric time. "The rent continent, the straits, the gulfs, the islands, the shallows of the ocean, are but vast fragments, on which, as on the planks of some wrecked vessel, the men of former generations who have es-

¹ Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, Chap. I.

² "Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie," Chap. II.

caped these commotions have produced new populations. Time, so precious to us, the creatures of a moment, is nothing to nature." And the obverse of the shield can be presented to those who insist upon the Old World as the mother of our people with no little effect. Geologically, the continental mass of North America is far older than that of the other hemisphere. In the western part of this country, in California, Arizona, New Mexico, there are evidences, such as we find in the Syrian deserts, the plains of Mesopotamia, the Campagna of Rome, and the sandy wastes of Chinese Turkestan, of a country worn out and wasted by man's occupancy. The deep cañons and sun-baked valleys of Arizona once teemed with populations like Palmyra and Babylon and Nineveh. The Basque tongue in Europe is thought to be the oldest now spoken, if not the very language of the primitive race. It is older than the ancient Aryan speech, than the oldest Turanian tongue, and it has more affinities with the American dialects than any other which is known. These affinities are not developed or understood enough to warrant the building of any conclusions upon them. But as far as they have been studied they do nothing to negative the hypothesis that the Indian race is the surviving remnant of an older civilization which once peopled this continent with men and adorned it with monuments. Some of these monuments in the Mississippi Valley are so old that they belong to older geological formations. The epochs of glacier and drift have cast their débris upon the foot of these mounds, which must have been standing when down from the north, over mountain, lake, and river, with resistless might, the vitreous mass of the great glacier stream moved slowly southward. Why may not Algonkin and Iroquois have been survivors, like these mounds, from the elder civilization which built them?

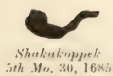
When we descend to historic times, when we come to understand the Indian as he has been since the white man first visited these shores, we find one single race of men occupying practically the entire continent, excepting the Esquimaux of the far North, with whom we have no concern. This race, so far as the section of country we speak of is in debate, possessed a belt extending certainly from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Ocean, and from some point, not exactly defined, north of the St. Lawrence River to North Carolina Sounds on the east, and the Kentucky cane-brakes on the west. It is probable that, as science progresses, it will be discovered that the one common *race* need not be divided into more than four or five *nations*, and that the subdivision of these nations into tribes and bands which now exists serves no ethnological purpose. Within the limits of the United States east of the Mississippi River, south of Hudson's Bay, and north of Georgia, only two nations need to be considered in historic times. One of these is the Delaware, Lenape, or, to speak more generally, the Algonkin nation; the other is

the Iroquois nation. Each of these nations was represented upon the soil of Pennsylvania, and on the site or in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The researches of John Gilmary Shea, Francis Parkman, and others who have given a special and intelligent attention to the subject, have established the fact that the tribe called Minquas or Minquosy by the Dutch (in the Latin of De Laet, *Machoretini*), Mengwes by the Swedes (the English corruption of which was Mingoes), Susquehannocks or Susquehannoughs (Sasquesahannogh is the rendering by Capt. John Smith) by the Marylanders, and Andastés or Gandastogues (corrupted in Pennsylvania into Conestogas) was a branch of the Iroquois nation, settled above tide on the Susquehanna and Potomac Rivers. This ambitious race of savages, inspired with a conquering instinct which put them on a par with the ancient Romans, not only consolidated its strength at home by a political and military confederacy, but extended its power and influence abroad by the establishment of military colonies, just as republican Rome was in the habit of doing. One of these colonies constituted the tribe of the Tuscaroras, occupying part of North Carolina and Georgia, upon the flanks of the Cherokee nation. Another was the Nottaways, south of the James River, in Virginia. A third colony was the tribe of the Nanticokes, afterwards (in Pennsylvania) known as the Conoys, who held the Delaware and Eastern Shore of Maryland peninsula from the Brandywine southward. They were joined on the north by the Minquas or Susquehannas, whose "fort" was on the Susquehanna River at or near the mouth of Conestoga Creek. The Huron Iroquois of Canada were of this same nation, which thus occupied a belt of territory from north to south extending from Lake Simcoe to the southern limits of North Carolina, all in the country of the Algonkins, yet as distinctly separate from them by difference of language, character, and habit as a vein of trap rock in a body of gneiss or granite. The Andastés (to call them by their own tribal name, *Andasta* meaning a cabin-pole, and the tribe wishing to imply by it that they were house-builders rather than dwellers in lodges), like the Lenapes, claimed a Western origin, and they were the most warlike race upon the continent, proud and haughty as the Romans whom they so closely resembled, and, like them, enabled to conquer by their compact military and civil organization. Other tribes were split into small bands, between which there was only a feeble and defective concert and unity of action. The Iroquois, on the other hand, were a nation, and wherever we find them we discover that they lived and acted together in co-operative union. In Pennsylvania, for example, in all the land purchases made by Dutch, Swedes, and English, we find the Minquas acting as one tribe, dealing as one people and one name, whereas with the Lenapes each petty chief seemed to do what was best in his own sight. Tamine or Tamanend was probably the great

chief of the Lenapes in the time of Penn, and his supreme authority was manifest in the councils, but when it came to selling land he was no more than on a level with the twenty or thirty sachems who signed their marks to the deeds of conveyance for the various tracts. The Minquas ruled all the tribes adjacent to them and received tribute from them. Before the confederacy of the Five Nations entered



Moughhoughwin.
4th Mo. 3, 1684.



Shakakoppik.
5th Mo. 30, 1685.



King Tanament.
June 15, 1692.



King Tanquarr.
June 15, 1692.



Mettamicon.
June 7, 1684.



Malebone.
5th Mo. 14, 1683.



Secane.
5th Mo. 14, 1683.



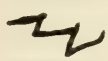
Icoquoquehan.
5th Mo. 14, 1683.



Essepensaika.
June 23, 1683.



Okettarickon.
June 23, 1683.



Kehelappan.
June 23, 1683.



Pendavoughah Neshannock.
6th Mo. 14, 1683.



Reherappan.
Sept. 20, 1683.




Malebone.
5th Mo. 30, 1683.



Konyorkhukor.
July 15, 1682.



Allouham.
July 15, 1682.



Tamanen.
June 23, 1683.



Tamanen.
June 23, 1683.



Tamanen (Receipt for Money).
June 23, 1683.



Nenesihikken.
5th Mo. 14, 1683.



Wingebone.
June 25, 1683.



Swanpees.
June 23, 1683.



Wessapout.
June 23, 1683.

upon their ambitious course (the confederacy seems to have been formed during the second decade of the seventeenth century), the Iroquois probably were recognized as superiors by all the tribes of the Algonkins. Their Wyandot branch in Canada overawed the Algonkins there, though the latter were much more numerous. The Mohawks and Senecas kept in check the Mohegans of New York, New Jersey, and New England; the Susquehanna Minquas and the Nanticoques dominated among the Lenape of Pennsylvania and Maryland; the Erie Iroquois were where they could look after the Moncey tribes of the Lenape, the most warlike branch of that comparatively gentle race; the Nottaways kept in check the branch of the Powhatan Lenapes, and the Tuscaroras were in guard upon the Cherokees and the Florida Indians. When the five nations of the Iroquois of the lakes—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas—formed their confederacy and entered upon their career of conquest their conduct was obnoxious to their kindred both north and south of them, and they speedily found themselves at war both with the Wyandots in Canada, the Eries in the West, and the Andastés-Conestogas on the Susquehanna. In such a state of affairs the semi-hostile relations long existing between them and the Lenapes would of course be very embarrassing, and it was probably at this time that they made a neutral nation of the tribe of the Algonkins who occupied the territory on both sides of the Niagara River between them and the Hurons,¹ subjecting the Lenapes of the Delaware and Hudson to the same sort of *taboo*. Heckewelder, whose critical discernment was blinded by his unvarying partiality for the Lenape and his admiration for their mildness and amiability of character, has told a

¹ The neuter nation were called by the Senecas *Kahkacur*, and by the French *Atticandaron*, *Atticandaronks*, *Atticandaronets*, *Rhagenratkas*, or *Atticandaron*. The Niagara River, flowing through their territory, was called *Ongwiasahra*, or river of the neutrals. This tribe in 1640, according to Lallemant, numbered forty villages, twelve thousand souls. ("Jesuit Relations," quoted by Parkman.)

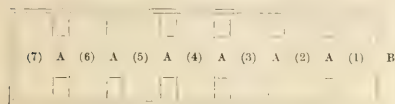
story, often repeated, of how the Delawares were made "women," or reduced to a state of neutrality, by the astute contrivance and diplomatic dissembling of the Iroquois, who are said to have induced them to assume metaphorically the garments of women and surrender their warlike apparatus upon the pretext that there was an exalted and honorable merit in the feminine function of peace-maker. This might suit the notions of a simple-hearted Moravian missionary like Heckewelder; but, stripped of its sentimental environment, the naked fact seems to be that the Iroquois, finding they had these wars with their own kindred on their hands, disarmed the Lenapes and the Attiwandarons who surrounded them, and who had become by conquest more or less their tributaries, and guaranteed to them both peace and protection if they would abstain from hostilities on either side. It is likely that the Hurons and the Susquehannas also ratified these guarantees on their own behalf. The compact put a species of taboo upon the neutralized tribes. Their persons, their property, and their territory were to be respected by the belligerents, and while war-parties could march through their country, it was not to be made the scene of conflict, nor were their villages, plantations, or trade to be disturbed. The neuter nations could frequent the countries of both the hostiles with the impunity of ambassadors or heralds. At the same time they were classed as "women," were treated as such, and Heckewelder did not need to be told that the name of woman was an epithet of reproach which no nation of warriors would submit to save under the pressure of dire necessity. Nor did the enforced neutrality of the Lenape protect them from the contempt and the tyranny of the Iroquois. After these had conquered their enemies they did not respect the terms of the convention with the Lenapes. During Governor Fletcher's rule in Pennsylvania the latter appealed to him to save them from the necessity of going to war with the French, as they had been ordered to do by the Five Nations; and at the time of the consummation of the "walking treaty" in 1744, when the Delawares were dissatisfied with the results of the contract, they were brutally told by the Iroquois that they had no rights and no say in the matter whatever; they were women, and could not sell land without consent of their masters; they had lost their senses, and deserved to be taken by the hair of the head and jerked around as some lords of creation are in the habit of serving their wives in order to brighten their wits. They were, in fine, ordered to remove into the interior of Pennsylvania, where they could be "watched," and they obeyed. Here after a while they were joined by their kindred, the Shawanese, from the valleys and mountains of Virginia, and by some fragments of Maryland and other tribes. They made war upon the whites, and after the Revolution, in Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, in league with the tribes of the Eastern prairies, they finally forced the survi-

vors of the Five Nations to remove the taboo and the stigma of womanhood from them.

The Maryland and Pennsylvania Mingoes were a tribe of stalwart warriors, whose fighting qualities were of a superior sort, and their strategy equal to that of their kinsmen on the lakes. Prior to A.D. 1600 they are said to have been at war with the Mohawks, whom they wellnigh exterminated in the course of a ten years' struggle. Capt. Smith found this war still rife when he met the Susquehannas in 1608. The name he gave to the Mohawks was Massawomakes. In 1633 De Vries found them at war with the Lenape bands on the east side of the Delaware, the Arme-wamen and the Sankikans. They were on good terms with the Dutch and the Swedes, with whom they had an extensive trade in peltries, by which they were supplied with fire-arms and ammunition; and they were alternately at peace and war with Maryland and the Maryland Indians. They so harassed the Chesapeake and Potomac tribes during the first ten years of the Maryland settlement that Governor Calvert in 1642 proclaimed them as public enemies. In 1647 they had thirteen hundred warriors trained to the use of fire-arms by Swedish soldiers. Then they offered their aid to the Canadian Wyandots, who were being crushed by the Five Nations, having first sent an embassy to Onondaga to propose a general peace between the Iroquois cantons, which overtures were rejected by the Five Nations. In 1652 the Susquehanna Andastés, in the presence of a Swedish deputy, ceded to Maryland all the territory of the Eastern Shore and that of the Western Shore from the Patuxent to the Susquehanna, and four years later they were again at war with the Iroquois of the lakes, while the smallpox was destroying their population by wholesale. They maintained a bold front, however, drove the Cayugas across Lake Ontario, and injured materially the fur trade of the Senecas. The Iroquois, supported by the French, sent a force of eight hundred warriors against the Susquehanna fort in 1663, but it was too strong and well defended to be attacked, and a stratagem attempted by the Iroquois cost them twenty-five warriors, who were burned at the stake. The war continued until 1675, when it ended with the complete overthrow of the Susquehannas. Some of their warriors retreated into Maryland, and the murder of a portion of these led to Bacon's war in Virginia, and a border war in Maryland which still further reduced the number of the surviving Mingoes. Finally they made peace both with the Five Nations and Lord Baltimore, and were permitted to remain at their ancient fort. From this time they began to dwindle away. They were at peace, however, with Pennsylvania from the time of Penn's treaty with their chief, Canoodagtoh, in 1701, until the last wretched remnant of the tribe, then only known as Conestogas, living on their reservation farm at Conestoga, in Manor township, Lancaster County, were cruelly set upon by the Paxton rangers and brutally

murdered in Lancaster jail, whither the authorities had sent them for protection. Thus perished a race of formidable Indian warriors, hunters, and statesmen, whose war-chief, *Hochitageté* (Barefoot), is a Hector in Indian legend, and whose last survivor, "Logan," or *Tah-gah-ju-te*, is known to general fame as a master of that noble, sententious eloquence in which his race excels. Capt. Smith saw the Susquehanna warriors in their prime, and describes them as "such great and well proportioned men as are seldom seen, for they seemed like giants to the English; yea, and to the neighbors, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring vs as Gods, . . . for their language it may well besame their proportions, sounding from them as a voyce in a vault. . . . Five of their chief werowances came aboard vs and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe [accompanying Smith's narrative], the calfe of whose leg was three-quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld."

The Iroquois of the Susquehanna, or Andastés, as their name and residence imply (*Connadago*, the name of their fort, signifying the same as *andastagon*,—from *andata*, village,—meaning he is in the house or village of ridge-poles), differed in their mode of dwelling from the Algonkins. The identity of the word for *house* and *town* shows that they, too, like the Wyandots and the Five Nations, lived in "long houses," on the community principle. In fact, with all the Indians, relationship and rank passed through the female; the band represented the members of a family, and, among the Iroquois, as among the ancient Mexicans and the modern Zunis and Pueblo Indians, the family dwelt in one house and under one roof. This house was added to as the family increased in numbers and want, just as the bees add cells to their combs. No man or woman could marry in their own family, or with any one bearing the same totem or *gens* mark; that is to say, descended from the same mother. The man or woman of the Bear, the Beaver, the Wolf, the Serpent, or the Tortoise totem or family could marry in any of the others, but no Tortoise could wed with Tortoise, nor Serpent with Serpent, etc. The children born to the woman of the Tortoise symbol became Tortoises, whether their father was Beaver or Wolf, or of any other family, and these families lived together in the long houses, the construction of which was as in the diagram below:



A, passage-way; B, entrance; (1) to (7), fire-pits.

This house would accommodate seven fires, twenty-eight families, representing probably three or four generations and their increase by birth and accretion of wives and husbands. A Seneca long house, as it was in 1677, and as above represented, is described by Hon. Lewis H. Morgan in a paper called "A Study of the Houses of the American Aborigines," published in the first Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1880. The facts are gathered from the description of Greenhalgh. "The interior of the house was divided into compartments at intervals of six or eight feet, leaving each chamber entirely open, like a stall, upon the passage-way or hall, which ran through the centre of the house from end to end. Between each four apartments, two on a side, was a fire-pit in the centre of the hall, used in common by their occupants. Thus a house with six fires would contain twenty-four apartments, and would accommodate as many families, unless some of the apartments were reserved for storage-rooms. Raised bunks were constructed around the three sides of each stall for beds, and the floor was slightly raised above the level of the ground. From the roof-poles were suspended strings of maize in the ear, braided together by the husk; also strings of dried squash and dried beans. Each house, as a rule, was occupied by related families, the mothers being sisters, own and collateral, who, with their children, belonged to the same *gens* or clan, while their husbands, the fathers of these children, belonged to other *gentes*, consequently the *gens*, or clan, of the mother predominated in numbers in the household, descent being in the female line. Whatever was taken in the hunt or raised by cultivation by any member of the household was for the common benefit. Provision was held as common stock within the household. The Iroquois had but one cooked meal each day, a dinner. Each household, in the matter of the management of their food, was under the care of a matron. When the daily meal had been cooked at the several fires the matron was summoned. It was her duty to divide the food from the kettle to the several families within the house, according to their needs. What remained was put aside to await the further direction of the matron." This was the sort of communism in which the Iroquois and their kin, the Minquas or Conestogas, lived, until the long houses finally disappeared under the influence of the whites. To this methodical and economical household communism the Iroquois undoubtedly owe their tribal unity, their faculty of confederating for defense and offense, and their military strength and political influence. John Bartram, in his account of his journey to Onondaga, in company with the Indian interpreter, Conrad Weiser, in 1743, gives a description of one of these long houses, in which he was entertained. It was the official house of the tribe, besides being a community home. "They showed us," he says, "where to lay our luggage and repose ourselves during our stay with them,

which was in the two end apartments of this large house. The Indians that came with us were placed over against us. This cabin is about eighty feet long and seventeen broad, the common passage six feet wide, and the apartments on each side five feet, raised a foot above the passage by a long sapling, hewed square, and fitted with joists that go from it to the back of the house. On these joists they lay large pieces of bark, and on extraordinary occasions spread mats made of rushes, which favor we had. On these floors they sit or lie down, every one as he will. The apartments are divided from each other by boards or bark, six or seven feet long from the lower floor to the upper, on which they put their lumber. . . . All the sides and roof of the cabin are made of bark, bound first to poles set in the ground, and bent round on the top, or set afloat for the roof as we set our rafters. Over each fireplace they leave a hole to let out the smoke, which in rainy weather they cover with a piece of bark, and this they can easily reach with a pole to perch it on one side or quite cover the hole."

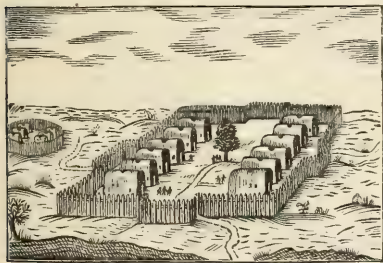
The Algonkins, the Lenni Lenapes in Pennsylvania, were also variously called *Wapanacki* (European corruptions: *Openaki*, *Openagi*, *Abenakis*, and *Apenakis*). The Delaware regions appear to have been their principal seat, though affiliated and derivative nations of their stock were found from Hudson's Bay to Florida, and from Lake Superior to East Tennessee. Forty tribes acknowledged the Lenapes as grandfather or parent stock. Their traditions, which are not always authentic, relate that the tribe once upon a time dwelt in the far distant wilds of the West, whence they moved eastward towards sunrise by slow stages, often passing a year in a single camp, but eventually reaching the bank of the *Namesi Sipi*, the River of Fish (Mississippi), where they found the Mengwes or Iroquois, migrating like themselves, but who had descended from the northwest. The Lenape scouts reported the country east of the river to be held by a people called the *Allegewi* (whence the name Alleghany River and Mountains), who were numerous, tall, stout, some of them giants, all dwelling in intrenched or fortified towns. The Lenape were denied leave to settle among the Allegewi, but obtained permission to pass through their country. When they were half over the river, however, the Allegewi attacked and drove them back with great loss. The Lenape now formed an alliance with the Mengwe; the two nations united forces, crossed the river, attacked the Allegewi, and after a long and desperate war defeated them and expelled them from their country, they fleeing southward. The conquered country was apportioned between the conquerors, the Mengwes choosing the northern part, along the lakes, the Lenapes choosing the more southern section, binding on both sides of the Ohio. Moving eastward still, they came finally to the Delaware River and the ocean, and thence spread beyond the Hudson on the

north and beyond the Potomac on the south. This legend, however, is full of inconsistencies and incompatibilities, and hardly answers to what was known of the condition and location of the great Algonkin race at the time of the first settlement of the whites among them. As to their origin as members of the human family, they have divers legends. They claim to have come out of a cave in the earth, like the woodchuck and the chipmuck; to have sprung from a snail that was transformed into a human being and taught to hunt by a kind Manitou, after which it was received into the lodge of the beaver and married the beaver's favorite daughter. In another myth a woman is discovered hovering in mid-air above the watery waste of chaos. She has fallen or been expelled from heaven, and there is no earth to offer her a resting-place. The tortoise, however, rose from the depths and put his broad, shield-like back at her service, and she descended upon it and made it her abode, for its dome-like oval resembled the first emergence of dry land from the waters of the deluge. The tortoise slept upon the deep, and round the margin of his shell the barnacles gathered, the scum of the sea collected, and the floating fragments of the shredded sea-weed accumulated until the dry land grew apace, and by and by there was all that broad expanse of island which now constitutes North America. The woman, weary of watching, worn out with sighs for her lonesomeness, dropped off into a tranquil slumber, and in that sleep she dreamed of a spirit who came to her from her lost home above the skies, and of that dream the fruits were sons and daughters, from whom have descended the human race.¹ Another legend personifies the Great Spirit under the form of a gigantic bird that descended upon the face of the waters, and brooded there until the earth arose. Then the Spirit, exercising its creative power, made the plants and animals, and lastly man, who was formed out of the integuments of the dog, and endowed with a magic arrow that was to be preserved with great care, for it was at once a blessing and a safeguard. But the man carelessly lost the arrow, whereupon the Spirit soared away upon its bird-like wings and was no longer seen, and man had henceforth to hunt and struggle for his livelihood. Manabozho, relates the general Algonkin tradition, created the different tribes of red men out of the carcasses of different animals, the beaver, the eagle, the wolf, the serpent, the tortoise, etc. Manabozho, Messou, Michaboo, or Nanabush is a demi-god who works the metamorphoses of nature. He is the king of all the beasts; his father was the west wind, his mother the moon's great-grandfather, and sometimes he appears in the form of a wolf or a bird, but his usual shape is that of the Gigantic Hare. Often Manabozho masquerades in the figure of a man of great endowments and ma-

¹ Campanius' History of New Sweden. Duponceau's translation, Book III. chap. i.

jestic stature, when he is a magician after the order of Prospero; but when he takes the form of some impish elf, then he is more tricky than Ariel, and more full of hobgoblin devices than Puck. "His powers of transformation are without limit; his curiosity and malice are insatiable;" he has inspired a thousand legends; he is the central figure in the fairy realm of the Indian, which, indeed, is not very full nor genially peopled. Manabozho is the restorer of the world, submerged by a deluge which the serpent-manitous have caused. Manabozho climbs a tree, saves himself, and sends a loon to dive for mud from which he can make a new world. The loon fails to reach the bottom; the muskrat, which next attempts the feat, returns lifeless to the surface, but with a little sand in the bottom of its paws, from which the Great Hare is able to recreate the world. In other legends the otter and beaver dive in vain, but the muskrat succeeds, losing his life in the attempt.¹

The Atlantic Algonkins, the Lenapes, were subdivided into three tribes, of which the *Unamis* or the Tortoise were one, the *Unalachtu* or Turkey the second, and the third the Wolf, the *Minsi*. These were equally the tribal names and the *totems* of these tribes, of whom the greatest and most intelligent were the *Unamis*, living on the lower Delaware and adjacent streams near the tide, a fishing people, and to some extent planters as well as hunters, having numerous villages under minor chiefs, who were subordinate to the great council of the nation. The



DELAWARE INDIAN FORT.
[From Campanius' "New Sweden."]

Minsi, often called *Monceys* by the English, the most warlike of the tribes of Delaware Indians, dwelt in the interior, between the other tribes and the Iroquois. Their towns extended from their council-seat at the Minisink to the Hudson on the east, the Susquehanna on the southwest, the Catskills on the north, and the Muskenecum hills in New Jersey. Subordi-

nate bands had their names from their places of residence, as the Shackamaxons and the Neshamimeks, or from some other accidental circumstance.

The Lenapes suffered much from the warlike propensities and the strategic devices of the Iroquois, who did not hesitate to murder members of other tribes with the weapons of the Delawares in order to involve them in hostilities. In this way they provoked the Cherokees to fall upon the Lenapes, who suffered much in the long and bloody war which ensued. For nearly two generations after the first treaty between Deputy Governor Markham and the Lenapes in 1681, in which they surrendered lands to William Penn, these Indians maintained pacific relations with the whites of Pennsylvania. Still they had begun to suffer and to feel impatient in consequence of the increase and the pressure of the land-hungry English in the province. After their withdrawal to Wyoming and Shamokin by order of the Five Nations they were reinforced by the restless bands of their kindred, the Shawanese, who had settled as far south as the basin of the Cumberland River in Kentucky and Tennessee, whence they had been driven by the Creeks and Cherokees, a part north of the Ohio River, a part to the valley of Virginia about Winchester, their principal band having crossed into the hilly section of South Carolina. They numbered about two thousand souls on the Susquehanna after the government of Pennsylvania allowed them to settle there. There were numerous treaties between the proprietary government and the Delawares, the Shawanese and their kindred, and the Mengwes from the time of Penn's negotiations in 1701 to 1754, the time of the first overt act of hostility on the part of the Lenape. The causes of this alienation after a peace of seventy years were the abuses in the Indian trade, which rested on avarice, rum, and fraud, despoiling and besotting the poor savages, whose wives were often debauched by the traders; on the execution of a Delaware chief, *Wekahelah*, in New Jersey for what was regarded as an accidental homicide,² and on their being unjustly despoiled of their lands. The "walking treaty" was sorely resented by the Delawares. This is an unsavory part of the history of Pennsylvania. In 1685 Penn had secured a deed from Packenak, Essepertank, and some other chiefs of the Delawares for land from Neshaminy Creek westward "as far in the woods as a man could go in a day and a half." This land was not wanted at that time, and the treaty was left unexecuted. Penn's last will left to his grandson, William Penn, a tract of

²Smith, however, in his *History of New Jersey*, declares that the deed was a deliberate assassination, and the execution only took place after a legal trial and regular conviction and sentence. *Wekahelah*, as he styles the chief, was an Indian living near Shrewsbury, and of great account both among Christians and his own people, being a wealthy man with an extensive farm, cattle, horses, and negroes; he raised large wheat crops, had a handsome house, feather beds, curtains to his bed, etc., often entertained distinguished persons, and was thought to be fully civilized.

¹ Manabozho is also called Michabou, Chiabo, Tarenayawagon; he is the Hiawatha of the Ojibways, the Onondagas, and Mr. Longfellow.—

"Skilled in all the craft of hunters,
Learned in all the lore of old men,
In all youthful sports and pastimes,
In all manly arts and labors."

ten thousand acres. The grandson sold the devise to William Allen, a land speculator. Allen had the land located on the Minisink, in the country of the *Minis*, where the whites had bought no territory. A land lottery was got up at the same time, and Indian lands about Easton were squatted upon. When the Minis resented this, the Iroquois were called upon, and the Delawares forced to remove. In 1737, John and Thomas Penn conferred with the Indians at Pennsbury, and demanded a confirmation of the deed of 1685; the day and a half's walk was intrusted to hired and trained *runners*, who ran out a line of eighty odd miles into the heart of the best reserved lands of the Indians on the Kittatinny range. The Indians denounced this as a fraud. Tedyuscund, the Delaware chief, at the conference at Easton in 1756, boldly declared against the swindle. Stamping his foot upon the ground, he told Governor Denny that—

"This very ground that is under me was my land and inheritance, and it is taken from me by fraud. When I say this ground, I mean all the land between Tobicon Creek and Wyoming on the Susquehanna." And Tedyuscund explained his accusation with definite and unmistakable precision: "When one man had formerly liberty to purchase lands, and he took the deed from the Indians for it and then dies, and after his death his children forge a deed like the true one, with the same Indian names to it, and thereby take lands from the Indians which they never sold, *this is fraud!* Also, when one king has land beyond the river, and another king has land on this side, both bounded by rivers, mountains, and springs, which cannot be moved; and the proprietaries, greedy to purchase lands, buy of one king what belongs to another, *this likewise is fraud!*"

The fact was indisputable; the French fanned the flame of discontent and furnished arms, and the Delawares went to war, harassing the frontier settlements and doing many deeds of blood. The Quakers patched up a peace with them; they fought for the American side in the Revolution, but their doom was sealed. They moved West, joined the Shawanese, the Miamis, the Maumees, the Wyandots, and Iroquois; went farther West, to Missouri, to Kansas, to the Indian Territory. To-day the tribe has ceased to exist as a tribe; a few scattered hunters and scouts are the sole survivors of this representative and leading tribe of the great Algonkin race, who once occupied a territory extending over fifteen degrees of latitude and twenty-five degrees of longitude in the most fertile parts of the United States, where now there is a population of thirty million souls and an annual value of products exceeding \$4,000,000,000.

The Lenapes had not the compact tribal unity of the Iroquois, nor did they seem to dwell like them in communal houses, yet Mr. Morgan is convinced that the community system was more or less established among all the American Indians; he traces it among the Mandans and the Sioux, the Arickarees and the Cherokees, and declares that Lewis and Clark found it among the Columbia River Indians, in Oregon, in 1808. Campanius, in speaking of the Delawares, says that they have no towns or fixed places of habitation; "they mostly wander about from one place to another,

and generally go to those places where they think they are most likely to find the means of support. . . . When they travel, they carry their meats with them wherever they go and fix them on poles, under which they dwell. When they want fire, they strike it out of a piece of dry wood, of which they find plenty; and in that manner they are never at a loss for fire to warm themselves or to cook their meat."¹

In constructing their lodges, says Campanius, the Lenapes "proceed in this manner: they fix a pole in the ground and spread their mats around it, which are made of the leaves of the Indian corn matted together; then they cover it above with a kind of roof made of bark, leaving a hole at the top for the smoke to pass through; they fix hooks in the pole on which they hang their kettles; underneath they put a large stone to guard themselves from the fire, and around it they spread their mats and skins on which they sleep. For beds, tables, and chairs they use nothing else; the earth serves them for all these purposes. They have several doors to their houses, generally one on the north and one on the south side. When it blows hard, they stop up one of them with bark, and hang a mat or skin before the other. Sometimes they fasten their doors to guard themselves against the sudden attacks of their enemies, and they surround their houses with round or square palisades, made of logs or planks, which they fasten

¹ Campanius speaks far too lightly here of the complicated, arduous methods of obtaining fire which prevail among savages, as if they inherited the possession and uses of flint and steel. When and how barbarous nations learned to produce fire is a mystery. Their first knowledge of fire and its effects and uses could of course be easily learned from the volcano and the thunderbolt; but how came they to know that friction would generate a degree of heat such as would result in flame? It could not have been by experiment; was it a discovery which came by accident, or was it a consequence of observation, such as that of the friction of one falling tree upon the trunk of another? The process is such a difficult one in getting fire by friction, and its civilizing influences are so extensive, that the question seems to be worth an archeological investigation. In the Osage legend it is the Master of Life himself who instructs the snail-man in the use of fire and the cooking of meat. The Ojibways hold fire to be a sacred mystery. The flint from which it is struck is their emblem of purity, and the lighting of the peace-pipe is one of the most sacerdotal acts. The sacrifice of fire is a sacrifice to fire likewise, and the ancient and original worship of all the Indians was probably directed to the sun, the source of fire. The Indians had great difficulty in getting fire before they learned the use of flint and steel. Some tribes kept fires burning always, and had watchers to see that they never went out. The methods of generating it by friction are various. Gen. George Crook has described a fire-stick used by the Indians of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade ranges. "The fire-stick," he says, "consists of two pieces. The horizontal stick is generally from one foot to a foot and a half long, a couple or three inches wide, and about one inch thick, of some soft, dry wood, frequently the sap of the juniper. The upright stick is usually some two feet long and from a quarter to half an inch in diameter, with the lower end round or elliptical, and of the hardest material they can find. In the sage-bush country it is made of 'grease-wood.' When they make fire they lay the first piece in a horizontal position with the flat side down, and place the round end of the upright near the edge of the other stick; then taking the upright between the hands they give it a swift rotary motion, and as constant use wears a hole in the lower stick, they cut a nick in its outer edge down to a level with the bottom of the hole. The motion of the upright works the ignited powder out of this nick, and it is there caught and applied to a piece of spunk or some other highly combustible substance, and from this the fire is started." (Smithsonian Report, 1871.)

in the ground." The mode of fortifying an Indian village was to dig a ditch around it, throwing up the dirt on the inside. The trees of which the posts or "puncheons" of the palisades were made were felled by means of fire, the burnt parts hacked with hatchets until the tree was cut through in proper lengths. The logs were then planted upright in the embankment, in one or several concentric rows, those of each row bent towards the others till they intersected. Where the palisades crossed, a gallery of timber was thrown for the use of the defenders. These works were not regular except in cases where the Indians were taught by foreign soldiers, as the Hurons by the French, the Iroquois by the Dutch, and the Susquehannocks by the Swedes. The palisades were planted first in rude post-holes, and the dirt from the ditch thrown up around them.¹ The chief articles of furniture were the kettle, the dishes of bark and cedar wood, the curious-woven baskets and the calabashes. In Campanius' time the Indian manufacture of pottery had almost ceased, European utensils serving their ends so much better. Pastorius, speaking of the Indian diet, said, "I have once seen four Indians eating together with great delight; their repast consisted of a pompon (pumpkin) boiled in water, without any meat or fat or any kind of seasoning; their tables and seats were the naked earth; their spoons were muscle-shells, out of which they dipped the warm water; and their plates were large leaves of trees that stood near them." Yet the Indian commissariat was not entirely bare. Besides their meats and fish, fresh and dried, their melons and squashes, beans and peas and berries, of which they dried many for winter use, there were several roots and plants of which they ate largely. In spring and summer many succulent herbs served them for greens and salads; they consumed regularly the *tuckahoe* (*Sclerotium giganteum*), the *tauquaush* of the Mohegans, the *petukgunnug* of the Delawares, called "Indian loaf" by the whites. It is a curious root, fancied by some to be a sort of truffle, the shape of a flattened globe, and varying in size from an acorn to the bigness of a man's head. Kalm considers the tuckahoe to be identical with the *Arum Virginianum*, the wake-robin. It was roasted in the ashes, and the root of the *Arum triphyllum*, the Indian turnip, prepared in the same way, was deprived of its noxious qualities and pungent, bitter taste, and yielded a wholesome farina. The *Apios tuberosa* (*Glycine apios* of Linnæus), the ground-nut or wild bean, was also a regular article of diet, together with the arrow-head (*Sagittaria sagittifolia*) and the root of the golden-club (*Orontium aquaticum*).

In winter the huts of the Lenape were not very comfortable, no matter how picturesque they might be, but probably they afforded as nice lodgings as those of the English gipsies. The interior of the

cabin was stained and dingy with smoke that could find no regular outlet, and it was so pungent and acrid as to cause much inflammation of the eyes and blindness in old age. The fleas and other vermin were bad, and the children were noisy and unruly beyond parallel, raising a pandemonium in each lodge, which the shrill shrieking of the Hecate-like squaws added to without controlling it. Parkman draws a vivid picture of a lodge on a winter night, lighted up by the uncertain flickers of resinous flame, that sent fitful flashes through the dingy canopy of smoke, a bronzed group encircling the fire, cooking, eating, gambling, or amusing themselves with idle chaff; grizzled old warriors, scarred with the marks of repeated battles; shriveled squaws, hideous with toil and hardship endured for half a century; young warriors with a record to make, vain, boastful, obstreperous; giddy girls, gay with paint, ochre, wampum, and braid; "restless children, pell-mell with restless dogs." What a long step from this scene to the quiet decorum, the serene beauty, and the accumulation of comforts and conveniences of the civilization which has succeeded it!

The tools of the Lenape were rude and poor, strictly those of the stone age, for they had no knowledge of any metal save a little copper for ornament, yet they handled them with great skill and neatness.

"They make their bows with the limb of a tree," says Campanius, "of about a man's length, and their bow-strings out of the sinews of animals; they make their arrows out of a reed a yard and a half long, and at one end they fix in a piece of hard wood of about a quarter's length, at the end of which they make a hole to fix in the head of the arrow, which is made of black flint-stone, or of hard bone or horn, or the teeth of large fishes or animals, which they fasten in with fish glue in such a manner that the water cannot penetrate; at the other end of the arrow they put feathers. They can also tan and prepare the skins of animals, which they paint afterwards in their own way. They make much use of painted feathers, with which they adorn their skins and bed-covers, binding them with a kind of network, which is very handsome, and fastens the feathers very well. With these they make light and warm clothing and covering for themselves; with the leaves of Indian corn and reeds they make purses, mats and baskets, and everything else that they want. . . . They make very handsome and strong mats of fine roots, which they paint with all kinds of figures; they hang their walls with these mats, and make excellent bed-clothes out of them. The women spin thread and yarn out of nettles, hemp, and some plants unknown to us. Governor Printz had a complete set of clothes, with coat, breeches, and belt, made by these barbarians with their wampum, which was curiously wrought with the figures of all kinds of animals. . . . They make tobacco-pipes out of reeds about a man's length; the bowl is made of horn, and to contain a great quantity of tobacco. They generally present these pipes to their good friends when they come to visit them at their houses and wish them to stay some time longer; then the friends cannot go away without having first smoked out of the pipe. They make them, otherwise, of red, yellow, and blue clay, of which there is a great quantity in the country; also of white, gray, green, brown, black, and blue stones, which are so soft that they can be cut with a knife. . . . Their boats are made of the bark of cedar and birch trees, bound together and lashed very strongly. They carry them along wherever they go, and when they come to some creek that they want to get over they launch them and go whither they please. They also used to make boats out of cedar trees, which they burnt inside and scraped off the coals with sharp stones, bones, or muscle shells."

Charles Thomson, in the fragmentary "Essay upon Indian Affairs," found among his manuscripts, speaks of the very unusually good opportunities

¹ Parkman, "Jesuits in America." Introduction. An invaluable chapter.

afforded him in 1757 (while at Easton as commissioner for Pennsylvania to negotiate a peace with the Indians) to study their institutions, manners, and customs.

By a concurrence of circumstances, he says, he gained the confidence of the Indians, was admitted to their councils, and "obliged to enter deep into their politics and investigate their claims."¹ Of the Indians he says, after speaking of their diet, to which, in addition to the articles of food already enumerated, he contributes the very prolific and nutritious sweet potato (which might be kept during winter in kilns dug under the lodge fireplaces):

"They were perfect strangers to the use of iron. The instruments with which they dug up the ground were of wood, or a stone fastened to a handle of wood. Their hatchets for cutting were of stone, sharpened to an edge by rubbing and fastened to a wooden handle. Their arrows were pointed with flint or bones. What clothing they wore was of the skins of animals took in hunting, and their ornaments were principally of feathers. They all painted or daubed their face with red. The men suffered only a tuft of hair to grow on the crown of their head; the rest, whether on their head or faces, they prevented from growing by constantly plucking it out by the roots, so that they always appeared as if they were bald and beardless.²

"Many were in the practice of marking their faces, arms, and breast by pricking the skin with thorns and rubbing the parts with a fine powder made of coal (charcoal), which, penetrating the punctures, left an indelible stain or mark, which remained as long as they lived. The punctures were made in figures according to their several fancies. The only part of the body which they covered was from the waist half way down the thighs, and their feet they guarded with a kind of shoe made of hides of buffaloes or deerskin, laced tight over the instep and up to the ankles with thongs. It was and still continues to be a common practice among the men to slit their ears, putting something into the hole to prevent its closing, and then by hanging weights to the lower part to stretch it out, so that it hangs down the cheek like a large ring. They had no knowledge of the use of silver or gold, though some of these metals were found among the Southern Indians. Instead of money they used a kind of beads made of conch-shell, manufactured in a curious manner. These beads were made, some of the white, some of the black or colored parts of the shell. They were formed into cylinders about one-quarter of an inch long and a quarter of an inch in diameter. They were round and highly polished and perforated lengthwise with a small hole, by which they strung them together and wove them into belts, some of which, by a proper arrangement of the beads of different colors, were figured like carpeting with different figures, according to the various uses for which they were designed. These were made use of in their treaties and intercourse with each other, and served to assist their memory and preserve the remembrance of transactions. When different tribes or nations made peace or alliance with each other they exchanged belts of one sort; when they excited each other to war they used another sort. Hence they were distinguished by the name of peace belts or war belts. Every message sent from one tribe to another was accompanied with a string of these beads or a belt, and the string or belt was smaller or greater according to the weight and importance of the subject. These beads were their riches. They were worn as bracelets on the arms and like chains round the neck by way of ornaments."³

¹ He was in fact adopted by them. He took minutes of the conference proceedings in short-hand, and these were so accurate as to be preferred by the commissioners to the official record, and so just to the Indians as to win their profound gratitude. They admitted him into the Lenape nation, and gave him the name of *Wegh-en-law-mo-eni*, "the man who tells the truth."

² Naturally "*impubes and imberbes*," said Dr. Douglas; but Proud denied that this was the case with all the Pennsylvania Indians. The habit of going naked and anointing their persons with unguents made the resort to depilatories very natural.

³ There is enough concurrent testimony to it to warrant the conclusion that the original purpose of *wampum* was exclusively mnemonic.

The Indians were few in number, says Mr. Thomson, as compared with the extent of territory. How few has not been generally realized by writers on this subject. Gordon, who is always moderate, thinks that at the most populous period there must have been less than forty-seven thousand Indians within the limits of Pennsylvania. Yet there have been repeated estimates of fifteen million Indians in the country at the time of the arrival of the English, and we have seen it confidently claimed that there could not have been less than three thousand Indians—six hundred warriors—within the present limits of Philadelphia two hundred and fifty years ago. The computation is very extravagant, and there are means of showing it to be so. The Virginia mode of calculating used to be to allow one Indian for every square mile. This would give three millions to the United States, forty-six thousand to Pennsylvania, one hundred and thirty to Philadelphia. But the estimate is too liberal. A hunting tribe of Indians cannot subsist upon a square mile of territory per capita. According to Lyell, the geologist, "it has been computed that eight hundred acres furnish only as much subsistence to a community of hunters as half an acre under cultivation." The United States, with five acres per capita under

It was a sort of *memoria technica*, like the knotted cords of the ancient Peruvians, and doubtless, if the Indians had had intelligence enough to word it out, a system of written language could have been constructed of wampum bead figures as expressive as that of a signal code and more serviceable than the Runic arrow-head writing of the Northmen. There is a much greater chance for variety of expression in strings of beads of two colors than there is in Prof. Morse's telegraphic alphabet of dots and lines. Wampum was given not only as a present and a courteous reminder, but as a threat and a warning. Thus, when at Lancaster in 1747 the chiefs of the Five Nations forbade the Lenapes to sell any more land, and ordered them to remove to the interior, they emphasized the command by handing them a belt. If the belts presented before the uses of wampum had degenerated and become comparatively meaningless could have been closely and intelligently examined, it is likely that some sort of language could have been made out of the varying forms of the belts and strings and the different arrangements of the beads. The use of wampum for ornament was secondary to its use *memorial*. As money its use came about in this way: It was a memorandum of exchange, of business transactions. Passyund, of the Munis, agreed to let his daughter marry the son of Scanece, of the Unamis, and to give with her a dowry of so many beaver-skins, in return for which Scanece's son was to hunt so many days for Passyund. How bind the bargain and prove it? By making a mutual note of it in the exchange of wampum. That particular belt or string represented and vouched for that particular transaction. Menacee, on the Alleghany, agrees to sell to Tamanece, on the Delaware, a dozen buffalo robes for forty fathoms of duffle, with buttons, thread, and red cloth to ornament. A belt is exchanged to prove the transaction. But that cannot be completed till the goods are exchanged. The next step is easy: to put a certain fixed value on each bead, so that when Tamanece pays a belt to Menacee for his robes, Menacee can at once hand the belt over to the trader who has the goods and get from him the duffle and trimmings. Viewed in this light wampum takes rank as an instrument of as various and important uses as any ever employed by man. It is as if the rosary of the pious Catholic were suddenly invested with the powers of a historical monument, a diplomatic memorandum and business "stub" book, a short-hand inscription system, which is equally understood by tribes of every variety of language and dialect, a currency of uniform value and universal circulation in the exchange of a continent, a bank of deposit, a jewelry and personal ornament, all in one. There is no parallel instance in all the economic history of mankind of an article so utterly useless and valueless in itself acquiring such a wide and multifarious range of derivative uses and values.

cultivation, are only able to spare seven, and one-half per cent. of food products for export. Thus there are four and six-tenths acres needed to keep each member of this highly cultivated population. On the basis of Lyell's computation, therefore, each member of a population of hunters would require eleven and one-half square miles to keep him. There is a scientific reason for this enormous allowance, which Liebig explains in his "Animal Chemistry." "A nation of hunters on a limited space," he says, "is utterly incapable of increasing its numbers beyond a certain point, which is soon attained. The carbon necessary for respiration must be obtained from the animals, of which only a limited number can live on the space supposed. These animals collect from plants the constituents of their organs and their blood, and yield them in turn to the savages who live by the chase alone. They again receive this food, unaccompanied by those compounds destitute of nitrogen which, during the life of the animals, served to support the respiratory process. In such men, confined to an animal diet, it is the carbon of the flesh and of the blood which must take the place of starch and sugar. But fifteen pounds of flesh contain no more carbon than four pounds of starch, and while the savage, with one animal and an equal weight of starch, could maintain life and health for a certain number of days, he would be compelled, if confined to flesh, in order to procure the carbon necessary for respiration during the same time, to consume five such animals." Such Indian statistics as we possess bear out these conclusions. The hunting range of the Iroquois Five Nations was never less than sixty thousand square miles. They had corn and other sources of carbonaceous food. They were prosperous, comparatively rich, and took tribute and supplies from the tribes surrounding them. Yet, by careful comparisons made in 1877 under the auspices of the Bureau of Education, it is ascertained that they never exceeded a population of twenty thousand souls,—four thousand warriors,—three square miles per capita. This is a guide to the number of the tribes surrounding them. The Iroquois in 1665 had two thousand three hundred and fifty warriors,—eleven thousand seven hundred and fifty souls. The Susquehannas, who put old men and boys in the field, never had more than two thousand warriors,—eight thousand souls. The Canada Hurons never exceeded thirty thousand in all. The most populous branch of the Algonkins, the Mohegans of New York and New England, Parkman computes could not have had more than eight thousand fighting men,—forty thousand in all. The Lenapes of Pennsylvania and New Jersey could scarcely have reached half so many. We do not find any mention among them of populous towns like those of the Pequods, the Wampanoags, the Iroquois, the Hurons, the Powhatans. They had nothing but small and obscure villages, and of these not many. They had but six hundred fighting men from the Delaware to the Ohio in 1759. Proud, who knew

much about them, is not able to enumerate many bands.¹

Secretary Thomson remarks that it is difficult to distinguish the Indians into distinct and different nations:

"Almost every nation being divided into tribes, and these tribes subdivided into families, who from relationship or friendship united together and formed towns or clans; these several tribes, families, and towns have commonly each a particular name and chief, or head man, receive messages, and hold conferences with strangers and foreigners, and hence they are frequently considered by strangers and foreigners as distinct and separate nations. Notwithstanding this, it is found upon closer examination and further inquiry that the nation is composed of several of these tribes, united together under a kind of federal government, with laws and customs by which they are ruled. Their governments, it is true, are very lax, except as to peace and war, each individual having in his own hand the power of revenging injuries, and when murder is committed the next relation having power to take revenge, by putting to death the murderer, unless he can convince the chiefs and head men that he had just cause, and by their means can pacify the family by a present, and thereby put an end to the feud. The matters which merely regard a town or family are settled by the chiefs and head men of the town; those which regard the tribe, by a meeting of the chiefs from the several towns; and those that regard the nation, such as the making war or concluding peace with the neighboring nations, are determined on in a national council, composed of the chiefs and head warriors from every tribe. Every tribe has a chief or head man, and there is one who presides over the nation. In every town they have a council house, where the chief assembles the old men and advises what is best. In every tribe there is a place, which is commonly the town in which the chief resides, where the head men of the towns meet to consult on the business that concerns them; and in every matter there is a grand council, or what they call a council-fire, where the heads of the tribes and chief warriors convene to determine on peace or war. In these several councils the greatest order and decorum is observed. In a council of a town all the men of the town may attend, the chief opens the business, and either gives his opinion of what is best or takes the advice of such of the old men as are heads of families, or most remarkable for prudence and knowledge. None of the young men are allowed or presume to speak, but the whole assembly at the end of every sentence or speech, if they approve it, express their approbation by a kind of hum or noise in unison with the speaker. The same order is observed in the meetings or councils of the tribes and in the national councils."

Gordon, in his "History of Pennsylvania," observes of the language of the Lenape that it is said to be "rich, sonorous, plastic, and comprehensive in the highest degree," adding that a cultivated language usually denotes great civilization. On the contrary, a cultivated, elaborate language, abounding in regular forms and great numbers of distinctions, qualifications, conjugations, and declensions, is not a sign of civilization, but the opposite, to a certain extent. The Sanscrit is more perfect and comprehensive and regular than the Greek, the Greek than the German, the Latin than the French, the Anglo-Saxon (*pace* Mr. Edward A. Freeman) than the English. The Indian languages were comprehensive in the sense of being complicated with many forms. They were not plastic, however. That is the property of the languages of civilization, which are intended to be labor-saving machines. They are plastic, oblique, elliptic, direct, waste no muscular force on the regu-

¹ He mentions the Assunpink, Rancocas, Neshamink, Shackamaxon, Mantas (at Gloucester, N. J.), the Tutelors (who were remnants of the Virginia Nottoways), Minisinks, Pompton, Narritacouks, Capitnases, and Gacheos.

larity of forms. The Algonkin tongue, like all the Indian languages, belonged to what philologists regard as one of the lowest orders of speech. It is of the incorporative or polysynthetic type. In the words of Prof. Whitney, "it tends to the excessive and abnormal agglomeration of distinct, significant elements in its words, whereby, on the one hand, cumbrous compounds are formed as the names of objects,¹ and a character of tedious and time-wasting polysyllabism is given to the language,—see, for example, the three to ten syllabled numeral and pronominal words in our Western Indian tongues, or the Mexican name for 'goat,' *kwa-kwaush-tentsone*, literally, 'head-tree (horn), lip-hair (beard),' or 'the horned and bearded one,'—and, on the other hand, and what is of more importance, an unwieldy aggregation, verbal or quasi-verbal, is substituted for the phrase or sentence, with its distinct and balanced members. . . . Not only do the subjective and objective pronouns enter into the substance of the verb, but also a great variety of modifiers of the verbal action, adverbs, in the form of particles and fragments of words; thus almost everything which helps to make expression forms a part of verbal conjugation, and the verbal paradigm becomes wellnigh interminable. An extreme instance of excessive synthesis is afforded in the Cherokee word-phrase, *wi-ni-taw-ti-ge-gi-na-li-skaw-lung-ta-naw-ne-li-ti-se-sti*, 'they will by that time have nearly finished granting [favors] from a distance to thee and me.'"

Such a language could never become the vehicle of science or the agent of business. As Bancroft has expressed it, the Indian's language was "held in bonds by external nature." It could not and did not rise above the narrow area of his imperfect experiences. It was poor just where the Indian mind and morals were impoverished. "It had no name for continence or justice, for gratitude or holiness," and equally not for covetousness. Loskiel has said that it required the labor of years to make the Lenape intellect capable of expressing abstract truth. Eliot could only translate the gospels by resorting to a series of happy analogies. The Indian tongue was materialistic, but, because it proceeded from one obvious visible object to another, it abounded in trope and metaphor, became highly picturesque, and was furnished with rich supplies from the most efficient armories of eloquence. Plain dealing became "a straight and broad path;"

if the word was peace, it was conveyed by the concrete idea of "burying the hatchet;" to conciliate was to "polish the chain of friendship;" to be allies was to "eat with one mouth;" to condole with a person was to "wipe the tears from his eye;" to repair an injury was to "wipe the blood off the council-seat;" when James Logan was ill and retired he was said to be "hid in the bushes;" to be slow to resent injuries was to "sit with the head between the legs." An Indian cannot conceive of father in the abstract; he must say "my father," or "your father." His pantheon was a procession of idealized images of single objects, animate or inanimate; every tree, every animal, every stone had its particular "manitou," but Gitch Manitou, the Father of Life, was only a faint and colorless adumbration of the Great Spirit, if indeed it existed at all previous to intercourse with the whites. Eliot could not find an Indian word to express the act of kneeling, he had to resort to paraphrase to express the idea; in fact, words must all the time be coined to embody the primal European conceptions of faith, submission, reverence, religion, goodness. Yet the Indian vocabulary is rich in words which signify the dark and tumultuous passions, hate, revenge, etc., and the acts that result. In the forms of homicide the Indian language is as copious as an old English indictment for murder, and there is no lack of words to express what is bad, vicious, filthy, obscene, and shameful.

The Indian's end in life was to act out the propensities of his untamed nature. He had no word to express continence, and chastity was but a half-formed idea in his brain. He bought his wife, and purity of blood was assured by the rule of descent on the female side. Marriage was a physical convenience and a transaction by purchase; religion was as dim perhaps, with rites of sacrifice and worship left to the individual will. But vengeance was a duty, and revenge the strongest and most enduring passion of the Indian's soul. To gratify it time, distance, hardship, danger, all went for nothing; the stealthy blow, the reeking scalp torn from the prostrate victim, the yell of triumph when the deed was done—this was compensation for all. Nor did death suffice; the enemy, public or private, must be tortured, and nothing but his agony and his groans could satiate the wolfish thirst of the savage for blood. His warfare was conducted by stealth and strategy and surprise; he imitated the panther, not the lion, in his assaults, and he lay by his victim and mangled him like the tiger. Sometimes he ate his victim, if he was renowned, that all of the valor and virtue of the slain might not be lost, but some of it pass into the slayer's own person. If conquered or wounded to death his stoicism was indomitable; his enemy might see his back in flight, but never behold him flinch under torture; when his finger-nails were plucked out one by one, and the raw skull from which his scalp was torn seared with live coals, and red-hot gun-barrels thrust into

¹ "They have but few radical words, but they compound their words without end; by this their language becomes sufficiently copious, and leaves room for a good deal of art to please a delicate ear. Sometimes one word among them includes an entire definition of a thing; for example, they call wine *ouchavaledehoenpsteragherie*, as to say 'a liquor made from the juice of the grape.' The words expressing things lately come to their knowledge are all compounds; they have no labials in their language, nor can they pronounce perfectly any word wherein there is a labial, and when one endeavors to teach them to pronounce these words, they tell one they think it ridiculous that they must shut their lips to speak. Their language abounds in gutturals and strong aspirations; these make it very sonorous and bold, and their speeches abound with metaphors, after the manner of the Eastern nations." (Proulx, "History of Pennsylvania," ii. 306.)

the abdominal cavity after he had been disemboweled, he would still sing his death-song and gather breath to hurl a last yell of defiance at his enemy as he expired. To attain this sort of endurance was the aim of all the Indian culture; it was part of his religion, for a distinguished reception in the happy hunting-grounds beyond the grave was the promised reward of the resolute warrior and the successful hunter. The Indian brave was by this system encouraged to set his own personality above everything else. His individuality was most conspicuous and pronounced. He was haughty, proud, boastful, vain. He bragged loudly of his own deeds. He painted and adorned his person with the utmost pains and in the most gaudy and glaring colors. His body was tattooed; his scalp-lock was a study for his ideas in decorative art; he daubed his face in white, red, and green colors till he vied with Harlequin; and his robes, his leggins, his moccasins were beaded and embroidered in a thousand complicated patterns and devices.

The squaw did this fancy work for her lord and master, but she had no time to do it for herself. The Indian woman's life, as Parkman has said, had no bright side. It was a youth of license, an age of drudgery. There was not much passion, but a great deal of dissoluteness. The Lenape women were no more chaste than the men were continent. Amours in youth were no ban to marriage afterwards. Child-bearing was scarcely painful to the woman, and, as she alone had charge of her offspring, children were no burthen nor obstacle to the man. Delicacy and modesty could have no existence in the promiscuous lodge-life of these savage tribes, and the virtue which the male did not protect was naturally no treasure to the female. "Once a mother," says Parkman, describing the Hurons, the woman "from a wanton became a drudge. In March and April she gathered the year's supply of firewood. Then came sowing, tilling, and harvesting, curing fish, dressing skin, making cordage and clothing, preparing food. On the march it was she who bore the burden, for, in the words of Champlain, 'their women were their mules.' The natural effect followed. In every town were shriveled hags, hideous and despised, who in vindictiveness, ferocity, and cruelty far exceeded the men. To the men fell the task of building the houses and making weapons, pipes, and canoes. For the rest, their home-life was a life of leisure and amusement. The summer and autumn were their seasons of serious employment,—of war, hunting, fishing, and trade. . . .

These pursuits, with their hunting, in which they were aided by a wolfish breed of dogs unable to bark, consumed the autumn and early winter." With winter the men were idle, the women more at leisure. The festive season ensued,—gambling, smoking, dancing, feasting to gluttony consumed the vacant hours. The Indian was a desperate gambler. He staked his all upon a throw; he stripped himself naked in mid-winter to raise the means for another stake. It was a common feature in the meagre comedy of this dull existence for the young brave who had gone forth gay and resplendent in all his bravery and trappings to visit his kinsmen in the next village to return after a



DELAWARE INDIAN FAMILY.
[From Campanius' "New Sweden."]

day or two like a plucked crow, all his finery gone, and no leggins nor moccasins even left to protect his denuded limbs from frost and snow.

Indian feasts and dances had more or less of a mystical and religious character, but the substantial part of them, gluttony and wild license, were never neglected. At the so-called religious feasts indeed gluttony was part of the ritual. Each was expected to eat all before him, under penalty of vengeance by the special manitou who was to be honored, and prizes were offered to the victor who soonest devoured his

portion. The dances were wild, furious, delirious, and intoxicating. At religious dances men and sometimes women flung off all their clothing; they shouted wild songs, they gesticulated fiercely and contorted themselves like dervishes till their glistening bodies foamed with sweat. The war-dance and war-songs were intended to supply the spark to the tinder of enthusiasm and ferocity, and there was a terrible vividness in the mimic pantomime of battle and murder and sudden death, of the tomahawk thrown with unerring aim, the knife driven hilt-deep in the victim's breast, the scalp waved aloft as if just wrested from the head of the slain. The drum, the rattle, and the Indian flute were heard at these dances, but the song was the true accompaniment. It was the chorus that directed the dance, and the dancers acted its words while their motions followed its rhythm. Some of these songs have the true lyric quality. They burst from the monotony of the chant which is usual to the Indian with a sort of inspiration that the savage's excitable nature always responds to.

The dance was an important ingredient in the scanty materia medica of the Indian conjurer and medicine-man. He esteemed it above the squaw's simple and the warrior's sweat-box or Russian bath. That, indeed, was a good thing to cure rheumatism and restore suppleness and elasticity to the Indian's frame, and the squaw's roots and herbs were wonderful coadjuvants when the savage lived so simple and active a life in the open air; but the medicine-man could not live by these. His profit lay in maintaining the general opinion of the efficacy of his rattle and drum, his pinches, howls, and dancing. Disease came, in the Indian's creed, from the malevolence of spirits, and, as the necromancer had power over these, he must be able to expel disease likewise. The imagination is so powerful a factor, the mind has such unlimited influence over the body in its morbid states, that we are quite willing to believe the Indian medicine-man, shallow charlatan though he was, a far more successful doctor than he usually gets credit for being. In fact, the sorcerers were too numerous not to have been lucky sometimes. In the Indian belief the whole material world swarmed with unseen influences and powers that controlled human destinies with good and evil spirits, with manitous and existences that from dawn till night and from night again to dawn were working with dim indefinite agencies but untiring restlessness to prevent the obvious promises of each person's path in life in some unguessable way. Nature was full of sorceries, and each might be a conspiracy of some sort against human life, health, or happiness. Universal superstition made nameless panics universal, and as only sorcerers could deal with sorcery, each Indian community harbored a pack of conjurers, diviners, medicine-men, who were by turns the village magicians and the village doctors. They were learned in the legends of the past, and they pretended to the lore of the future in order to control

the faith of the present. Their arts were numerous, but the tools of their trade were few and rude, and they were too slavishly adherents of tradition ever to deviate from the established tricks of that trade. In the words of Parkman, "The sorcerer, by charms, magic songs, magic feats, and the beating of his drum, had power over the spirits and those occult influences inherent in animals and inanimate things. He could call to him the souls of his enemies. They appeared before him in the shape of stones. He chopped and bruised them with his hatchet; blood and flesh issued forth; and the intended victim, however distant, languished and died. Like the sorcerer of the Middle Ages, he made images of those he wished to destroy, and muttering incantations, punctured them with an awl, whereupon the persons represented sickened and pined away."

This poor conjurer was the only doctor the Indian had. His magic was more to him than herbs and surgery, and it was his code that if his magic, his drum and rattle, his feasts, howls, and contortions could only expel the demon, nature would expel the disease and the patient was sure to recover. The Algonquin conjurer was also a haruspex and diviner. He watched the flight of birds, interpreted the running of water and the flicker of flame. He locked himself in a cabinet and communed with unseen spirits, for all the world like the most modern and most shameless of our charlatans. He built a low conical lodge of poles and hides, immured himself therein for hours, beat his drum, sounded his rattle, sang his songs, and at last emerged charged with the communications the spirits had vouchsafed to him after his arduous and awe-inspiring wrestle with them. Still, this conjurer was not the priest of even the Indian's debased religion. Every man was priest in his own right, made his own sacrifices, and propitiated the powers to which he yielded deference as suited his own pleasure. The Indian was too poor and too hungry to make many and costly oblations. He sprinkled a little tobacco upon the breeze; he immolated a white dog, or he burned a scrap of meat to Manitou; but when he made a genuine sacrificial feast he and his guests were careful to consume the offering to the last fragment in Manitou's name and behalf. The completeness of the *gormandise* was the compliment which Manitou was thought to appreciate most, and thus piety became its own reward. Feasts of this sort would of course be followed by dreams in proportion to the sumptuousness of the vicarious offering, and these dreams the conjurer made his profit by interpreting.

If the Indian was not extravagant in his offerings to Manitou, he was yet scrupulously and invariably polite in all his dealings with him. He slew the bear and the deer with a sententious courtesy, and was profuse in apologies and civilities to the spirit of every victim of his skill in the chase, and even upon the war-path. This was a sincere proceeding for one so

deeply imbued with the notion that the entire material world was sentient and intelligent, and that every object and being in nature had a share in ruling human destinies. All things had souls, and the souls of all things could hear man's soul while incapable of responding to it. They were not powerless because dumb; they were none the less to be propitiated because their reconnaissance was inaudible. The universe quivered throughout with mystery, and the mysterious was synonymous, in the Indian's creed, with the divine. Hence in every undertaking the American savage made a factitious offering of first fruits. He even propitiated the fishing-nets he had just made with his own hands, and secured a good haul by wedding the nets to the virgins of his tribe. Each Indian had besides his own particular manitou, and the manhood vigil of the young warrior before he went upon his first hunt or his first war-path was a propitiatory acknowledgment made to this spiritual inward guide, friend, and monitor. The object that appeared to him in his fasting dreams during this vigil became his totem, his fetish, the "medicine" which he must henceforth wear about his person.

Sooth to say, however, the Indian did not save all his urbanity for the spirits and the manitou. The elaborate courtesy which he bestowed upon the bear he had just killed was the distinguishing trait of all his daily intercourse with his neighbor and his guest. Politeness, deference, respect for the persons and feelings of others constituted the social law of the Indian, and stood him instead of municipal and police ordinance. The consequence was that these wild and intractable barbarians were able to live together harmoniously even in large communities. Gregarious as the buffalo, the Indian was, as Parkman has said, "in certain external aspects, the most pliant and complaisant of mankind." He had on all occasions that docile acquiescence in the whims and oddities of strangers which is the quintessence of politeness. The Indian of whom Franklin wrote illustrates this spirit cleverly. The missionary had told him how Adam fell, to which he listened with grave assent, telling, in his turn, the Indian fable of the origin of maize and tobacco. The missionary repudiated the story with contempt, whereupon the Indian said, "My brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education. They have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You see that we, who understand and practice those rules, believe all your stories. Why do you refuse to believe ours?" An Indian who resented being stared at and gaped at by the town mob complained to his interpreter. "We have," said he, "as much curiosity as your people, and when you come into our towns we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company." The Jesuit priests, when first among the Indians in Canada, fancied they were making converts at once of the entire population, but

afterwards found out that they had mistaken for conviction what was simple courtesy, unwillingness to deny and contradict. Instinctive self-control helped the Indian to maintain this courteous exterior upon all occasions. The self-respect of the Indian, one of his strongest qualities, made him considerate and respectful to the feelings of others. His code of honor was rigid to punctiliousness, and he exacted the same deference to himself which he so willingly yielded to others. He liked popularity, and made sacrifices to secure it. He was hospitable to a fault, and really charitable and generous to distress and suffering. The village hags united to supply the fresh-wedded bride's wood-pile; the whole people turned out to rebuild a lodge if any one had lost his by flood or fire. No man, no matter what his condition, could enter the Indian's wigwam and seat himself but what food would at once be placed before him, if food there was. They were sociable, fond of visiting, and jocular in their sociability. The story-teller always had a high seat at their feasts. Said the Jesuit Father Brébeuf, whom the Iroquois murdered with such atrocious tortures, "They have a gentleness and an affability as it were incredible in savages; they are not easily offended; . . . they keep up their excellent kind relations one with another by frequent interchange of visits, by their mutual helpfulness to the sick and ailing, and by their feasts and family alliances. They are less in their own wigwams than in those of their friends. If they have some tidbit or other at once they make a feast of it for their friends, and never think of eating it without company."

The political organization of each Indian nation, so far as it has been observed, is identical in the essential with that of every other Indian nation. The race or nation was a confederacy of tribes of contiguous territory and common descent; each tribe was divided into clans, and each clan into families. The nation was governed by chiefs, whose office was hereditary in the female line of descent; the power of the chiefs was great, but it was through respect and deference to their opinions rather than submission to their authority, for their influence was almost entirely advisory and persuasive. "There were two principal chiefs, one for war and one for peace; there were chiefs assigned to special national functions; there were numerous other chiefs, equal in rank, but very unequal in influence, since the measure of their influence depended on the measure of their personal ability; each nation of the confederacy had a separate organization, but at certain periods grand councils of the united nations were held, at which were present not chiefs only, but also a great concourse of the people; and at these and other councils the chiefs and principal men voted on proposed measures by means of small sticks or reeds, the opinion of the majority ruling."¹

¹ Parkman, "Jesuits in America."

The power of chiefs and councils, great in degree, was limited in extent. There were few things for it to be exercised upon in that savage state where individuals were so free. Now and then a witch or a traitor or obnoxious person was ordered to be murdered by the council in secret session. But there was no property for the law-making proclivity to exercise itself upon, and there could not be much stealing without property. In fact, the Indians never robbed or stole except away from home. Crimes against the person were individual matters, and redressed by individual methods. This was even the case with murder. If murderer and victim belonged to the same clan, it was looked upon as a family quarrel, to be settled by the immediate kin. As a rule, public opinion compelled the acceptance of the atonement in lieu of bloodshed. If the murderer and victim were of different clans, the whole tribe went to work to prevent a feud from arising and leading to more bloodshed. Every effort was made to get the victim's clan to accept the atonement offering. Thirty presents was the price of a man's life, forty for a woman. If the victim belonged to a foreign tribe, the danger of war led to council meetings, formal embassies, and extensive making of actual and symbolical presents.

A strange race the Indians were, and their institutions, now so rapidly disappearing, are worthy of close and careful study. If this generation shall not profit by the vestiges of Indian antiquities still remaining to secure a knowledge of their institutions and the languages of the people who observed them, nothing will be left for the inquiring spirits of the next age. No matter whether the race remains or not, the aboriginal American Indian, such as he appeared to Penn and to Capt. Smith, to Campanius and De Laet and the Jesuit Fathers, will no longer be found in this continent. It should be our pleasure, as it is our duty, to try to restore the fading picture of Indian life in the spirit of Philip Freneau's graceful poem on "The Old Indian Burying-Ground:"

"The Indian, when from life released,
Again is seated with his friends,
And shares again the joyous feast.

"His imag'd birds, and painted bow,
And ven'son for a journey dress'd,
Bespeak the nature of the soul,
Activity, that wants no rest. . . .

"By midnight moons, o'er moist'ning dews,
In vestments for the chase array'd,
The hunter still the deer pursues,
The hunter and the deer—a shade."

CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY AND OCCUPATION OF THE HUDSON AND DELAWARE RIVERS BY THE DUTCH.

THERE is no ground for reasonable doubt that John and Sebastian Cabot, natives of Venice, probably sailors almost from birth, but doing business in Bris-

tol, England, at the time of their commission under King Henry VII., were the first navigators, at least of historic times, to discover the actual coast-line of the North American continent, along which they sailed from Newfoundland to the parallel of Gibraltar, that is to say to about the latitude of Cape Hatteras. John Cabot, the senior of these sailors and traders, excited by the news of the great discovery made by Christopher Columbus, and with the certainty thus warranted of reaching land by sailing westward, obtained a commission under the great seal of England from King Henry VII., dated March 5, 1496, authorizing the navigator and his three sons, or either of them, their heirs or their deputies, to sail into the Eastern, Western, or Northern seas, with a fleet of five ships, at their own expense, in search of unknown lands, islands, or provinces; to plant the banner of England on these when found, and possess and occupy them as vassals of the English crown. The provision that the explorers should voyage at their own expense was characteristic of the thrifty monarch, but the commission of a king at that day was the only safeguard the navigator had to protect him from suspicions of piracy, and the exclusive right of frequenting and trading to the new countries when found was a privilege for which nations were soon to contend. Cabot, with his son Sebastian, came in sight of the mainland, in the region of Labrador, on June 24, 1497, fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, had reached the continent, and two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed from the Canaries.¹ It is not so certain that Verazzano, also an Italian, discovered the bay of New York in a voyage made by him in 1506 from the Carolinas northward, under the commission of King Francis I. of France.²

It is certain that the first practical discovery of the Delaware Bay and River and of the New York Bay and Hudson River was made in 1609, by Henry Hudson, an English navigator in the service of the Dutch East India Company, whose title to immortality seems to be assured by the fact that one of the largest bays and one of the noblest rivers in the world

¹ Bancroft, vol. i. Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*. Brodhead, *Hist. New York*. The account of Cabot's voyage is given by Peter Martyr.

² The account of Verazzano's voyage is contained in a letter from the navigator to King Francis, dated July 8, 1524, describing what he saw and did and the strange people he encountered. This letter is given to the world first by the historian Ramusio, a Venetian, who also, by including this in his collection, made himself responsible for the voyages of Cadamosto, the travels of Amerigo Vespucci, and of Marco Polo, all of which first saw the world in this most interesting collection. The three volumes of Ramusio also contain the apocryphal voyages of the brothers Zeni beyond the north of Scotland in 1400, the works of the credulous Oviedo, and the earliest histories of the conquests made by Cortes and Pizarro. They are capital reading, but, as the accurate Hallam observes, their subject matter "could as yet only be obtained orally from Spanish and Portuguese sailors or adventurers, and was such as their falsehood and blundering would impart." Ramusio is also convicted of having garbled Marco Polo's narrative by interpolations of his own. Judge Henry C. Murphy, of the Long Island Historical Society, a very competent geographical critic, is disposed to believe that the entire letter of Verazzano to King Francis I. is spurious.

equally bear his name and are admitted to have been discovered by him. The discovery of Delaware Bay and River was made, according to the journal kept by Robert Jewett (or Juet), the first officer of Hudson's ship, on Aug. 28, 1609 (new style), and on this discovery the Dutch founded their claim to the countries binding upon and adjacent to the North (Hudson) and the South (Delaware) Rivers.¹

The accounts of Hudson's third voyage and his discovery of the North and South Rivers are too accurate, circumstantial, and satisfactory to allow of any question in regard to them. Hudson's journals as well as that of Robert Juet are preserved in Purchas' Pil-

¹ We know surprisingly little of Henry Hudson. He is said to have been the personal friend of Capt. John Smith, the founder of Virginia, and it is probable that he was of the family of that Henry Hudson who, in 1554, was one of the original incorporators of the English Muscovy Company. This man's son, Christopher, supposed to have been the father of the great navigator, was as early as 1560 and up to 1601 the factor and agent on the spot of the London Company trading to Russia, and it seems likely that the younger Hudson, from his familiarity with Arctic navigation, and his daring pertinacity in attempting to invade the ice-bound northern wastes, may have served his apprenticeship as a navigator in trading, on behalf the Muscovy Company, from Bristol to

Russia, as was then often done through the North Channel, and round the Hebrides, Orkneys, Shetlands, and North Cape to the White Sea and Archangel. At any rate when Hudson makes his first picturesque appearance before us, in the summer of 1607, in the Church of St. Ethelburga, Bishopgate Street, London, where he and his crew are present to partake of the Holy Sacrament together, it is preparatory to a voyage in the service of the newly-organized "London Com-



HENRY HUDSON.

pany," in Jewett's own words, "for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China." The navigator was at that time a middle-aged man, experienced and trusted. Hudson reached Spitzbergen, and there the ice forced him back. He repeated next year the attempt to reach Asia by crossing directly over the Pole, and again he failed after having reached Nova Zembla. The London Company now became disheartened, and Hudson at once transferred his services to the Dutch, who were then also eagerly seeking a northern route to Asia, and preparing under the ardent urgings of Usselinx (of whom more will be said presently) to establish a West India Company. The Amsterdam directors of the Dutch East India Company put him in command of a yacht or vlie-boat, the "Half-Moon" (the "yagt 'Halve-Maan'"), of forty "lasts" or eighty tons burden, and bade him continue to search for a route to the Eastern seas such as the Spaniards and Portuguese could not obstruct. It was on his third voyage when, beaten back by the ice from the Greenland sea, he sailed as far south as the capes of the Chesapeake, and discovered Delaware Bay and Hudson River. In his fourth voyage he returned again to the service of England, discovered and entered Hudson's Bay, wintered there, and in the spring, having angered his crew by harshness and by persisting in going westward, was cast adrift by them in a small boat and left, with his son, to perish in the ice on the desolate border of the bay which bears his name. He was never heard of afterward. For further particulars of this stern, bold, and intelligent navigator, who was a man full of spirit, energy, and well-defined purpose, the reader may consult Purchas, Hakluyt, and the monographs of Hon. H. C. Murphy, Dr. Asher, Gen. John M. Read, Jr., and Rev. B. F. de Costa.

grims, and Juet has given not only the courses and distances sailed on the coast, but the various depths of water obtained by soundings off the bars and within the capes of the two bays. Juet's log-book of Aug. 28, 1609, has indeed been tested by actual soundings and sailing distances, and is found to be so accurate to this day that his route can be minutely followed. The English early gave the name of Delaware Bay and River to the South River of the Dutch, upon the pretext that it was discovered by Lord de la Warr in his voyage to Virginia in 1610. Mr. Brodhead and other writers, however, have plainly shown that Lord La Warr never saw Delaware Bay, and that the name *Cape La Warr* was given to Cape May by the roistering Capt. Samuel Argalls, of Lord Somers' squadron, who, being separated from his commander in a fog off the Bermudas, in that voyage the narration of which is supposed to have given Shakspeare his theme for the *Tempest*, was carried by a cyclone as far north as Cape Cod, and descending the coast again to Virginia, sighted the cape in question and gave his lordship's name to it.² The above few sentences embody all that is certainly known in regard to the discovery of Delaware Bay and River. If we let loose the pen to conjecture and to debatable views and statements, there is ground for very wide discussion, for which, however, there is no room in a volume like this.³

² See several notes in the text and appendices of Brodhead's History of the State of New York, vol. i.

³ For instance, Van Materen, one of the early historians of the Netherlands, assumes that the detention of Hudson in England on his return from his third voyage was because the English wanted time to prepare ships to look up and take possession of the newly discovered rivers. But Van Materen himself says at the same time of Hudson that, "as he was about to sail with his ship and crew [from Dartmouth] to go and report the results of his voyage, he was arrested in England and commanded not to depart, but that he must enter the service of his country, which command was also extended to the other English who were in the vessel." On 15th December, 1644, the (Dutch) Chamber of Accounts of the West India Company presented a "Report and Advice" to the effect that "New Netherland, stretching from the South River, situated in thirty-eight and a half degrees, to Cape Malabarre, in the latitude of forty-one and a half degrees, was first visited by the inhabitants of this country in the year 1598, and especially by those of the Greenland Company, but without making fixed habitations and only as a refuge in winter." Nearly all the historians of New York accept this apocryphal statement, which Mr. Brodhead guardedly says "needs confirmation." In fact, the picturesque Indian legends so distinctly confided to Heckewelder prove that Hudson and his crew were the first white men ever remembered to have been seen by the Indians on the Hudson. A stranger story is that of Sir Edmund Ploeden, or Plowden, Earl Palatine of New Albion, who, by English Charter of 1632, was granted by indefinite description a tract of land between Cape Cod and Cape May, extending westward to some untraceable boundary. This tract, which included New Jersey, Delaware, part of Maryland, and perhaps of Pennsylvania, was divided, according to "Beauchamp Plantagenet" in his pamphlet, into Lordships and other great divisions. Yet before the Dutch came to established settlements, Plowden and his colonists had disappeared. Each government founded its claim to the territory between thirty-eight and forty-one degrees north latitude. In April, 1632, Governor Peter Minuet, recalled in disgrace from the New Netherlands, was driven by a storm into Plymouth, England. He and his staff were detained upon a charge of illegally trading with the Indians of Virginia. A diplomatic correspondence immediately ensued between the two governments, in which King Charles I. declined to release Minuet until he had looked into the matter further, as he was "not quite sure what his rights were." Then was the time, if ever, for the claim of 1598 to be put

Those who wish to pursue these subjects minutely will find ample details in the historical collections of Pennsylvania, New York, Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland. They will not, however, after all discover much to disturb the general conclusion that the Dutch claim to the New Netherlands rests upon discovery and possession taken by Henry Hudson in 1609; the English claim to general discovery by the Cabots in 1497-98.

The Dutch did not immediately profit to any great extent by the magnificent discoveries made for them and in their name by Henry Hudson. The report upon the Hudson River must indeed have attracted great attention when received at home, but the navigator merely said of the Zuydt (South or Delaware) River,¹ that he found the land to "trend away towards the northwest, with a great bay and rivers, but the bay was shoal," and dangerous by reason of sand-bars. This sort of character would not tend to divert navigators or sea traders in that direction. There were as yet, for reasons which will presently appear, no attempts at colonization either on the North or the South River. But the Dutch, born traders, were fully acquainted with the value of the fur trade through their traffic with Russia, frequently sending as many as sixty to eighty ships a year to Archangel, the czar having made the fur trade practically free. Hudson had revealed to these shrewd traders what a wealth of cheap furs was to be obtained from the Indians on the river bearing his name, and his old vessel, the "Half-Moon," was no sooner released and restored to her owners, in 1610, than she was sent back to the North River with a trading cargo, and returned with a profitable cargo of furs. In 1611, Hendrick Christiaensen, of Cleves, near Niemguen, Holland, West India trader, and Adrian Block, of Amsterdam, chartered a ship, in company with the Schipper Rysar, and made a successful voyage to the Mannhattans and the "great river of the mountains," returning with furs, and bringing also two sons of chiefs with them, whom they kindly christened "Valentine and Orson." These young savages, and the cheap and abundant furs of their native land, attracted public attention in Holland to the newly discovered territories. A memorial on the subject was presented to the Provincial States of Holland

and West Friesland by several merchants and inhabitants of the United Provinces, and "it was judged of sufficient consequence to be formally communicated to the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enckhuysen."² In 1612, Christiaensen and Block, with the encouragement and material aid of leading and enterprising merchants, fitted out two vessels, the "Fortune" and the "Tiger," and sailed again to the Mannhattans, to trade along the Hudson as before. Other merchants joined in these profitable ventures, and in 1613 the "Little Fox," under command of John De Witt, and the "Nightingale," under Thys Volkertsen, were sent out from Amsterdam, while the owners of the ship "Fortune," of Hoorn, sent out their vessel under charge of Capt. Cornelis Jacobsen May, or Mey. Block's vessel, the "Tiger," was burnt at Manhattan Island just as he was about to return to Holland, but the undaunted mariner built a hut on shore on Manhattan Island, and spent the winter of 1613-14 in constructing a yacht of sixteen tons, which he appropriately named the *Onrust*, or "Restless." In the spring of 1614, when Block's little yacht was ready for service, the companion vessels of the previous year, as above enumerated, were coming out for their second voyage. But they came under new auspices, for the States General had considered and acted upon the memorials and petitions spoken of above, passing an ordinance³ declaring that as it was "honorable, useful, and profitable" that the people of the Netherlands should be encouraged to adventure themselves in discovering unknown countries, and for the purpose of making the inducement "free and common to every one of the inhabitants," it was granted and conceded that "whoever shall from this time forward discover any new passages, havens, lands, or places, shall have the exclusive right of navigating to the same for four voyages." Reports of discoveries were to be made to the States General within fourteen days after the return of vessels to port, and where the discoveries were simultaneously made by different parties, the rights acquired under them were to be enjoyed in common.

When the spring voyaging began, Christiaensen pushed up the Hudson and erected a trading-post and block-house on Castle Island, just below where Albany now stands. Block, with the "Onrust," explored Long Island Sound, and many rivers and inlets to the eastward, naming Rhode (Roode) Island and giving his own name to Block Island. Mey, on the contrary, sailed immediately southward, charted the coast from Sandy Hook to the Delaware, and entering that bay gave his surname, May, to the northern cape, his Christian name, Cornelis, to the southern cape opposite, and to the southern cape facing the ocean he gave the name of Hinlopen, the name of a

forward on the one side, and those of Argall and Plowden and Lord de la Ward on the other. But the Dutch simply rested on Hudson's discovery in 1609, the return of some of their people in 1610, a specific trading charter in 1614, and permanent occupancy by the Dutch West India Company in 1623. The claims of King Charles, on the other hand, though formulated by the skillful hand of Sir Edward Coke himself, rested entirely upon the discovery of America by Cabot and the New England and Virginia patents of King James I.

¹ Also variously called by the Indian names of Pontaxat, Makiriskitton, Makarish-Kiskien, and Lenape Whittuck, while Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, bravely gives it the further name of Arasapha. When it became better known, the Dutch sometimes called it the Nassau, Prince Hendrick's or Prince Charles' River; and the Swedes, New Swedeland stream. The earliest settlers sometimes styled it New Port May and Godyn's Bay.

² Brodhead, i. p. 46. N. Y. Hist. Coll., 2d series, ii. 355.

³ 27th March, 1614.

town in Friesland. There is no evidence that May attempted to change the name of the Delaware Bay and River from that given it by the Dutch, the South River, or that he landed at any point.¹

All the vessels of the trading squadron returned early in the fall to Holland, except the "Onrust," which remained at Manhattan under the command of Cornelis Hendricksen. Block, who no more visited our coasts, returned in his old companion's ship, the "Fortune," Capt. Hendrick Christiaensen, to Holland. There the navigators and their associated merchants and owners formed a company, drew a chart and report of their several discoveries, and proceeded to the Hague to claim a concession under the ordinance of March 27, 1614. They spread their "figurative map" upon the council table in the presence of the twelve mighty lords of the States General, presided over by John van Oiden Barneveldt, the "Advocate" of Holland, told their tale of adventure, discovery, loss, and gain, and claimed the monopoly which was theirs by right under the ordinance. It was conceded at once, and a special charter to them of exclusive privilege to trade for four voyages in the region they had explored was drawn up and signed in their presence. The penalty for infringing upon this charter was a fine of fifty thousand Netherland ducats for the benefit of the grantees. The territory covered by the charter was all the land between New France, as the French possessions in Canada were called, and Virginia, and the grantees were given three years in which to make the four voyages. This charter, besides conferring a valuable franchise temporarily upon the grantees, in effect asserted that the Dutch territory of the New Netherlands embraced all the territory and coast line of North America from the fortieth to the forty-fifth parallel. Nor did any of King James' charters negative this pretension, for they expressly excepted any lands settled or occupied by the subjects of any European sovereign or State.

While the new company were spreading their "figurative map" before the Council at the Hague, the little yacht "Onrust," on the other side of the ocean, now under the command of the enterprising Capt. Hendricksen, was making the first actual exploration of the Delaware Bay and River. Hendricksen landed at several places, took soundings, drew charts, and discovered the contour of the bay and the

capabilities of the river. While landing at Christina Creek a strange thing happened. Hendricksen's party encountered a band of Minqua Indians and redeemed from captivity three white men, who in the spring of the year 1616 had left Fort Nassau, on Castle Island, at the head of navigation on the North River, and strayed into the wilderness and forest in which the Mohawks and Lenni Lenape had their wondrous hunting-grounds. These men had wandered up the Mohawk Valley, crossed the dividing ridge into the Delaware Valley, and then descended that stream, thus being the first white men who ever trod the soil of Pennsylvania.² On Aug. 19, 1616, Hendricksen, having returned to Holland, laid his claim for extensive trading privileges before the States General, asserting that "he hath discovered for his aforesaid masters and directors certain lands, a bay, and three rivers, situate between thirty-eight and forty degrees, and did there trade with the inhabitants, said trade consisting of sables, furs, robes, and other skins. He hath found the said country full of trees, to wit: oak, hickory, and pines, which trees were in some places covered with vines. He hath seen in said country bucks and doe, turkeys and partridges. He hath found the climate of said country very temperate, judging it to be as temperate as this country (Holland)." Hendricksen's claim, however, was not granted, and in January, 1618, the general ordinance granting exclusive trading privileges expired by limitation. An entirely new policy was in contemplation by the Netherlands government.³

This new policy looked to stepping at once from simple trading in the New Netherlands to colonization by means of a West Indies Company. Its development and its fluctuations during many years, in obedience to the ups and downs of political agitation in the Netherlands, are described graphically in the brilliant pages of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's just published History of New York, but at too great length to be followed here. Holland, as Brodhead has described it, was the greatest trading country at this time. Amsterdam was the Venice of the North, and the Dutch pushed their commerce into every zone. But the Netherlands were more than this. They were ardent and even fanatical politicians. They

¹ Some romantic circumstances have gathered about the fact of the Delaware Bay and River and the State of Delaware deriving their name from Lord de la Warr. It has been said that he died off the capes of Delaware on his home voyage, that he was poisoned, etc. The better-received opinion, however, is that he was alive in 1618, and then died either at his seat in England or when about to re-embark for Virginia. He was only Lord de la Warr by courtesy, being actually Sir Thomas West, third son of Lord de la Warr. He married in Virginia, his wife being a daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley, from whom the old Virginia estate of that name derives its title. West Point, in New York, gets its name from him. The family of the Sackville-Weests, owners of the stately manor-house of Knoke, in which in Queen Elizabeth's day belonged to the Sackvilles, are the stock from whom sprang the present British Minister at Washington, Hon. Lionel Sackville-West.

² *Armor's Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania*, pages 17 and 20. The fact of this meeting is not disputed. Most authorities say, however, that the three men were not whites but Indians, employes of the trading-post on Castle Island.

³ Another historic doubt clouds this voyage of Hendricksen. It might be supposed that this "third river" must be the Schuylkill, and that he was thus the first white man to gaze upon the site of Philadelphia. But a writer so accomplished as Dr. George Smith, historian of Delaware County, says that it cannot be fairly inferred that the voyage of the "Restless" was extended so far inland even as the mouth of the Delaware River, and that the original "Carte figurative" attached to the memorial of his employers proves this. He suggests that if any new and original information was contributed to the States General by Hendricksen, it was derived not from his own exploration, but from the statements of the three rescued traders from Fort Nassau.

had just conquered their freedom from the Spaniards, whom they hated bitterly, and proclaimed the republic which had enabled them to maintain the bitter struggle, and which consequently they devotedly loved. Up to 1606 they had been completely united both in foreign and domestic policy, and in that year they had been about to found a West Indies Company, not merely for trade, but to carry on the war with Spain more actively and relentlessly. When Virginia was occupied by the London Company in 1608, they had proposed to the British government to join them in a common foreign and trading policy, meaning, of course, to war more energetically still upon Spanish commerce. But the British coolly declined, saying that they feared "that in case of joining, if it be upon equal terms, the art and industry of their people will wear out ours." This suggestion of overreaching was not forgotten by the Dutch. In 1620, when Robinson, Brewster, and their large congregation of Puritans, exiles in Leyden and other parts of the Netherlands for twelve years, had determined to emigrate to America, and had been disappointed in their negotiations with both the Virginia colony and the Plymouth Company, they applied to the Netherlands through the Amsterdam merchants for leave to settle on the North River, Robinson offering to go and take four hundred families with him, provided they were assured of protection. "They desired to go to New Netherlands," said Robinson, "to plant there the true Christian and pure religion, to convert the savages of those countries to the true knowledge and understanding of the Christian faith, and through the grace of the Lord and to the glory of the Netherlands government, to colonize and establish a new empire there under the order and command" of the Prince of Orange and the High Mighty Lords States General.¹ The Amsterdam Company submitted the proposition to the Hague with their approval, having made at the same time "large offers" of free transportation, stock, etc., to the Puritans. The Prince of Orange, the stadtholder, referred the memorial to the States General, and that body, after careful deliberation, resolved peremptorily to reject the offer of the Puritans. But for this action there might have been no Plymouth Rock, and the whole course of American history might have been changed.

The truce of the Netherlands with Spain, which was negotiated in 1609, to last twelve years, was in lieu of a permanent treaty of peace. Philip II. consented to the independence of the Netherlands, but would not consent to give them free trade in the East Indies. The Netherlands would not treat finally without a recognition of their commercial freedom, and so a truce was the compromise agreed upon. The treaty was the work of Grotius and Barneveldt, supported by James I. of England and Henry IV. of France. Its negotiation had the effect to destroy the

project for a West India Company, and on this and other grounds was opposed bitterly by the "stallwart" party of the day in the Netherlands, headed by William Usselinx, a merchant of Antwerp, who had spent many years in Spain, the Azores, and other Catholic countries, for which he seemed to have a deep personal hatred, and by Plancius, Linschoten, and other leading scholars and merchants, who composed a distinctive "war party," and were eager to resort to every means to injure and humble their haughty and arrogant enemy. This party was strengthened by the fierce temper of religious controversy. The Calvinists and Puritans were in bitter antagonism to the Arminians, who controlled the State. It was an old controversy, old as the days of Augustine and Pelagius, and it was fought over again in Holland. Finally, in 1619, the Reformers carried everything before them in the Synod of Dort, the Arminians were put down, and Barneveldt, in his seventy-second year, was beheaded as a traitor.

The charter of the Amsterdam merchants for trade with the Netherlands had expired, the ordinance under which the concessions were granted had also ceased, Usselinx and his party and their policy were triumphant, and there were many reasons why the long-suspended project for a West India Company should be carried through without further delay. The Virginians began to look with concern at the presence of the Dutch upon the Zuydt or South River, and indeed had already sent one abortive expedition against them.

The twelve-year truce with Spain expired in the spring of 1621, and the United Provinces knew that the old struggle must soon be renewed. The English government was preparing to remonstrate more or less vigorously against the expansion of the Netherlands colonies both on the South River and on the New England side. The time was ripe for the consummation of the great scheme of Usselinx, which indeed looked to a vast privateering war against Spain, in connection with the permanent plantation of the New Netherlands. On the 3d of June, 1621, accordingly, the States General, under their great seal, granted a formal patent incorporating the West India Company for the encouragement of that foreign trade and navigation upon which it was assumed the welfare and happiness of the United Provinces mainly depended. This charter gave to the West India Company for the period of twenty-four years the exclusive monopoly of trade and navigation to the coasts of Africa, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Tropic of Cancer, and to the coasts of America and the West Indies, between the Straits of Magellan and Newfoundland. The company was invested with enormous powers. In the language of Brodhead, it might make in the name of the States General "contracts and alliances with the princes and natives of the countries comprehended within the limits of its charter, build forts, appoint and discharge gov-

¹ Brodhead, I. 124.

errors, soldiers, and public officers, administer justice, and promote trade. It was bound to advance the peopling of these fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of those countries and the profit and increase of trade shall require." The States General had a sort of general supervision, with the privilege of confirming the appointment of superior officers, but no other powers over it. The government of the company was vested in five boards of managers,—one at Amsterdam, managing four-ninths of the whole; one at Middleburg, in Zealand, managing two-ninths; one at Dordrecht, on the Maese, managing one-ninth; one in North Holland, one-ninth; and one in Friesland and Groningen, one-ninth. The general executive power for all purposes, the power to declare war only being reserved for the approval of the States, was confided to a board of nineteen delegates, of whom eight were to come from the Amsterdam chamber, and the rest from the other chambers in proportion to their shares, except that the States General had one delegate. The States were pledged to defend the company against all comers, to advance to it a million guilders in money, and give it for its assistance sixteen ships of war of three hundred tons each, and four yachts of eighty tons, fully equipped. This fleet was to be maintained, manned, and supported by the company, which besides was to provide an equal number of vessels on its own part, the whole to be under the command of an admiral selected by the States General. Any inhabitant of the Netherlands or of other countries might become a stockholder during 1621, but after that year the subscription books were to be closed, and no new members admitted. Colonization was one object of this great monopoly, but what its chiefs looked to principally for profit was a vast system of legalized piracy against the commerce of Spain and Portugal in Africa and America. The company was not finally organized under the charter until June, 1623, when the subscription books were closed.

In the interval between the lapse of the old United Company and the completion of the charter of the new monopoly, several ships were sent on trading ventures of a more or less private character to the North and South Rivers in the New Netherlands, among them vessels which had visited those regions before. King James I. having granted the charter of the Plymouth Company, complaints began to be heard about Dutch intrusions. Sir Samuel Argall, who is represented in the curious Plantagenet pamphlet as having forced a Dutch governor in Manhattan to yield allegiance to the British king in 1613, is found in 1621 as complaining, in a memorial signed by him, Sir Ferdinando Georges, the Earl of Arundel, and Capt. John Mason, against the "Dutch intruders," who are represented as having only settled on the Hudson in 1620. This was claimed by the Plymouth Company as proof of the British king's

title to the whole country, *jure prime occupationis*. This led to a protest, in December, 1621, by the British government, through Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at the Hague. The States professed ignorance, and promised to make inquiry, and with that answer, after some fretfulness, the British minister was forced to content himself. In fact, the States General, engrossed in preparations for the war with Spain, simply delayed matters until the West India Company was organized, when all such questions were referred to it for settlement. It thus became an issue between British Plymouth Company and Dutch West India Company, and the latter was the stronger of the two, both in men and argument.

The ships of that company, even before the final ratification of the amended charter, were trading in all the Atlantic waters between Buzzard's Bay (within twenty miles of Plymouth) and the Delaware River, and a plan of colonization was already matured. A number of Walloons (Belgian Protestants of supposed Waelche or Celtic origin), refugees in Holland from Spanish persecution, had applied to the British minister Carleton for leave to emigrate to Virginia. The terms offered them do not seem to have been satisfactory. The Holland Provincials heard of the negotiations, and suggested to the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company that these would be good immigrants with whom to begin the permanent settlement of the New Netherlands. The suggestion was seized upon, and provision made to carry the Walloons over in the company's ship then about to sail, the "New Netherlands," Capt. Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, he who had first sailed into South River, and who was going out now as first resident director or governor of the colonies. Some thirty families, chiefly Walloons, were accordingly taken on board, and in the beginning of March, 1623, the "New Netherlands" sailed from the Texel, Capt. Mey in command, the next highest officer being Adriaen Joris, of Thienpoint. The course of the ship (and of nearly all vessels making the American voyage at that day) was southward from the British Channel to the Canaries, thence across the Atlantic with the trade-winds to Guiana and the Caribbees, then northwest between the Bermudas and Bahamas until the coast of Virginia came in sight. Mey's vessel reached the North River safely and in time to drive off a French vessel which sought to set up the arms of France on Manhattan Island. The Frenchman was foiled in the same way on the Zuydt River. Mey distributed his colonists as far as he could. The greater part of the Walloons were sent up to Albany, several families went to the Dutch factory on the Connecticut; four couples, who had married during the voyage out, several sailors, and some other men were sent to the South River, now also called Prince Hendrick's River. Mey appears either to have accompanied them here or visited them soon after their arrival. He selected a site for their settlement, planting the Walloons on Verhulsten

Island, near the present city of Trenton, N. J., and hastened the construction of a log fort or stockade for his sailors and soldiers at the mouth of the Timber Kill, on the New Jersey bank of the Delaware, not far from where Gloucester now stands. This fort was called "Nassau." Its exact site is not determined, nor can we decide the original Indian name of the spot, having such a variety to choose from.¹ This South River colony was soon given up. The men and women of the Walloons grew homesick and returned to New York, certainly within a year or so, the garrison also abandoning the fort to the Indians, who occasionally lodged there during several years, probably while waiting for trading vessels. Such a vessel was sent round to the South River at least once a year from Manhattan Island. Thus, it is supposed in 1625, the first settlement on the Delaware came to naught.² Fort Nassau, to conclude its history, seems to have been alternately occupied and abandoned by the Dutch until 1650 or 1651, when it was destroyed by the Dutch themselves, as being too high up the river and too much out of the way. The post was then transferred to the new Fort Casimir. In 1633, De Vries found none but Indians there, but it seems to have been restored some time during the same year by Governor Van Twiller, who was accused of incurring extravagant expense in connection with its construction. Arent Corssen was then commissary; he had a clerk, and the governor ordered him to select the site for another structure of the same sort on the river. In 1635 an English party attempted but failed to capture this fort. They were thought to be Lord Baltimore's people, but were more likely New Englanders or Virginians. The Swedes repeatedly denied that there was any fort of the Dutch on the Delaware in 1638; but the Dutch accounts of expenditure for the maintenance of Fort Nassau charged against that year in the West India Company's books disprove this. There was certainly enough of a garrison in the fort to report at once and protest against the Swedish settlement at Christiana in April, 1638. In 1642 the garrison comprised twenty men, and the fort was continually occupied from this time forth until the Dutch destroyed it.

¹ Hermaomessing, Tachaacho, Arnewamix, Arwames, Tekoke, Arnenverus, etc. The year in which the fort was built is also disputed, but the circumstances mentioned in the text make it probable that its construction was undertaken very shortly after Capt. Mey's arrival out.

² It is not possible to state satisfactorily in what year the settlement was given up nor why. The deposition of Peter Lawrenson before Governor Dongan, of New York, in March, 1685, says that he came into this colony in 1628, and in 1630 (actually 1631), by order of the West India Company, he, with some others, was sent in a sloop to the Delaware, where the company had a trading-house, with ten or twelve servants belonging to it, which the deponent himself did see settled there. . . . "And the deponent further saith that upon an island near the falls of that river and near the west side thereof, the said company some three or four years before had a trading house, where there were three or four families of Walloons. The place of their settlement he saw; and that they had been seated there he was informed by some of the said Walloons themselves when they were returned from thence." It is in this indefinite way that the beginnings of all history are written.

In 1624, Peter Minuet (the name is also spelled Minuit, Minnewit, or Minnewe) came out and succeeded Mey as director of the New Netherlands colonies. He held this position until 1632, when he was recalled, and Van Twiller became governor in his stead. Minuet, as will be seen farther on, was a sagacious and enterprising man, but he had to pursue a conservative policy as director of the New Netherlands, for the welfare of the colony was neglected sadly by the West India Company. But few immigrants and colonists came out, the garrisons were not strengthened, nor was much effort made to extend either the boundaries or the trade of the colony. Some negro slaves indeed were landed on Manhattan Island at least as early as 1628, but their labor was not esteemed. The chief business done was in trading with the Indians for peltries and furs. In fact the West India Company was so puffed up with the arrogance that proceeds from great successes and sudden wealth, that the directors despised the small and plodding colonial ways and the slow and meagre profits derived from such sources. It had won brilliant victories at sea. It had taken in two years one hundred and four Spanish prizes. It had paid dividends of fifty per cent. It had captured the Panama plate fleet. It frequently sent to sea single squadrons of seventy armed vessels. It had captured Bahia in 1624, and Pernambuco in 1630, and it aspired to the conquest of Brazil. These brilliant performances cast the puny interests of the New Netherlands traders into the shade, and the company did not care to be bothered with the discharge of duties which were nevertheless particularly assigned to it in the charter. So obvious was this departure from the original purposes of the company that so early even as 1624 we find that William Usselinx, the founder of the company, had abandoned it in disgust, and was seeking to persuade King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to establish a Swedish West India Company, such as would be operated more in accordance with his original plan.

There were still some very shrewd heads among the members of the Amsterdam chamber, men who while quite willing to take all the gold and silver and precious stones they could get, yet were fully acquainted with the more abiding virtues of land. Of these were John De Laet, the historian, Killiaan Van Rensselaer, the diamond-cutter, Michael Pauw, Peter Evertsen Hulft, Jonas Witsen, Hendrick Hamel, Samuel Godyn, and Samuel Blommaert, all rich, all well informed, all interested in the support and development of the colonies on the North and South Rivers, especially if these could be effected in a way further to enrich themselves. The secretary of Minuet and the colony, Isaac De Rasieres, a keen observer and skillful diplomatist, was devoted to the interests of Godyn, Van Rensselaer, and Blommaert, and he probably kept them apprised of all that was going on in the New Netherlands. While Minuet, with reduced

forces, was compelled through fear of Indians to concentrate his people at Manhattan, abandoning all exposed places, the Amsterdam directors, after consulting with De Rasieres, whom Minuet had sent home, procured a meeting of the Executive "College" of nineteen, and secured from it a Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which the States General confirmed on June 7, 1629. This was a complete feudal constitution, adopted years before Lord Baltimore's charter. It created a landed aristocracy, and handed the State over pretty much to their control. The plan for the colonization of the territory was its subdivision into separate and independent settlements or estates, each to be under the control of a patroon, or feudal lord, who was to settle it at his own expense in exchange for many peculiar privileges. The charter provided that any member of the West India Company (to none others were these privileges open) who should within four years plant a colony of fifty adults in any part of New Netherland (except the island of Manhattan, which the company, having bought it from the Indians, reserved to itself) should be acknowledged as a "patroon" or feudal chief of the territory he might thus colonize. The land selected for each colony might extend sixteen miles in length if confined to one side of a navigable river, or eight miles on each side if both banks were occupied; but they might run as far into the country as the situation of the occupiers should permit. More immigrants entitled the patroon to proportionately more land. The colonists under the patroons were exempted from all taxes for ten years; they acquired their estates in fee simple with power of disposing by will; they were magistrates within their own bounds, and each patroon had the exclusive privilege of fishing, fowling, and grinding corn within his own domain; they could also trade anywhere along the American coast, and to Holland by paying five per cent. duty to the company at its reservation of Manhattan. The company reserved the fur trade to itself, and none of the colonists were to engage in any manufactures.

Before the details of the Charter of Exemptions and Privileges were completed some of the Amsterdam directors, probably upon the advice of De Rasieres, united with one another, or, as we should now say in newspaper parlance, formed a "pool" for an enormous "land-grab." The first to act were Blommaert, De Rasieres' friend, and Godyn. They sent two persons in 1629 to the Zuydt River to examine and buy land, and these agents purchased from the Indians, on the south side of Delaware Bay, a tract thirty-two miles long and two miles deep from Cape Hinlopen to the mouth of a river, the patent being registered and confirmed June 1, 1630. Sebastian Jansen Krol, Van Rensselaer's agent, bought from the Indians for him on the west side of the Hudson, near Albany, a tract sixteen miles front and extending back two days' journey into the wilderness. This patroon made

other purchases a few days later, and became proprietor of nearly all of what are the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer. Michael Pauw secured in the same way the patroonship of Pavonia and Staten Island, Paulus Hook and Jersey City. The land-grabbers now began to quarrel among themselves, and to avoid scandal and exposure Van Rensselaer divided his tract into five shares, two of which he retained with the title of patroon; one fell to John De Laet, one to Samuel Godyn, and one to Samuel Blommaert. In the same way Godyn and Blommaert shared with their partners the tract on South River.

In the mean time Godyn and Blommaert had to improve their tract. Opportunely for them there arrived at this time at Amsterdam, fresh from a three years' cruise to the East Indies, one David Pietersen de Vries, of Hoorn, a skipper who in 1624 had attempted unsuccessfully to invade the West India Company's monopoly. De Vries, a rough but kindly man, keen, observant, and well versed in affairs as well as seamanship, was well known to Godyn. As soon as his arrival was known the latter approached him and asked if he would like to go to New Netherland as commander and "under-patroon." But De Vries would not go in any capacity except upon an equality with the rest. He was accordingly taken into the partnership with Godyn and Blommaert, Van Rensselaer and De Laet, to whom were soon added four other directors of the West India Company, Van Ceuken, Hamel, Van Haringhoeck, and Van Sittorich.

De Vries became a patroon Oct. 16, 1630, and at once set to work to promote the designs of his associates. The ship "Walrus," or "Whale," of eighteen guns, and a yacht were immediately equipped. They carried out emigrants, cattle, food, and whaling implements, De Vries having heard that whales abounded in the Bay of South River (Godyn's Bay, or New Port May Bay, as it now also began to be called), and expecting to establish profitable fisheries there. The expedition sailed from the Texel in December under the command of Pieter Heyes, or Heyser. De Vries did not go out at this time, and the voyage was not profitable. De Vries accuses Heyes of incapacity and cowardice, saying he would not sail through the West Indies in an eighteen-gun ship. Still, Heyes did a large business for his employers. He reached South River in the spring of 1631, and established his colony on the Horekill, "a fine navigable stream, filled with islands, abounding in good oysters," and surrounded by fertile soil. The place was near the present site of Lewes, Del. Here a palisaded brick house was erected, and the colony of more than thirty souls was called Swaannendael, the Valley of Swans. The Dutch title was inscribed upon a pillar, on a plate of tin, surmounted by the arms of Holland. The fort, named "Oplandt," was given in the command of Gilliss Hossett, Van Rensselaer's agent in buying lands around Albany. Heyes, after he had

settled matters at Swaannendael, crossed to the Jersey shore and bought from ten chiefs there, on behalf of Godyn, Blommaert, and their associates, a tract of land extending from Cape May twelve miles northward along the bay and twelve miles inland. This purchase was registered at Manhattan June 3, 1631. The whale fishery having come to naught, in September Heyes sailed for home to report to his employers.

De Vries now determined to go out to the South River himself, and preparations were made for him to take charge of another ship and yacht. Just as he was about to sail from the Texel, May 24, 1632, Governor Minuet arrived from New Amsterdam with intelligence of the massacre of the colony at Swaannendael. This was cold news for De Vries and his associates. The patroon sailed, however, and after a long and checkered voyage arrived off Swaannendael early in December. The site of the little settlement told a fearful tale; the house itself nearly ruined, the stockade burnt, and the adjacent land strewn with the skulls and bones of the colonists, the remains of cattle, etc. The valley was silent and desolate.



DAVID PIETERSEN DE VRIES.

De Vries returned on board his yacht and fired a gun to attract attention of the savages. After some mutual mistrust, communication was opened with them, and De Vries was told a cock-and-bull story of a chief having ignorantly removed the coat of arms from the

pillar and been murdered by the Indians for doing it, whereupon his tribe, in revenge, massacred the colonists. De Vries knew too much about the Dutch cruelty and harshness to the Indians to believe any such story. He had before him all the evidences of the white man's cruelty and the savage's wild revenge. The fatal deed was irreparable, and De Vries, keeping his own counsel, did what he could to restore confidence and peace by making presents to the Indians of "duffles, bullets, hatchets, and Nuremberg toys," so as to get them to hunt beaver for him, instead of lying in ambush to murder more colonists. The result was a treaty of peace, the first ever made in Delaware waters.

On Jan. 1, 1633, the navigation being open, De Vries proceeded up the bay and river in his yacht. At Fort Nassau he heard of the murder of the crew of an English sloop, and met some Indians wearing the Englishmen's jackets. These Indians also made a

show of offering peace, but De Vries dealt with them very cautiously, as they greatly outnumbered his men.

On January 10th, De Vries cast anchor at the bar of Jacques Eylant, precisely opposite the present city of Philadelphia, over against Willow Street, being in fact now part of the fast land of New Jersey.¹ Thence he went down river again, anchoring half a mile above Minquas Kill, on the lookout for whales. He was finally twice frozen up, and in some danger from Indians, numerous war parties of whom he saw, there being some intestine feud among the adjacent tribes. Released from the ice, he reached Swaannendael on February 20th, and on March 6th sailed for Virginia, returning to South River only to break up the colony at Swaannendael and go home. Once more the Delaware River and Bay were abandoned to the Indians, and once more the attempt at settlement by white men had failed. There were no further efforts made to settle on South River until the Swedes came in 1638, but, as has been stated, there must have been a more or less intermittent occupancy at Fort Nassau, and possibly there may have been a permanent garrison from the beginning of Van Twiller's director-generalship.²

¹ The bar of Jacques Eylant embraces the spot where the city of Camden is now built.

² The 21st of June, 1634, is the alleged date of the probably spurious Sir Edward Plowden or Ploeden's charter for impossible territory somewhere between the Potomac and Newark Bay.

Rev. Edward D. Neill, president of Macalester College, Minn., who has given considerable attention to Maryland history, though from a rather sectarian stand-point, contributed two papers on Plowden to the fifth volume of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, conducted by the Historical Society of that State. He assumes Plowden's existence, and that he was the lineal descendant of Edmund Plowden, the commentator on English law, who earned Coke's encomiums and who died in 1584. Plowden, according to Neill, did obtain a grant in 1632, through King Charles I.'s request to the viceroy of Ireland for a certain "Isle Plowden" and forty leagues of the mainland, called "New Albion." The island lay between 39° and 40° latitude. Capt. Young, commissioned by the king in September, 1633, sent out an exploring expedition in 1634, which ascended the Delaware as far as the Falls. If this expedition ever sailed, it must have been the one mentioned by De Vries as having been massacred by the Indians. There is no proof that Plowden sent out this party or had sought to do with it. Evelyn, who commanded it, was in the service of Clayborne's London partners. Plowden, says Mr. Neill, was living at his seat at Wanstead in Hampshire in 1635, unhappy, beating his wife, quarreling with his neighbors, and changing his religion. His wife and his clergyman's wife both had him arrested for assault and battery, and his wife procured a divorce from him. In 1641, Evelyn wrote a pamphlet descriptive of New Albion, dedicated to Plowden's wife. The next year Plowden was on the Chesapeake. This was ten years after he is said to have procured this rich grant. No one can explain why he did not look after such an estate sooner. Plowden lived most of his time in Virginia, but was in Maryland on Delaware Bay, at New York, and in New England. He was abroad just seven years, say his chroniclers, and then went home to return no more to "New Albion." It is conjectured that his seven years' residence was on account of being transported, and that his New Albion claim was trumped up after the time of his sentence was served out. Plowden is reputed to have died in 1665. Mr. Neill further says that in 1635-40, Plowden was a prisoner in the Fleet Prison, London, for refusing to pay his wife's alimony. Mr. Neill must see that the dates of Plowden's adventures are irreconcilable with his adventures.

CHAPTER V.

THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE.

FORT NASSAU, on the Delaware, whether occupied permanently or not as a Dutch trading-post in 1633, must have had runners near by to bring news from it to Manhattan. John Romeyn Brodhead, the accurate historian of New York State, thinks it was not garrisoned then, nor in 1635, when the English party occupied it. This party of thirteen men, under George Holmes, was sent, he says, from Virginia by Governor Harvey, in consequence of the talk of the latter with De Vries in 1632. Other writers have thought they came from Maryland or Connecticut. They seized the fort, but Hall, Holmes' servant, deserted and went to Manhattan, carrying the news of the occupancy of Fort Nassau by the English. An armed force was at once sent in a sloop to dislodge them. Holmes and his men were made prisoners and sent back to Virginia, just as another party was starting to reinforce them. De Vries, on his return to Amsterdam from the deserted post of Swaanendael, found the partners quarreling among themselves and with the other directors. Not willing to mix in these disputes, he withdrew from the patroon partnership, and after the death of Godyn, in 1634, the West India Company settled the disputes by buying Swaanendael from Godyn's heirs and associates for fifteen thousand six hundred guilders, thus becoming again the legal proprietor of all the territory on both sides of the Delaware. A deed, recorded at Manhattan in 1648 and attested by Augustine Hermans, Govert Loockerman, and others, is adduced to show that the land on the Schuylkill called Armenverius, where this year (1648) Hudde had begun to build a fort called "Beversrede," was acquired by purchase from sundry Indian chiefs, by the company's agent on the South River, Arendt Corsen, in 1633. Nor is this improbable. Of this purchase Augustine Hermans was a witness, as he was at this time clerk to Corsen. The Dutch not only knew of the pretensions and promised coming of the Swedes, but they knew also that Lord Baltimore was about to sail from England, and that his charter called for a frontier line touching the Delaware westward of the mouth of the Schuylkill. They would naturally seek to secure Indian titles in advance for every acre of territory likely to be brought in dispute.

It is impossible to state the causes of the alienation of William Usselinckx from the Dutch West India Company. He had labored strenuously for over thirty years¹ to secure that company's charter, yet

he deserted it less than a year after the company was fully organized. He went to Stockholm, visited the valiant king, Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, and full, probably, of enthusiasm as well as special knowledge of his subject, pleaded so eloquently the advantages of colonization in general and the particular beauties and attractions of the territory along the South River which he proposed should be planted, that on Dec. 21, 1624, the king granted him a commission to form a Swedish West India Company somewhat upon the plan of that of the Netherlands, of which Usselinckx was the founder and originator. Usselinckx's plan was one which would naturally awaken the sympathy and excite the imagination of an ambitious monarch. He proposed to organize a trading company, to extend its operations into Asia, Africa, America, and Terra Magellanica. This company would plant Christianity among the heathen, extend his Majesty's dominions, enrich the treasury, reduce the burden of domestic taxation, and put lucrative trade at the command of Sweden's hardy seamen and enterprising merchants. The prosecution of the scheme would finally "tend greatly to the honor of God, to man's eternal welfare, to his Majesty's service, and the good of the kingdom."

The plans of Gustavus were both deep and patriotic. "The year 1624," says the historian Geijer, "was one of the few years that the king was able to devote to the internal development of the realm." He looked at the subject of colonization in America, says Rev. Dr. W. M. Reynolds in the introduction to his translation of Acrelius, "with the eye of a statesman who understood the wants not only of his own country but of the world, and was able with prophetic glance to penetrate into the distant ages of the future." He proposed there to found a free state, where the laborer should reap the fruit of his toil, where the rights of conscience should be inviolate, and which should be open to the whole Protestant world then engaged in a struggle for existence with all the papal powers of Europe. All should be secure in their persons, their property, and their rights of conscience. It should be an asylum for the persecuted of all nations, a place of security for the honor of the wives and daughters of those who were flying from bloody battle-fields and from homes made desolate by the fire and sword of the persecutor. No slaves should burden the soil; "for," said Gustavus, —and we realize the profound truth of his political

upon all the exports and imports of the company. Usselinckx seems to have been a sort of "projector" or "prospector," planning comprehensive commercial schemes which he had not the capital nor the credit to set afloat himself. He was a man, however, evidently of great experience, wide views, and the ability to express himself cogently and eloquently. He is supposed to be the author of the greater part of the documents in the *Argomento Gustaviana*, printed under the auspices of the Swedish government at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1633, which did so much to promote the objects of the Swedish Company. He also wrote many pamphlets and circulars addressed to the leading towns of Sweden, the Hanseatic cities, France, the States General, etc., "all of them," says Prof. C. T. Othner, "abounding in clear thoughts and brilliant fancies."

¹ His first attempts were made in 1590. Usselinckx probably left the Dutch West India Company because he had not money enough to secure an influential share in its stock by paying up his subscription. He appears to have been a bankrupt about that time. In the charter given to the Swedish Company he was recognized as director, and his services in that capacity and as organizer and founder of the company were to be compensated by a fee or royalty of one-tenth of one per cent.

economy after an experience of two centuries, at the end of which slavery expired amid the death-throes of our civil war—"slaves cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage. But the Swedish nation is industrious and intelligent, and hereby we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children."¹

The plan and contract were translated into the Swedish language by Schrader, the royal interpreter, and published to the nation, with an address and supported by the king's recommendation. People of all ranks were invited by royal edict to subscribe, and Gustavus pledged the royal treasury for its support to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars. The edict was ratified in 1627 in a general meeting of the States, and the people welcomed the new enterprise with enthusiasm. It was proposed to execute the plan at once, and every one subscribed from the queen-mother and Prince Casimir down through all ranks of nobility, clergy, military, burghers, and peasantry. Ships and all necessities are said to have been provided and the work was ripe for execution, when a revival of the Polish and German war called the king away to the field. Campanius and others would have us believe that the fleet sailed and was captured by the Spaniards. It is more likely, however, that the exigencies of war called for the postponement of the comprehensive scheme. Gustavus needed all his meagre resources to aid him in the field.

In 1632 the brave king fell gloriously on the battlefield of Lutzen, and his little daughter, Christina, was bequeathed to the astute guardianship of Chancellor Oxenstierna. One of the last acts of Gustavus had been to urge his people not to forget nor neglect the colonization scheme, and Oxenstierna took an early opportunity to have the patent renewed, with Usselinckx still director, and to publish the merits of the proposed new venture throughout Europe. In the mean time, in part probably through the intermediary of Usselinckx, the services of Peter Minuet, lately recalled from the director-generalship of New Netherland, were secured to superintend and direct the new plantation. The delays in preparation, however, prevented the expedition from sailing until late in the year 1637. Minuet was a native of Wessel, in Cleves, the nearest borderland of Holland on the side of Germany. It is supposed that he left the city of his forefathers when it fell into Spanish hands on occasion of the Jülich-Cleves war of succession. He entered the service of the Dutch West India Company, and, as has been seen, became director or governor over the colony of New Netherland, residing at New Amsterdam from 1626 to 1632, and proving himself an efficient officer. The intrigues consequent upon the quarrels of the patroons caused his dismissal in 1632. In 1635, Axel Oxenstierna was on a visit to

Holland to secure more support for Sweden in the prosecution of the Thirty Years' war. He was at the Hague and Amsterdam in May of that year, and in the latter city met Samuel Blommaert, the Dutch patroon, who, in conjunction with Godyn, had located tracts of land at Cape May and from Cape Henlopen up the Delaware Bay on the west side. Blommaert was also a friend and patron of Usselinckx. He immediately opened a correspondence with the Swedish Prime Minister on the subject of the Swedish West India Company and the colonization of the South River country.² Blommaert's first letters were directed to the plan of an expedition to the coast of Guinea or Brazil, a favorite idea of Usselinckx's, who wanted to spoil the Spaniards and Portuguese and get gold. Oxenstierna's thoughts, however, had a more pacific turn. In the spring of 1636 the chancellor was visited in Wismar by his friend Peter Spiring, a Dutchman, who had just come from looking after the regulation of the Prussian excise system, and was now on his way back to Holland. He had been and was at that time more or less in Oxenstierna's employment, and he was now commissioned to try to raise money in Holland for Sweden, and also "to observe whether it might not be possible in this conjunction to obtain some service in affairs of commerce or manufacture." Spiring, on reaching Amsterdam, had several conversations with Blommaert, and was by him put in communication with Peter Minuet. When Spiring returned to Sweden he brought with him for Oxenstierna a memorial written by Minuet, specifying the preparations requisite to planting a Swedish colony (to be called *Nova Suedia*) in some foreign part of the world.

The estimate called for a vessel of sixty to one hundred *tåster* (one hundred and twenty to two hundred tons), a cargo of ten thousand or twelve thousand gulden in goods, a company of twenty to twenty-five men, provisions for a year, a dozen soldiers to serve as a garrison for the post, and a small vessel to remain at the settlement. At this time the idea in view was a factory apparently on the Gold Coast. Spiring was sent back to Holland in the fall of 1636 in the capacity of Swedish resident and "counselor of the finances" (*finansråd*) with a title of nobility thrown in, so that he now signed himself *Pieter Spiringk Silvercroen op Norsholm*.³ When Spiring arrived in Holland in Oc-

² The discovery of this correspondence, lately made by Prof. Odhner, in the Royal Archives of Sweden, has thrown an entirely new light upon the history of the Swedish expeditions to the Delaware prior to that of Printz, and enables us to correct the errors into which previous writers have fallen from following too closely the accounts of Campanius and Acrelius. The latter is very accurate so far as his knowledge goes, but he did not search the records of Sweden as closely as he did those of the Swedish Churches in America. Blommaert's letters to the Swedish chancellor are written in Dutch.

³ This was in Dutch; the Swedish was *Silfvercroen till Norsholm*. All these interesting details are from the translation of Prof. Odhner's paper, "The Founding of New Sweden" (*Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning, 1637-1642*). Op C. T. ODHNER, *Hist. Bibliotek. Ny följd* I, ss. 197-235. Stockholm, 1876), published in vol. iii. of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.

¹ *Argonautica Gustaviana*.

tober he handed to Blommaert his appointment as Swedish commissary at Amsterdam, with a salary of one thousand *riksdaler*. There were immediate consultations between Spiring, Blommaert, and Minuet; the idea of a Guinea factory was abandoned, and preparations made, secretly and privately, so as not to alarm the Dutch West India Company, for planting a colony in North America on soil not occupied by either Dutch or English. The cost of this expedition was estimated at twenty-four thousand Dutch florins (worth about forty cents); Minuet was to be commander, and Blommaert commissioner for it at Amsterdam. The money was contributed, half by Minuet, Blommaert, and their friends in Amsterdam, half subscribed in Sweden by Spiring, the three Oxenstiernas, Clas Fleming, practical chief of the Swedish Admiralty and secretary of the Swedish Company.¹ Minuet went to Sweden in February, 1637, and began his preparations, Blommaert secured crews and cargo, and all were sent to Gottenburg, the expedition intending to start in the spring. Delay came from a prolonged illness of Minuet and other causes. However, the passports for the vessels were issued by the Swedish Admiralty on Aug. 9, 1637, when the two ships, the "Kalmar Nyckel" and the "Gripen," left Stockholm. They did not, however, sail from Gottenburg until late in the fall, and then encountered such severe weather that they were forced to put into the Dutch harbor of Medemblik in December to refit and take in provisions, finally sailing for their destination just about the close of the year. They sailed as the ships of the Swedish West India Company, and as if dispatched to enjoy the benefit of its privileges.²

The charter of the Swedish West India Company gave to the associated subscribers the exclusive right for twelve years to trade beyond the Straits of Gibraltar southward in Africa, and in America and Australia, reaching the coast of America at the same latitude as said straits, viz., 36°, also with all lands and islands between Africa and America in the same latitude, the vessels and goods of others than the same company who infringe those rights to be confiscated. Accounts

were to be settled every year, and every person interested to the amount of one thousand thalers could be present. Final settlements every six years, when the company might be dissolved if its profit or influence be not obvious. Directors or regents to be elected, one for each one hundred thousand thalers of stock, these directors to be all equal in authority, and to be paid one thousand thalers each per annum. The company was put under the royal protection, and given the same extensive trade and foreign privileges as those enumerated in connection with the Dutch Company, but was forbidden aggressive acts against either savage or civilized people. Its object was not war, but peaceful trade and settlement. The founder and director of the company, William Usselinx, was to be paid the tenth of one per cent. royalty on all the traffic of the company in recognition of his services.

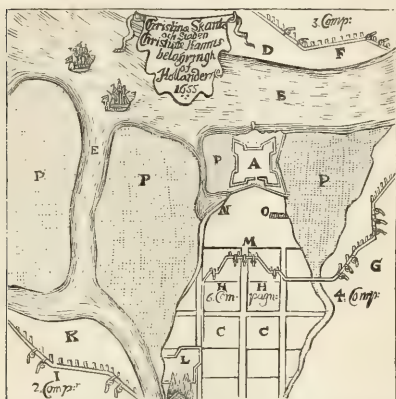
There is nothing satisfactory known concerning Minuet's voyage across the Atlantic. Since Professor Odhner wrote, however, a further search among the Swedish archives has been made, and a contract signed by Governor Printz has been discovered, in which it is mentioned that Minuet bought land on the Delaware from an Indian chief on March 29, 1638, so that he must have arrived inside the Capes of the Delaware at least three or four days before that date. This corroborates some of the inferences of Odhner, and enables us to correct other less accurate accounts of this expedition. For example, it has generally been supposed that Minuet arrived later than this date, from a letter written from Jamestown, Va., May 8, 1638, by Jerome Hawley, treasurer of the Virginia colony, to Secretary Windebanke, of the London Company. Hawley says, "Since which time have arrived a Dutch ship, with commission from the Queen of Sweden, and signed by eight of the chief Lords of Sweden. . . . The ship remained here about ten days, to refresh with wood and water, during which time the master of said ship made known that both himself and another ship of his company were bound for Delaware Bay."

The vessel asked the privilege of laying in a cargo of tobacco for Sweden free of duty, but this was refused. Professor Odhner shows, however, that this vessel could not have been the "Key of Kalmar," with Minuet on board, but the yacht "Griffin," which, after his arrival in the Delaware, the commander sent to Jamestown with the idea of bartering her cargo in Virginia. Minuet appears not to have confided to the Holland directors his exact destination, Blommaert in his letters speaking continually of the "*voyagen till Florida*." In the same way it is suspected that Minuet concealed the Dutch protests made after his arrival, and declared that he found the country totally unoccupied by Christians after an exploration some distance inland. It was necessary to deceive Blommaert, for it was less than two years since he and Godyn had sold this very country which the Swedes were occupying back to the Dutch West

¹ Spiring gave four thousand five hundred florins, Axel and Gabriel Gustafson Oxenstierna three thousand each, and the rest smaller sums.

² The passes granted were to Capt. Anders Nilsson Krober, of the "Kalmar Nyckel" (in Dutch *De Kalmers lentel*), and "Vogel Grip" (Dutch, *De Vogelgryp*), commanded by Lieut. Jacob Borten. The "Key of Kalmar" (named after a city of Sweden, on the Baltic coast of Gothland, off the island of Oland, and famous as being the place where the union of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway was consummated in 1397, under the imperious Queen Margaret of Denmark, called the "Semiramis of the North") was a regular man-of-war of quite good capacity. The "Griffin" (or "Bird Griffin") was a sloop or yacht for shallow water. The cost of the expedition, through delays, ran up above thirty-six thousand florins, causing the Dutch subscribers to grumble. The only person, so far as known, who came to New Sweden on the "Gripen" and remained with the colony was *ein morian oder angoler*, "a Moor or Angola man," a negro named Anthony, a bought slave (the first on the Delaware), who served Governor Printz at Tinicum in 1644 ("making hay for the cattle and accompanying the Governor in his pleasure-yacht"), and was still living in 1648. (Note of G. B. Kem in his translation of Odhner.)

India Company for a good round sum of money. Minuet's vessels first sighted the coast at Cape Henlopen, and from thence they steered into the Delaware Bay, landing first at Mispillion, the landscape of which so charmed them in its April bloom that they called it "Paradise Point." They then passed up the Delaware to Minquas Creek (the Christina, or Christiana, as now called), and finally anchored at "the Rocks," a natural landing-place at the foot of what is now Sixth Street, Wilmington, Del. Here the freight and passengers were landed, and Minuet set all hands to work at once to erect shelter on shore and build a fort. The latter was named Fort Christina, after the queen of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus, still in her minority, and the settlement, the first permanent settlement on the Delaware, was called Christinaham, or Christina Harbor. Minuet called the colony New Sweden, and the river Elbe, but the settlers called it *Kristinas Kill*, and the local name is still *Cristeen*. The fort, of which a plan is extant,



PLAN OF THE TOWN AND FORT OF CHRISTINA, BESIEGED BY THE DUTCH IN 1655.

[From Campanius' New Sweden.]

A, Fort Christina. B, Christina Creek. C, Town of Christina Hamm. D, Tennekong Land. E, Fish Kill. F, Slangenborg. G, Myggenborg. H, Rottinborg. I, Flingenborg. K, Timber Island. L, Kitchen. M, Position of the besiegers. N, Harbor. O, Mine. P, Swamp.

drawn by the Swedish engineer Lindstrom in 1655, was built close to the point of rocks, its southern rampart bordering on the creek. Two log houses were built inside the inclosure for the garrison and settlers. A cove under the eastern wall of the fort was called the basin, or harbor, and it afforded a safe dock for such vessels as came there. The land for the fort and Christinaham was bought from five nearly Indian sachems, one of whom bore the name of Mattahorn or Mattahoon, the price paid being a copper kettle and some small articles. The sachem whose name is given later said that they only bought of him so much land as lay "within six trees," the

trees being blazed as surveyor's marks, probably, and promised to pay him half the tobacco grown upon it, a promise never kept. A deed was drawn up in Low Dutch, and signed by both parties. The Dutch historians say that this deed was the only conveyance under which the Swedes claimed the whole south side of the Delaware Bay and River from Cape Henlopen to Trenton (Sankitan), but the better opinion is that this large territory was a later and independent purchase.¹ A part of this territory, including Swaannendael, had belonged to the original territory bought of the Indians by Godyn, Blommaert & Co., and by them sold to the Dutch West India Company.

Minuet and his colonists at Minquas Creek were only a few miles below Fort Nassau, and the Dutch were instantly apprised of their arrival. William Kieft, the successor of Van Twiller, and the new director-general at Manhattan, had arrived out March 28th, or near the same time as Minuet. Among his staff were Andreas Hudde, first commissary, Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam, and Peter Mey, all of whom became conspicuous in the affairs of the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware. Ilpendam was made commissary of Fort Nassau, now in a decayed state, in spite of Van Twiller's expenditures for its restoration, and Mey was his assistant. On April 28th Kieft wrote to the directors of the company in Amsterdam that Mey had reported Minuet's presence on the Delaware, and that he sent Jan Jansen to him to protest against anything being done by the intruders to the company's disadvantage. Minuet at first temporized, and finally avowed his purpose to build a fort, saying that his queen had as much right there as the company. Early in May Kieft sent a formal protest to Minuet over his own signature as director-general of New Netherland, notifying him of the fact (of which none could be more entirely aware than the man calling himself "commissioner in the service of her royal majesty of Sweden") "that the whole South River in New Netherland has been many years in our possession, and has been secured by us with forts above and below, and sealed with our blood." He further informs Minuet that if he proceeded with the building of forts, cultivating land, and trading in furs and other things, to the prejudice and damage of the company, he must be answerable for the consequences to himself and his employers, as the Dutch meant to defend their rights.

Those rights, as against the pretensions of Minuet and the Swedes, were undoubted in every view of the law and custom of new settlements. Minuet made no reply to Kieft but continued to build his fort, and by means of a shrewd liberality to the Indians induced them to bring to him instead of to Fort Nassau all the furs and peltries they were taking on the

¹ Compare Brodhead, Hazard's Annals of Pennsylvania, Vincent's History of Delaware, Ferris' Original Settlements, etc., and Clay's Annals of the Swedes. Brodhead is always full and accurate, but he never forgets that he is a New Yorker.

South River. Kieft in another dispatch dated July 31, 1638, reports that "Minuet has built a fort near the Delaware, five miles below our fort, and draws all the skins towards him by his liberal gifts; he has departed with the two vessels he had with him, leaving twenty-four men in the fort provided with all sorts of merchandise and provisions, and has put down posts, on which are the letters C. R. S.,¹ Christina Regina Suesciae. Jan Jansen has, according to my orders, protested against this, in which he gave an answer, a copy of which goes herewith. We afterwards sent him a formal clause of protest, which was read to him, but he did not feel inclined to answer it, and his proceeding is a great disadvantage to the company." Kieft's statement in regard to the departure of Minuet at this time has been contradicted by all the older writers on the subject, including the usually very accurate Acrelius, who even goes so far as to state that Minuet died and was buried at Christina, after serving faithfully at his post until 1641. Minuet's biographer, Kapp, does not controvert this. It remained for Professor Odhner to give the facts, confirming the statement of Kieft, and explaining why we hear no more of Minuet. Having made all the necessary arrangements for the safety of his colony, provisioned the fort and supplied it with articles for trading with the Indians, Minuet prepared to return home. He left the fort under the command of Lieut. Mäns (Moen) Kling, the only Swede expressly named as taking part in the first expedition (though Acrelius mentions the Swedish priest, Reorus Torkillus, who, it is likely, came with a later expedition), and Hendrick Huyghen, who is said to have been Minuet's kinsman, his cousin or brother-in-law. Kling had charge of the military, and Huyghen of the civil government of the post. Minuet appears to have sailed for home in July, 1638, as Kieft's letter of the 28th of that month speaks of him as having already departed. He sent the yacht "Griffin" on in advance to the West Indies to barter the cargo brought out from Gottenburg, sailing in the same direction himself with the "Key of Kalmar." Blommaert condemns him for this in his letter to the Swedish chancellor, as he might have come home at once in his vessel, transferring the residue of his cargo to the yacht. At the island of St. Christopher he traded his goods for a cargo of tobacco. He was ready to sail for home when he and his captain were invited aboard a Dutch ship in the harbor called "Het vliegende hert" (the "Flying Deer"). While aboard this vessel a cyclone came up, driving all the ships in the harbor out to sea. Many were dismasted or otherwise injured by the hurricane. The "Flying Deer" and Minuet were never heard of again, and the vessel is supposed to have foundered. The "Kalmar Nyckel" escaped the storm, returned to port, and cruised around for some time in hopes to

get news of Minuet. Failing in this she at last sailed away and pursued her voyage to Sweden. In the North Sea she encountered another storm in November, which drove her into a Dutch port to refit. The "Griffin," after a cruise in the vicinity of Havana, returned to New Sweden, took on a cargo of furs which had been gathered from the Indians for her, and then departed for Sweden, arriving in Gottenburg at the close of May, 1639, having made the voyage from Christina in five weeks. It is likely that Kieft would have expelled the company left by Minuet from the South River without ceremony and at once had they not borne the commission of the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, the champion of Protestantism in Europe. The Dutch West India Company knew how distasteful it would be to the whole Dutch people should they venture to embroil themselves with a great, powerful, warlike nation, with which they had made common cause in so many stirring events. The evidence of this feeling was manifest soon after the reception of Kieft's first dispatches in Holland. A Swedish vessel was seized at Medemblik by order of the West India Company's chamber at Eckhuysen, upon the charge of illegal trading with America, but as soon as the Swedish minister at the Hague made his protest the ship was released and permitted to complete her voyage. As to Kieft's willingness to act, he proved that shortly after, when he promptly expelled the English intruders from the Delaware, and by his energetic procedures at Cow Bay, L. I., against the Massachusetts people.

The first year of the Cristinaham colony was prosperous. They shipped thirty thousand skins to Sweden, and injured the Dutch trade so much that the West India Company adopted police regulations for the navigation of South River, and talked of abandoning the fur trade altogether. The next year, however, the people of the colony were depressed by climatic diseases, and Reorus Torkillus, the colony's first clergyman, had his hands full of work, as probably also had Jan Petersen, of Alfendolft, barber and surgeon at Fort Nassau.² Torkillus had come over, in the "Kalmar Nyckel," with Peter Hollandaer, who was sent to act as Minuet's successor, in the second Swedish expedition. This expedition Acrelius seems to have known nothing about. We are again indebted to the researches of Professor Odhner for the particulars of this voyage. Minuet's loss was a severe blow, and the Dutch partners seemed disposed to abandon the enterprise, or anyhow throw the weight of it on Sweden. They were in trouble also with the Dutch West India directors, who repented their share in promoting the Swedish plantation on the South River. These *desagrégements* finally led the Swedish government to buy out the Holland partners, who were

² In this year there is unmistakable evidence of negro slavery among the Dutch on South River, a convict from Manhattan being sentenced to serve with the blacks on that river.

¹ Christina, Queen of Sweden.

found to be "a hindrance," and an appropriation for that purpose was made on Feb. 20, 1641, the sum paid in settlement of all claims being eighteen thousand guilders. The new Swedish Company was given a monopoly of the Baltic tobacco trade. In the mean time, however, Clas Fleming, president of the Swedish College of Commerce, and his secretary, Jan Beyer, were resolved not to neglect New Sweden. A Dutch captain, Cornelis Van Vliet, was commissioned to take out another party in the "Kalmar Nyckel," and colonists were secured. Spiring and Blommaert once more advanced money, the ship was sent from Holland to Gottenburg in June, 1639, and a body of emigrants, with cattle, farming tools, etc., put on board. Lieut. Peter Hollandaer, a Dutchman, like Minuet, was assigned to command in Fort Christina, and the vessel sailed in early autumn. She leaked badly, however, proved unmanageable, and put into Medemblik, where Spiring removed Van Vliet from command, substituting Pouwel Jansen. These delays detained the expedition so long that it was not until February 7th that the "Kalmar Nyckel" finally sailed from the Texel. The date of his arrival was April 17, 1640. Hollandaer was in command at Christina and many of his garrison were down with fever before November, when the *third* expedition came out. A letter of Governor Kieft's to the directors, under date of May 1st, states they were resolved to break up and come to Manhattan, but the day before their intended departure a vessel arrived to succor and strengthen them.¹ This and a subsequent letter of Kieft's shows that relations of courtesy were maintained between the Dutch and Swedes, the former probably hoping and expecting to absorb the latter's settlement. The third expedition arrived in November, in the ship "Fredenburg," Capt. Powelson, sent out from Holland under a Swedish commission of "*Octroi and Privilegium*," and bringing emigrants, cattle, etc., to "New Sweden." The charterers were Gothart de Rehden, De Horst, Fenland, and others, and they had a grant from the Swedish Company in return for these shipments. The grant was afterwards transferred to Henry Hockhamer & Co., who were to send out two or three vessels and found a new colony in New Sweden. They were to take up land on the north side of South River, at least four or five German miles below Fort Christina, and bring it in actual cultivation within ten years, and the land thus selected was to become allodial and hereditary property to them and their heirs and descendants. They were to prefer the Augsburg Confession of Faith in religion, but might profess the "pretended reformed religion," and the patroons of the colony were at all times bound to support "as many ministers and schoolmasters as the number of the inhabitants shall seem to require," choosing by preference for these

offices men willing and capable of converting the savages. They were allowed to engage in every sort of industry, trade, and commerce with friendly powers, and were exempt from taxation for ten years. Jost van Bogardt, who came over in the "Fredenburg," appears to have been governor or executive of this colony, which some writers think was established on Elk River, in Maryland. This, however, is not probable. The grant under which the Hockhamer Company established their colony, and which bears the same date as the commissions of Capt. Powelson, expressly stipulated that they were to "limit their possessions to four or five German miles from Fort Christina." In the commission issued by the Swedish government to Capt. Printz as Governor of New Sweden, it is ordered that "those Hollanders who have emigrated to New Sweden and settled there under the protection of her Royal Majesty and the Swedish Crown, over whom Jost von dem Boyandh² has command, the Governor shall treat according to the contents of the charter and privileges conferred by her Royal Majesty, of the principles whereof the Governor has been advised; but in other respects he shall show them all good will and kindness, yet so that he shall hold them also to the same, that they also upon their side comply with the requisitions of their charter, which they have received. *And, inasmuch as notice has already been given them that they have settled too near to Fort Christina, and as houses are said to be built at the distance of almost three miles from that place, they should leave that place and betake themselves to a somewhat greater distance from that fort.*" This entirely excludes the idea of a settlement on Elk River, and encourages the supposition that the neighborhood of the present city of New Castle, where Stuyvesant afterwards established Fort Casimir, was the place of this Dutch colony. It is certain that New Amstel, as the town near this fort came to be called, was the chief settlement of the Dutch on the Delaware after the overthrow of the Swedish power, and it seems natural that this circumstance should be due to the Hockhamer plantation. It has been conjectured that this Dutch settlement in New Sweden under the patronage of the Swedish West India Company was undertaken on account of jealousies and ill feeling in Holland towards the Dutch West India Company, which was a very close monopoly. The grant given by the Swedish Company to the Hockhamer Company was much more liberal in its terms than could have been obtained from the Dutch West India Company. Bogardt was not only recognized as the commandant and governor of the new colony, but he also had a special commission from the Swedish government to act as its "general agent" on the Delaware River, and particularly to let no opportunity escape him "of sending to Sweden all

¹ Professor Odhner, however, denies that there is any evidence of such distress as is alleged.

² This is the spelling of Acrelius. Dr. O'Callaghan, in his "History of New Netherlands," i. 366-67, says that the proper spelling of this man's name should be *Jost de Bogaert*.

information which may be useful to her Majesty and the Crown of Sweden." To encourage him in the performance of these duties he was paid a salary of five hundred florins per annum, with a promise of one hundred florins additional annual pay in case he should give sufficient proof of his attachment to the new service, and his zeal to promote the welfare of the Swedish crown.

In this same year, 1640, the English began to make inroads upon the Delaware. They bought Indian lands on both sides of the river and bay, and in 1641 commenced building trading-houses at Varkin's Kill, near the present Salem, N. J., settling sixty persons there from Connecticut, and the next year had the audacity to settle at the mouth of the Schuylkill. This was too much for the peppery Kieft, and even for his less excitable Council. Jan Jansen Ilpendam, commissary at Fort Nassau, was directed to expel the intruders, which he did without any ceremony, seizing their goods and burning their trading-house. After this the Dutch fell upon the Salem settlement also and broke that up.

Oxenstierna determined now to appoint a regular governor for New Sweden, and accordingly, in August, 1642, John Printz, a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, was selected to fill that office. His commission and instructions were carefully prepared, and armed with these he arrived in the Delaware early in 1643. Printz engaged to keep the new settlements safe from foreign and domestic enemies, to preserve amity, good neighborhood, and reciprocity with foreigners, with his own people, and the savages, and "to render justice without distinction, so that there may be no injury to any man." He engaged to promote industry in every way; and "as to himself, he will so conduct in his government as to be willing and able faithfully to answer for it before God, before us, and every brave Swede, regulating himself by the instructions given to him." These instructions bind him to take care of the frontiers of the country (which are minutely described); to maintain good relations with the English at Varkin's Kill, and respect their title, unless they can be politely dispossessed without any disturbance; to keep on good terms with the Dutch, unless they show hostile intentions, but always to be on his guard with them, in view of their claims to the territory occupied by the Swedes. He must deal with the savages with humanity and mildness, bringing them to believe that the Swedes have not come there to do them injustice. He is to encourage agriculture and the fur trade, establish manufactures, and utilize the natural products of the country. Printz was appointed to serve three years under these instructions, his salary being twelve hundred silver dollars a year. He was given two ships, soldiers and officers to assist him in executing his duties, and the people were ordered to obey and support him.

Printz's chaplain, Rev. John Campanius Holm, the earliest chronicler of New Sweden, kept a journal of

the voyage out, which consumed one hundred and fifty days, Fort Christina being reached on Feb. 5, 1643. From this journal the "History of New Sweden" was written afterwards by his grandson, Thomas Campanius Holm. The new governor, in the midst of so many rival claims and claimants, needed to exercise at least all the circumspection enjoined upon him by his instructions. He certainly showed energy, but whether prudence or not is another matter. His first step was to choose his official residence. This he planted upon Tinnecum Island, nearly opposite Fort Nassau, where he built Fort New Gottenburg, commanding the approaches to the Dutch fort, and behind it erected a mansion for himself, called "Printz's Hall," with orchards, pleasure-house, etc., "all very handsome." We have spoken of the Dutch expelling the English from Varkin's Kill. But Printz aided them very materially in pulling their chestnuts out of the fire, nor did he do it in the courteous "underhand" manner, while preserving the semblance of friendship, which his instructions enjoined upon him. Printz's ideas of tact and diplomacy resembled an elephant dancing. He was a bluff, coarse soldier, well described by the shrewd, observant, caustic Pieterse De Vries as "Captain Printz, who weighed four hundred pounds, and took three drinks at every meal." To deal with the English, Printz crossed the Delaware and planted a fort right alongside them on the opposite bank of Salem Creek. This fort, called "Elfsborg," "Elsingborg," or "Wootwessung," commanded the channel of the Delaware, and enabled Printz to bring to all Dutch vessels or vessels of any other nationality passing up or down the river.

This fort, which had a small garrison and mounted several guns, made De Vries halt before it and give an account of himself when, in 1643, he attempted to pass up South River in his sloop. The sturdy navigator, who had planted the first settlement on the Delaware, must have felt a grim sense of the change in the times on being thus, as it were, barred from access to his own ancient threshold. Meantime the New Haven English sent down another expedition to the Delaware under the same Lamberton whom the Dutch had expelled from Varkin's Kill. His purpose was probably to revive that settlement, as the lands there had been bought from the Indians. While Lamberton's sloop was in the river near the mouth of the Schuylkill, Printz enticed him to Fort Gottenburg with two of his sailors, and cast them into prison, keeping them for three days, while he attempted to suborn the inferiors to testify that Lamberton was inciting the Indians to rise against the Swedes. He resorted to the same device with John Wootlen, Lamberton's servant, making them all drunk and offering them heavy bribes of land and money.¹ The Englishmen were firm, however, in their master's interest,

¹ This is the substance of depositions made by these men on their return to New Haven.

and could not be got to perjure themselves, though Printz put them in irons with his own hands. Lambertson, however, was driven off, after paying a fine of beaver-skins and being roundly sworn at by the burly Swedish governor.

Printz, however, was in some respects a good administrator. He sustained his people in their determined resistance to the immigration of convicts and malefactors, who, when sent over by the home government, were not suffered to land, but compelled to return in the same ships that brought them. He built the first water-mill on South River, at a place called Karakung, otherwise Water-Mill Stream (Amesland or Carkoen's Hook), on what is now Cobb's Creek, near the bridge on the Darby road at the old Blue Bell tavern. This was put up instead of the old wind-mill, which, Printz says, never would work and was "good for nothing." This mill ground both meal and flour, and found constant work. Printz had a military eye, and, as soon as his forts gave him command of the Delaware, he proceeded to close the Schuylkill entirely to the Dutch by a fortification at the mouth of that river (called Manayunk), one at Kingessing, and another at Passayunk, called "Korsholm." He also put a stockade trading-house exactly alongside the Dutch fort of Beversrede, within a biscuit-toss of it, and between it and the water, so as to entirely destroy that fort's efficiency. The Dutch confessed that these works cut them off from the Minquas country and destroyed the fur trade. The Swedes, on the other hand, in 1644 sent home two thousand one hundred and twenty-seven packages of beaver and seventy thousand four hundred and twenty-one pounds of tobacco.

The "insolence of office" was fully developed in Printz. In 1645 the Dutch removed Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam, commissary at Fort Nassau, appointing Andreas Hudde in his place. Hudde was active and energetic, and he and Printz were soon in controversy, Hudde protesting against every act of the Swedes adverse to Dutch interests, and Printz either taking no notice of the protests or else responding to them by still ruder and more hostile actions. He ordered a Dutch trading-sloop away from the Schuylkill on pain of confiscation, and when Hudde came in person to protest, he was ordered off likewise. Kieft peremptorily instructed Hudde in 1646 to acquire some land from the Indians on the west shore, four miles north of Fort Nassau (on the ground now occupied by a part of Philadelphia). Hudde did as bidden, and the purchase being made he planted the company's arms on the premises. Printz at once sent Commissary Huygens to throw down the Dutch arms, whereupon Hudde arrested Huygens and put him in the guard-house, sending word to Printz that he must punish the commissary. Some correspondence ensued, when Printz answered Hudde's final protest and declaration of his company's rights by tossing the paper to an attendant, and seizing a musket as if to shoot the messenger, who, an honest

Dutch sergeant, totally oblivious of the immunities of heralds, quickly made his escape. Printz now decided on non-intercourse with the Dutch, closed the Schuylkill to them entirely, sold the Indians arms and ammunition, and persecuted or expelled every Dutchman in New Sweden who would not take the oath of allegiance to Queen Christina. He stopped and searched Dutch vessels, and made Swedish vessels go by Fort Nassau without showing their colors. In the winter of 1647-48 he even invaded Hudde's own private premises, and cut down his fruit- and shade-trees. Two members of the High Council of the New Netherlands came to the South River to investigate these outrages and find out the status of the Dutch and Swedish titles to the lands about the mouth of the Schuylkill. When they came to Fort Gottenburg, Printz's subordinates kept them waiting outside for half an hour in the rain. They were finally admitted, and delivered their protest. These councilors authorized private persons among the Dutch to make settlements on the Schuylkill. In every case where the attempt was made to profit by this license Printz or some of his officers descended upon the settler and destroyed his property, besides often expelling the person himself with blows. The more Hudde protested the more violent Printz became.

In 1647 the Dutch Director-General Kieft was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant, who began his administration on May 27th. Printz found him a very different



GOVERNOR PETER STUYVESANT.

man from Kieft. When the two governors finally met in 1651, the Dutch director-general, while quite as soldierly, bluff, and irascible as Printz, showed himself to be head and shoulders above the latter in

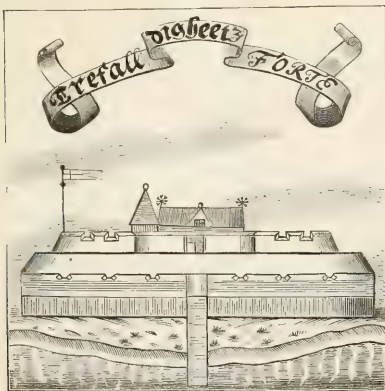
diplomacy. During all these disputes and high-handed dealings in the period of Printz's administration, the Dutch had sedulously pursued the policy of acquiring, by public and private purchase, Indian titles to all the lands on both sides the Delaware from Salem and Christinaham up. The Swedes had later adopted the same policy, but with less success. Stuyvesant came to the South River in person in 1651, "to preserve and protect the company's rights and jurisdiction." He sent proofs to Printz of the company's rights in the premises, and demanded in return that the Swedish governor should produce proof of what lands he had purchased and his authority to hold them. Printz could merely define the limits of his territory, and say that his papers were on file in the chancellory of Sweden. Then Stuyvesant is said to have detected Printz in an attempt to secretly buy title from an Indian sachem called Waspang Zewan, whereupon the Dutch governor forthwith dealt with the Indians himself, and was by them presented with a title to both sides of the Delaware from Christiana Creek to Bombay Hook, they at the same time denying that they had ever sold any lands to the Swedes. Finally, Stuyvesant determined that he would build another fort, Fort Nassau being too much out of the way, and in spite of Printz's protests he built Fort Casimir on the Delaware side of the river, about one Dutch mile from Fort Christina and near the present city of New Castle. Printz and Stuyvesant had several interviews with each other, and the final result was that "they mutually promised to cause no difficulties or hostility to each other, but to keep neighborly friendship and correspondence together, and act as friends and allies."

It will be observed that all through these controversies, while there were many high words and some kicks and cuffs, the Dutch and Swedes never came to actual hostilities, and always maintained a *modus vivendi* with one another. This was not because they hated each other less, but because they dreaded a third rival more. Both Dutch and Swedes were terribly apprehensive of English designs upon the Delaware. As was laid down in the instructions to Governor Risingh, who succeeded Printz in New Sweden, speaking of the new Fort Casimir, if Risingh could not induce the Dutch to abandon the post by argument and remonstrance and without resorting to hostilities, "it is better that our subjects avoid resorting to hostilities, confining themselves solely to protestations, and suffer the Dutch to occupy the said fortress, than that it should fall into the hands of the English, *who are the most powerful and of course the most dangerous in that country.*" In the same way, after Stuyvesant had met the English at Hartford, Conn., treated with them, and settled a mutual boundary line, so that all was apparently peace and friendship between the Dutch and the New Englanders, the New Haven Company thought they would be permitted without

dispute to resume the occupancy of their purchased Indian lands on the New Jersey side of the Delaware Bay at Salem, whence they had been twice expelled. Accordingly, Jasper Graine, William Tuthill, and other inhabitants of New Haven and Sotocket, to the number of about fifty, hired a vessel and sailed for that destination. On the way they considerably put into Manhattan to notify Stuyvesant of their errand, and consult with him as to the best way of accomplishing it. Stuyvesant took their commission away from them, clapped the master of the vessel and four others into prison, and refused to release them until "they pledged themselves under their hands" not to go to Delaware, informing them likewise that if any of them should afterwards be found there he would confiscate their goods and send them prisoners to Holland. At the same time he wrote to the governor of New Haven that the Dutch rights on the Delaware were absolute, and that he meant to prevent any English settlement there "with force of arms and martial opposition, even unto bloodshed." The Swedes were so much impressed with this firm attitude and with their own unprotected condition (this was probably during the interregnum between Printz's departure and the arrival of Risingh, when Pappegoya, Printz's son-in-law, was acting governor, and there was no news from the mother-country) that they asked Stuyvesant to take them under his protection. The director-general declined to do so without instruction from home, and the directors of the company when he consulted them left the matter to his own discretion, simply suggesting that while population and settlement should be encouraged by all means as the bulwark of the State, it would be advisable that all settlers should yield allegiance to the parent State, and be willing to obey its laws and statutes in order to obtain protection.

Printz sailed for home in October, 1653, and Risingh arrived out in May, 1654, their ships having probably passed each other on the ocean. Risingh was governor and commissary, and he was accompanied by John Amundsen Besk, a captain of the navy, who seems to have been given command of the military of New Sweden. The general management of Swedish affairs on the Delaware had now passed to the charge of the "General College of Commerce" of Stockholm. Risingh (his Christian name was John Claudii) had also Peter Lindstrom, a military engineer, on his staff, with a clergyman, and they brought out two or three hundred settlers. Risingh's instructions were all for peace, not war; but even before he arrived at Christiana, or Gottenburg, he struck a bold stroke for war. The ship in which he sailed on its way up the Delaware came in sight of Fort Casimir on the 31st of May. Tienhoven and others in the fort, being sent out to speak the stranger, reported that the new Swedish governor was on board and demanded the surrender of the fort as standing upon Swedish territory. Gerrit Bikker, the commander,

made no preparations for defense; he could not understand nor believe the Swedish intention to be hostile. Soon Capt. Swensko, of the ship, with twenty armed men, landed, advanced upon the fort, and while



FORT CASIMIR OR TRINITY FORT.
[From Campanius' "New Sweden,"]

the Dutch ran to meet them as friends, entered through the open sally-port, and being in possession demanded the fort's surrender at the point of the bayonet. Bikker and Tienhoven sent two commissioners aboard the ship to demand an explanation, but Amundsen fired two guns over the fort, and the Swedish soldiers at once seized the Dutch, disarmed and ejected them with the least possible ceremony. The Swedes were thus for the moment, and in the most surprising way, supreme on the South River.

Risingh named his new conquest Fort Trinity, because the capture was made on Trinity Sunday; strengthened the fort, and immediately called the neighboring Indians together with a view to make them his allies. The joint council was held at Tinnecum on June 17th, and Risingh offered many presents, distributed wine and spirits, and spread a great feast of suppaun; the old treaties were read, mutual vows of friendship exchanged, and the Indians became allies of the Swedes, whom they strongly counseled to settle at once at Passayunk.

The Dutch and Swedish population on the Delaware at this time, according to a census taken by Risingh, was three hundred and sixty-eight persons. This is probably exclusive of many Swedes who had gone into the interior and crossed the ridge towards Maryland. But little agriculture was attended to besides tobacco planting, and the chief industry was the trade in peltries, which was very profitable. In this trade the Indians had acquired as great skill as in trapping the beaver and drying his pelt. The price of a beaver-skin was two fathoms of "seawant," and

each fathom was taken to be three ells long. An ell was measured (as the yard still is in country places) from one corner of the mouth to the thumb of the opposite arm extended. The Indians, tall and long-limbed, always sent their longest-armed people to dispose of beaver-skins, and the Dutch complained at Fort Nassau that the savages outmeasured them continually.

It was not to be expected that a man of Stuyvesant's heady temperament would permit an outrage such as the capture of Fort Casimir to go unrevenged, even if the directors of the West India Company had passed it by. But they were quite as eager as Stuyvesant himself for prompt and decisive action on the Delaware. The time was auspicious for them. Axel Oxenstierna, the great Swedish chancellor, was just dead, Queen Christina had abdicated the throne in favor of her cousin Charles Gustavus, and England and Holland had just signed a treaty of peace. The directors insisted upon the Swedes being effectually punished, and ordered Stuyvesant not only to exert every nerve to revenge the injury, not only to recover the fort and restore affairs to their former situation, but to drive the Swedes from every side of the river, and allow no settlers except under the Dutch flag. He was promised liberal aid from home, and was ordered to press any vessel into his service that might be in the New Netherlands. Stuyvesant meanwhile was not idle on his own side. He had captured and made prize of a Swedish vessel that came into the North River almost as soon as he heard the news from Fort Casimir. He received five armed vessels from Amsterdam. He ordered a general fasting and prayer, and then hastened to set his armaments in order. On the 12th of September his forces were off the late Fort Casimir, now Fort Trinity,—seven ships and six hundred men. The fort was summoned to surrender. The garrison, under Capt. Sven Schute, was small, not over thirty or forty men, and their commander surrendered them on honorable terms before a gun was fired. Stuyvesant marched at once to Fort Christina, where Risingh was in command, and invested it on every side. Risingh pretended great surprise, resorted to every little diplomatic contrivance he could think of, and then surrendered also, before the Dutch batteries opened. In truth his fort was a weak and defenseless one, and he had scarcely two rounds of ammunition. The Dutch went up the river to Tinnecum, where they burnt Fort Gottenburg and wrung the necks of Mrs. Pappagoya's ducks and turkeys. A great many Swedes came in and took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch. All such were suffered to remain undisturbed in their possessions. A few who refused to take the oath were transported to Manhattan, while others crossed into Maryland and permanently settled in Cecil and Kent Counties, where their family names are still preserved; but the Dutch yoke undoubtedly sat very lightly upon Swedish shoulders.

This was the end of Swedish rule on the Delaware.

Stuyvesant, obeying instructions from the West India Company, made a formal tender of redelivery of Fort Christina to Risingh, but that hero was in the sulks, refused to receive it, and went home by way of New Amsterdam, swearing at the Dutch "in frantic mood."



Then Stuyvesant appointed Capt. Derrick Schmidt as commissary, who was quickly succeeded by John Paul Jacquet, in the capacity of "Vice-Director of the South River," with a Council consisting of Andreas Hudde, vice-director, Elmerhuysen Klein, and two sergeants. Fort Christina became Altona, Fort Casimir resumed its old name, and a settlement grew up around it which was named New Amstel, the first actual town upon the river. It must be confessed that if the Swedes on the Delaware were not a happy people it was their own fault. But they were happy. Come of a primitive race not yet spoiled by fashions, luxury, and the vices of civilization, and preferring agriculture and the simplest arts of husbandry to trade, they found themselves in a new, beautiful, and fertile region, with the mildest of climates and the kindest of soils. Government, the pressure of laws, the weight of taxation they scarcely knew, and their relations were always pleasant, friendly, and intimate with those savage tribes the terror of whose neighborhood drove the English into sudden atrocities and

barbarities. Very few Swedes ever lost a night's rest because of the Indian's war-whoop. They were a people of simple ways, industrious, loyal, steadfast. In 1693 some of these Delaware Swedes wrote home for ministers, books, and teachers. This letter says, "As to what concerns our situation in this country, we are for the most part husbandmen. We plow and sow and till the ground; and as to our meat and drink, we live according to the old Swedish custom. This country is very rich and fruitful, and here grow all sorts of grain in great plenty, so that we are richly supplied with meat and drink; and we send out yearly to our neighbors on this continent and the neighboring islands bread, grain, flour, and oil. We have here also all sorts of beasts, fowls, and fishes. Our wives and daughters employ themselves in spinning wool and flax and many of them in weaving; so that we have great reason to thank the Almighty for his manifold mercies and benefits. God grant that we may also have good shepherds to feed us with his holy word and sacraments. We live also in peace and friendship with one another, and the Indians have not molested us for many years. Further, since this country has ceased to be under the government of Sweden, we are bound to acknowledge and declare for the sake of truth that we have been well and kindly treated, as well by the Dutch as by his Majesty the King of England, our gracious sovereign; on the other hand, we, the Swedes, have been and still are true to him in words and in deeds. We have always had over us good and gracious magistrates; and we live with one another in peace and quietness."¹

One of the missionaries sent over in response to the touching demand of which the above quoted passage is part, writing back to Sweden after his arrival, says that his congregation are rich, adding, "The country here is delightful, as it has always been described, and overflows with every blessing, so that the people live very well without being compelled to too much or too severe labor. The taxes are very light; the farmers, after their work is over, live as they do in Sweden, but are clothed as well as the respectable inhabitants of the towns. They have fresh meat and fish in abundance, and want nothing of what other countries produce; they have plenty of grain to make bread, and plenty of drink. There are no poor in this country, but they all provide for themselves, for the land is rich and fruitful, and no man who will labor can suffer want." All this reads like an idyl of Jean Paul, or one of the naïve, charming poems of Bishop Tegner. It is a picture, some parts of which have been delightfully reproduced by the poet John G. Whittier in his "Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

¹ Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware. By Rev. J. C. Clay, D.D.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PLANTING OF PHILADELPHIA.

THE Swedes have no further right to a distinctive place in this work, except so far as individuals of that nation took up land within the boundaries or contributed to form the heterogeneous population of Philadelphia; nor is there need to say anything more about the Dutch of New Netherland, beyond the few meagre particulars in which their ordinances or regulations are found to bear upon that part of the country bordering on the Delaware River within the limits of which Philadelphia is now seated. Shortly after the surrender of Forts Casimir and Christina, a Swedish ship, the "Mercury," arrived in the Delaware with a large number of immigrants aboard. The Dutch refused permission for this vessel to pass the fort, but while the principals were conducting a long diplomatic correspondence on the subject, John Papegoya, Printz's son-in-law, with a party of Indians, boarded the vessel, piloted her up to Christina and Tinnecum, and before Stuyvesant and his agents had reached their final unalterable determination to send all the immigrants incontinently back to Sweden, they had got ashore, bag and baggage, and were absorbed in the rest of the population. This was the last body of immigrants from Sweden to the Delaware. It was a favorite project of the director-general of New Netherland and his satellites, tried over and over again, to compel the Swedes and Finns to congregate together in one or two settlements or "reservations," and the order went forth several times to effect this, but it could not be enforced, nor, indeed, was there any serious attempt made to enforce it. A favorite place for this compulsory settlement with the Dutch executive was the Indian seat of Passayunk, and had the Swedes been congregated there from all parts of the colony some distinctive impress of their character would perhaps even to-day be detected in that part of Philadelphia, just as the Moravian traits are still discoverable in and around Bethlehem. The Swedes and Finns, however, preferred to settle where they chose, and a good many of them, fearing they would be excluded from this privilege in the South River colony, crossed the border into Maryland, where many traces of them are still to be found in Cecil and Kent Counties.

This policy of the Dutch, however, and the natural aversion of races speaking different languages to coalesce, did have the effect to separate the Dutch and Swedes so far that while the former collected about Fort Casimir, now called New Amstel, and points lower down the river, the Swedes gravitated towards points farther up the Delaware River than their original settlement at Christiana. "Upland," now Chester, became one of their favorite foci; they took land on the creek in the rear of Printz's domain at Tinnecum; they followed up Cobb's Creek beyond

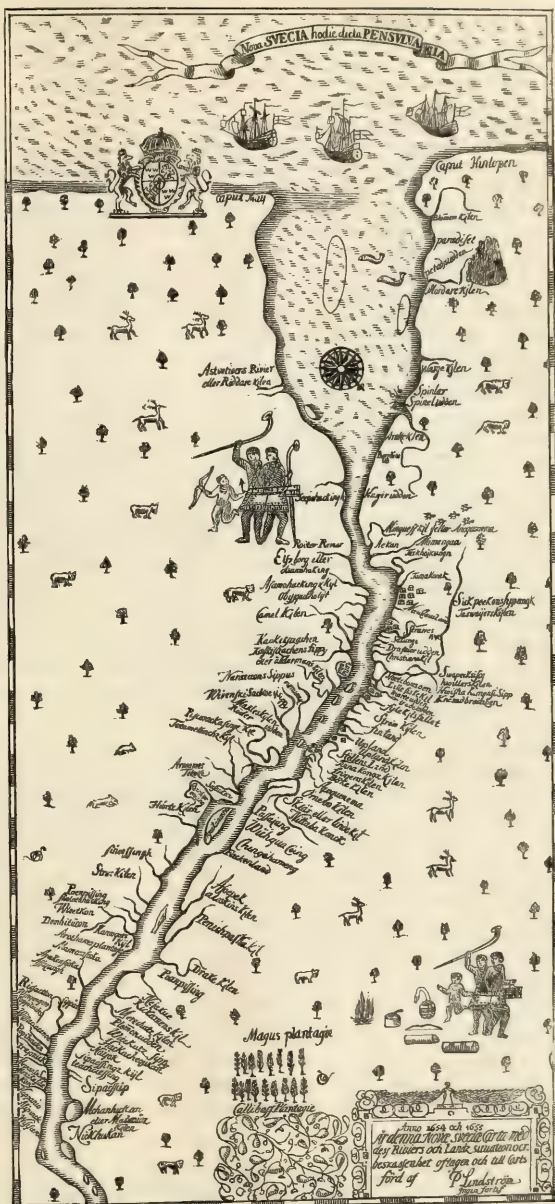
the mill, and had farms on all the streams flowing from the west into the Schuylkill; they crossed that river and, with their church at Wicaco, established their domiciles in several parts of the peninsula embraced between the Schuylkill and the Delaware. Thus it happened that nearly all the original settlers upon the present site of Philadelphia, nearly all the original land-holders,—in distinction to land-owners,—were Swedes, and William Penn found this to be still the case when he came to lay off his city.

It is now time to say something about these first planters upon the ground which is now traversed by so many long streets and bears the weight of so many stately buildings. A great many Indian names have been preserved in and around Philadelphia. The form and spelling have changed or vary, but the original sound is essentially preserved. In Roggeveen's map of New Netherland, published in 1676, the site of Penn's Philadelphia is marked "Sauno," and this is believed to have been a Dutch name for the Sankikans Indians. All the other sites on the South River part of this map bear Dutch or Swedish names. In Lindstrom's map of "Nya Sverige," drawn 1654-55, and republished to accompany Campanius' history, 1702, the Indian or Swedish names are the only ones given. There is Stillen's land (the Stille property), Tenna Kongz Kjen (Tennakonk Creek), Frimen's Kjen (or Darby Creek), Böke Kjen (Bow Creek), Apoquenenia, Örnebo Kjen, Skiar elle linde Kjen (Schuylkill), Nitlaba Konck, Passajong (Passayunk), Wichqua Going (Wicaco), Chinghamong, Fackenland, Asoepck, Alaskius Kjen (or Frankford Creek), Penichpaska Kjen, Drake Kjen, Poanquissing (Poquessing), etc. In Ferris' conjectural map of early settlements we have Darby Creek, Tenackonk's Kil, Karakung Creek, Nittaba Kenck, Passaiung, Wicaco, Sculkil, Coaquanock (which was the Philadelphia laid out by Penn), Fackenland, Franckford Creek, Penichpaska Kil, Poatquissing, Neshaminy, etc. The original name for nearly every one of these is extant in the old deeds and records. The Indian names for streams which are still partially or wholly retained are Minquas Creek (Darby, Cobb's Creek), Poquessing, Pennypack, Sissinokisink, Tacony, Wingohocking, Cohocksink, Wissahiccon, Manayunk, etc. Now the Swedes were the original settlers on nearly all the lands between Bow Creek and Poquessing.

The first claim of purchase of Indian title to lands within the fork of the Schuylkill and the Delaware is that of the Dutch, who insist that Arendt Corssen bought for them from the Indians the site of Fort Beversrede in 1633. The deed for this land, however, was not recorded until 1648. Between those dates, under the guidance of Andreas Hudde, several Dutchmen attempted to plant themselves on the east side of the Schuylkill, but they were not allowed to do so by the Swedes as long as Printz and Risingh were in power. The Swedes claim to have bought all the

land on the west bank of the Delaware, from Cape Henlopen to the falls of the river at Trenton, in 1638. This the Dutch and some of their Indian allies denied, yet the purchase was more than likely made as stated. Printz said the deeds and records were in the archives at Stockholm, where, according to Rudman, Israel Helm, an original Swede settler, who came over with Minuet or Hollandaer, and was afterwards a leading man in the country and a magistrate under the Dutch rule, claims to have seen them himself. The fact of the purchase is also plainly set forth in the official instructions and credentials of Printz, given to him by the Swedish West India Company, by Christina, Oxenstierna, and nine other leading men of the nobility of the kingdom. Peter Stuyvesant also claimed an Indian title to the lands east of the Schuylkill, by deed of *gift*, after his quarrels with Governor Printz had ripened.

But the first patents to particular tracts of land within the metes and bounds set forth were given to Swedes, who also made the first actual settlements. There can be no better evidence of this than the simple names of the persons whose property was secured to them when they could renew their patents in the days when Lovelace and Andross confirmed the English dominion on the Delaware after the conquest of New Netherland. A few of these patents, purchases, and settlements deserve to be referred to in a particular manner. In 1645, Andreas Hudde, the Dutch commissary on the Delaware, a careful and conscientious observer, reports plantations of the Swedes from Christiana along the Delaware for two Dutch miles up the river to a point near to Tinnecom. Then there is not a single plantation "till you come to Schuylkill." This is perfectly intelligible if we remember that the Swedes chose for their plantations firm ground only, and always near the water-front if possible. The above would then read: "The Swedish plantations extend nine and a half English miles



along the Delaware above Christiana; then there is an unoccupied tract of swamp for about ten miles, until the Swedish plantations on the western and eastern banks of the Schuylkill are reached." And Hudde himself furnishes the proof of the existence of such plantations in his account (1648) of the transactions attending the raising of his house on the fort grounds at Beversrede, at the same time that he shows that up to that time the Dutch had not put up a single building above the mouth of the Schuylkill. Three years before that date the Swedes had built a water-mill on the Karakung, or Cobb's Creek, and a fort or trading block-house on Manayunk Island, in the mouth of the Schuylkill, as well as another apparently at Kingsessing. The alleged first purchase of the Dutch east of the Schuylkill was made from Indian sachems on the New Jersey side of the Delaware. The second, by Hudde, in 1646, which Printz resisted, was from an Indian living on the spot; the third, also by Hudde, in 1648, was ratified by Maarte Hooch and Wissemences, sachems of the Passayunk Indians. In Hudde's own account of this he says he called in the sachems, and they gave the Swedes, "who lived there already," notice to leave their settlements on the Schuylkill. In the controversy, or rather squabble, which ensued, and which Hudde seems to report with the utmost fidelity, the sachems are represented as demanding by whose orders the Swedes did erect buildings there; "if it was not enough that they were already in possession of Mateunakonk, *the Schuylkill*, Kingsessing, Kakauken, Upland," etc. "They [the Swedes] arrived only lately on the river, and had already taken so much land from them, *which they had actually settled*, while they [the Dutch], pointing to them, *had never taken from them any land*, although they had dwelt here and conversed with them more than thirty years." This is very strong affirmative evidence to the fact that up to 1648 the Swedes had, and the Dutch had not, settled on land east of the Schuylkill. In that year the latter built Fort Beversrede, and the Swedes planted a block-house directly in front of it, closing its gates. Under the circumstances the Swedes would seem to be justified in this action and in that of the previous year, when they threw down Symon Root's house at Wigwakoing (or Wicaco), or in 1648 prevented the Dutch freemen from building at "Mast-makers' Corner," on the east side of the Schuylkill.

Campanius, the Swedish pastor, returned home in May, 1648. At that time, he says, the Swedes had settlements at Mecoconacka ("Upland," or "Chester"), at Passayunk, on the Schuylkill, where was a fort named Korsholm, and a plantation given under Queen Christina's own hand to Lieut. Sven Schute.¹ At

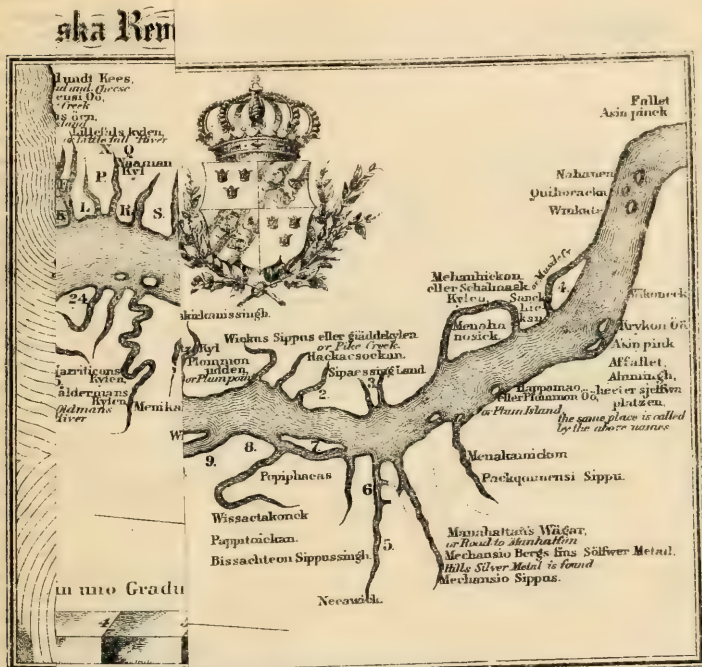
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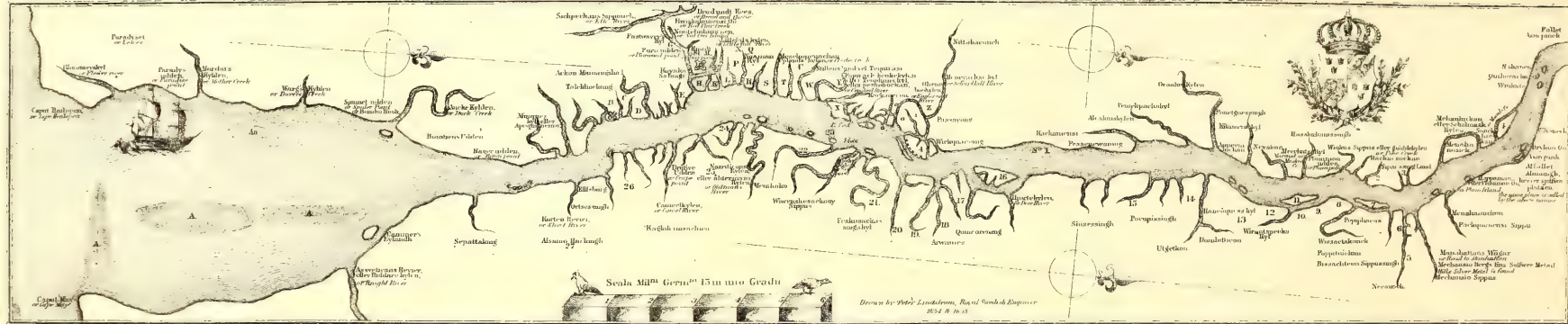
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(Nova Suecia: Eller the Swenska Rievier [now Delaware River] in India Occidentalis.)

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Penn's original plans were for a city of 10,000 acres. There are 82,603 acres in the limits of Philadelphia. In the list above given, defective as it is, and cutting all grants down to their minimum, it is shown that 5400 acres of this land was patented and the most of it occupied between 1640 and 1680. The greater part of this rapid development, which began with grants of league-wide tracts and ended with petitions for twenty-five-acre lots of submerged marsh and swamp, occurred after the Dutch power had ceased upon the Delaware River. Security came in with English rule, and it was fostered by capital and enterprise.

The circumstances which led to the overthrow of the Dutch in the New Netherlands do not demand any long recital. The facts are few, and there is no stir-

ring episode in connection with them. No revolution could have been more tame, no transfer of an empire more apathetic. The Dutch had always had the sagacity to know that the English were their worst enemies in this continent. New Nederland lay like a wedge between Virginia and New England, separating and weakening those colonies, while at the same time it kept both from access to the best soils, the most desirable and salubrious climates, and the boldest navigable waters in America. From the time of Lord Baltimore's settlement on the Chesapeake (1634), the pressure which the Dutch felt so much upon their eastern frontier was repeated with an added strain on the southern. Baltimore's charter called for all the land north of the Potomac and south of the fortieth parallel. This line would have included the present site of Philadelphia, and Baltimore was urgent in asserting his claim. He sent Col. Nathaniel Utie to New Amstel (now New Castle) to give notice of his rights and how he meant to enforce them, and his ambassador went among the simple-hearted, timid Dutch and Swedes like a hectoring constable armed with a distraint warrant. Utie and others assisted the Indians who were at war with those tribes who were clients and allies of the Dutch, and Fendall and Calvert repeatedly made it appear that they meant to invade the South River colony and overthrow the Dutch power, either by sailing in at the mouth of the Delaware or by an invasion overland by way of Elk River. So great was the pressure put upon them that the Dutch abandoned their settlements about the Horekills and withdrew farther up the bay. As a further precaution and to erect "a wall between them and the English of Maryland," the Dutch West India Company ceded to the city of Amsterdam, to which it owed heavy debts, its entire jurisdiction over the South River colony.

But the English to be dreaded did not live in the colonies but at home. The Stuarts were in power again, and so greedy were they and their followers after their long fast during the period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, that England, though clean stripped, did not furnish spoils enough to "go round." Charles II., moreover, had no liking for the Dutch, and it had already become the policy of Great Britain to obtain control of the North American continent. On March 12, 1664 (O. S.), the king granted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany (afterwards King James II.), a patent for all the land embraced between the St. Croix River on the north and the Delaware Bay on the south. This covered all of New England, New York, and New Jersey, but it did not include the west side of the Delaware River and Bay, showing clearly that the king respected his father's charter conveying this territory to Calvert. All of the land granted by this patent, from the St. Croix River to the Passaic, had been previously conceded to the Plymouth or North Virginia Company in 1589 by King James I.

¹ The accounts of these deeds may be found in various places in Hazard's Annals, Smith's History of Delaware County, Ferris' "Early Settlements," etc.

² The irregular spelling of names in the text is a reflection of the old records, where every deed almost shows variations.

The duke, in July, sold or granted the territory between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers—the whole of New Jersey, in fact—to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. War between the English and Dutch broke out two months after the Duke of York received his patent, and the latter, who was lord high admiral of the British navy, at once (May 25th, O. S.) fitted out an expedition to capture the New Netherlands,—in other words, to take possession of the country patented to him by his brother. The expedition, consisting of four vessels, with one hundred and twelve guns and three hundred soldiers, besides the ships' crews, was under command of Col. Richard Nichols, who was accompanied by Sir Robert Carr, Kt., George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, commissioners to the several English colonies to hear complaints, redress grievances, and settle the "peace and security of the country." Their instructions bound them first to reduce the Dutch colonies, as the fountain of sedition and sanctuary of discontent and mutiny, to "an entire obedience." The massacres of Amboyna were cited in proof that the Dutch were not fit to be intrusted with great power, and it was declared to be "high time to put them without a capacity of doing the same mischief in America, by reducing them to the same rule and obedience with the English subjects there." Submission to English authority was all that was to be required of them, and no man who submitted was to be "disturbed or removed from what he possessed."

The Dutch, both at home and in New Netherlands, were acquainted with the expedition and its objects, but took no real measures of defense. The first vessel of the expedition arrived at the outer bay of New Amsterdam August 25th, and a proclamation was at once issued, offering protection to all who submitted. Stuyvesant repaired the walls of his fort, but he could not rally the people to reinforce the garrison. They would not leave their villages and boueries, their wives and children, upon any such venture. On the 30th, Col. Nichols demanded the surrender of the fort and island, replying to Stuyvesant's commissioners that he was not there to argue questions of title, but to obey orders, and the place must surrender to him without debate, or he would find means to compel it to do so. Stuyvesant was still disposed to argue, to temporize, to fight if he could, but the frigate ran up alongside the fort, broadside on, and demanded an immediate surrender. The people assembled in town-meeting and declared their helplessness, the dominies and the old women laid siege to Stuyvesant, and on the 9th of September, 1664, New Amsterdam surrendered, the Dutch marching out of their fort with all their arms, drums beating, and colors flying. The terms of the capitulation were very liberal, considering that no defense was possible. In fact, the English did not want any war. They sought territory, and they knew that that takes half its value from being in a pacific state.

After arranging affairs at New Amsterdam, the name of which was now changed to New York, Sir Robert Carr, with two frigates and some soldiers, was sent to the Delaware to receive the submission of the Dutch there. They reached New Amstel on September 30th. The inhabitants at once yielded, but the truculent D'Hinoyossa, with Alricks and Van Sweringen, threw himself into the fort and declined to come to terms. Carr landed some troops, made his frigates pour two broadsides into the fortress, and then inconspicuously took it by storm, the Dutch losing three men killed and ten wounded, the English none. The result of D'Hinoyossa's foolhardiness was the sack of the fort, the plunder of the town, the confiscation of the governor's property, as well as that of several of his supporters, and the selling of the Dutch soldiers into Virginia as slaves. A good many negro slaves also were confiscated and sold, a cargo of nearly three hundred of these unhappy beings having just landed at South Amboy and been run across the Delaware with the idea of escaping the English in New York. The name of New Amstel was changed to New Castle, and D'Hinoyossa retired to Maryland, where he was naturalized and lived for several years in Talbot County, but finally finding he could not recover his property, which had been taken by Carr and others, he returned to Holland, entered the Dutch army, and fought in the wars against Louis XIV.

In May, 1667, Nichols was superseded by Sir Francis Lovelace as governor of the Dutch settlements on the North and South Rivers, and in July of that year peace was made between the Dutch and English on the basis of the *uti possidetis*. In August, 1669, some disturbance arose on the Delaware in consequence of the conduct of a Swede called "the long Finn," who gave himself out as the son of General Count Konigsmark, made seditious speeches, and tried to incite some sort of a rebellion. He is thought to have had the countenance, if not the active support, of Printz's daughter, Armgart Pappegoya. He was arrested, put in irons, tried, convicted, and sentenced to be publicly whipped, branded on the face and breast, and sent to the Barbadoes to be sold, all of which was done as set forth.

In 1673 war again broke out between the Dutch and English in consequence of the malign influence of Louis XIV. upon Charles II. The French king invaded the Netherlands with two hundred thousand men, and there was a series of desperate naval battles between the combined French and English fleets, with one hundred and fifty ships, and the Dutch fleet of seventy-five vessels, under De Ruyter and the younger Tromp. The last of these battles, fought off the Helder, resulted in the defeat of the allied squadrons, and the Prince of Orange at once dispatched several vessels under Binckes and the gallant Evertsen to recover possession of New Netherlands. The British made but little resistance, while the Dutch welcomed their old friends. Lovelace fled, and in a few days the



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Dutch had resumed control of all their old provinces in North America. Capt. Anthony Colve was made governor. There were a few administrative changes. A confiscation act was passed against the English king and his officers. In 1674, February 10th (O. S.), the treaty of Westminster was signed, and peace again made between the Dutch and English, with a proviso enforcing the restitution of all countries taken during the late war. Under this treaty the English resumed their conquests of 1664. The Duke of York's patents were renewed, and the duke appointed Sir Edmund Andross governor over the whole country from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of the Delaware. Andross arrived out November 10th, and at once proceeded to restore the *statu quo ante bellum* as far as he could. He was an astute, well-informed man, of good habits, with the tact of a practiced courtier, and many of the rare accomplishments of a statesman. Under his administration and that of his deputies on the Delaware, Capt. Cantwell, Capt. Collier, and Christopher Billop, the settlements on the South River prospered, and grew rapidly in population, resources, and in sympathy and fellow-feeling with the other colonies.

CHAPTER VII.

WILLIAM PENN.

THE excellent Friend, Samuel M. Janney, of Loudoun County, Va., in the preface to his "Life of William Penn," published in November, 1851, concludes by saying, "While engaged in the preparation of this volume, I have derived both instruction and enjoyment from studying the character and writings of Penn; and when, in its progress, I came to the period of his death, my mind was overspread with sadness, as though I had lost a personal friend." Every intelligent and thoughtful person, we should think, must rise from the attentive study of Penn's life and works and the contemplation of his character with similar feelings and reflections. The founder of Pennsylvania and the man whose influence did so much to mould the rough, uncouth Quakerism of George Fox into comely shape, and give it some sort of standing in and with the outside world by teaching it moderation and decorum, has left such a large and indelible personal impress upon his work that we can understand and fully appreciate that in no other way than by examining it in the light of his genius. Happily the task is not difficult. William Penn was above all things else a man, with like passions unto ourselves. He was a great man in an age remarkable for men of towering genius and conspicuous individuality; he lived in strange times of turmoil, confusion, and uncertainty, in which the current of events flowed along with a double stream, resembling that of the Missis-

sippi at St. Louis, upon the left bank a tawny, turbid volume of corruption, riot, filth, debauchery, and vacillating irresponsible tyranny such as was never recorded in the chronicles of England before nor since, and flowing side by side with it on the right a deep, clear, yet mysterious blue tide of religious contemplation and pietistic ecstasy and exercise,—a new-born, non-militant Puritanism, which sought to found a democratic church without head and without ritual, such as the State could not control because unable to reach it, and such as persecution would assail in vain because encountering no resistance. Penn's relations to these times and events and the men active in them were numerous, far-reaching, various, and intricate, but over and above these his character shines forth almost invariably bright and pure, simple and serene. He was in these things, but not of them, and whether he was walking the lobby among the courtiers or interceding for some victim of hardship or tyranny in the king's closet at Whitehall, or locked up in Newgate or the Tower, his thoughts rose above and reached beyond his immediate surroundings, taking him to his pretty and peaceful home in Hertfordshire or Sussex, or to some "brave" and "improving" and "precious" meeting in company with Fox, Barclay, Keith, Turner, and others, or leading him into deep and fruitful meditations upon the "Holy Experiment," as he was wont to call his American colonies, the germs of which were already planted in his heart. There were some exceptions to this lofty elevation of life, thought, and purpose, but only so many as were needed to prove that Penn was human, fallible, and lived in an age steeped in corruption.

It will serve the objects of this history to pause here to inquire how Penn came to be led to entertain seriously the project of founding upon the banks of the Delaware a self-governing commonwealth, the roots of which should draw sap from the fundamental principles of universal religion, while its branches should be free as air to spread abroad wheresoever they listed. The process was necessarily a gradual one, and the influences which finally settled his determination were numerous and diverse.

At once a scholar and a courtier, a man of the world and a man of books, Penn was neither an ascetic nor a fanatic. The least bit of formalism flavored his character, but it was altogether outward, and he wore it easily as he wore his cloak. The broad and deep channels through which his speculation and thought made their way were much less under the guidance of the severe and logical processes which directed the minds of men like Fox and Barclay, Baxter and Stillingfleet, than they were obedient to the quick suggestions of his warm and fructifying imagination. He was an enthusiast, but his enthusiasm was colored by his large, genial heart and his benevolent disposition, as it was tempered and modulated also by his native shrewdness, his reading, and his carefully acquired knowledge of men, which

constant intercourse with the world had confirmed to him. It seems probable that the stories of his father, the admiral, about the conquest of Jamaica and of the tropical splendors of that beautiful island first turned the attention of Penn to our continent. He was twelve or thirteen years old when he would have heard these things, and while growing in beauty and manliness, he was already seeing the visions and dreaming the dreams which visit none but children of great imagination and extreme sensitiveness. When Penn went to Oxford, at the age of sixteen, he seems to have studied the English literature of the two preceding generations more closely than his text-books. He knew the Puritan idea as expounded by Vane and Hollis, and the Utopian schemes for ideal commonwealths as set forth by Sir Thomas More, Bacon, Harrington, and others. He felt then, with a sense of personal injustice, the pressure of an established hierarchy upon the individual, as illustrated in his own expulsion from Christ Church College for non-conformity, and it is certain that he studied theology, theoretical and dogmatic, very assiduously while at Saumur under the tutelage of that learned expounder of Genevan doctrine, Moses Amyraut.¹ It was while on the continent, contemporaneously with these studies, that Penn made the acquaintance of Algernon Sidney, that honest old English republican, tired of exile, yet unwilling to purchase a return home at the cost of sacrificing his ideas, and eager to expound those ideas to any English hearer who might chance to come his way.

When Penn had lived a few years longer in courts and among men he realized the fact that the Friends could not escape persecution nor enjoy without taint their peculiar religious seclusion, nor could his ideal commonwealth be planted in such a society as that of Europe. It must seek new and virgin soil, where it could form its own manners and ripen its own code. Then, in 1672, came home George Fox, fresh from his journey through the wilderness and his visits to the Quaker settlements in New Jersey and Maryland, in which latter province the ancient meetings of Anne

Arundel and Talbot were already important gatherings of a happy people entirely free from persecutions. We may imagine how eagerly and closely Penn read Fox's journals and the letters of Edmondston, Wenlock Christison, and others about their settlements.

In 1675, when his disgust with European society and his consciousness of the impossibility to effect radical reform there had been confirmed and deepened, Penn became permanently identified with American colonial affairs, and was put in the best possible position for acquiring a full and accurate knowledge of the resources and possibilities of the country between the Susquehanna and the Hudson. This, which Mr. Janney calls "an instance in which Divine Providence seemed to open for him a field of labors to which he was eminently adapted," arose out of the fact of his being chosen as arbitrator in the disputes growing out of the partition of the West Jersey lands. As has already been stated, on March 12, 1664, King Charles II. granted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, a patent for all the lands in New England from the St. Croix River to the Delaware. This patent, meant to lead directly up to the overthrow of the Dutch power in New Netherland, was probably also intended no less as a hostile demonstration against the New England Puritan colonies, which both the brothers hated cordially, and which latterly had grown so independent and had so nearly established their own autonomy as to provoke more than one charge that they sought presently to abandon all allegiance due from them to the mother-country. At any rate, the New England colonies at once attempted to organize themselves into a confederacy for purposes of mutual defense against the Indians and Canadian French, as was alleged, but for divers other and weighty reasons, as many colonists did not hesitate to proclaim.² The Duke of York secured New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware to himself as his own private possessions. That part of New Netherland lying between the Hudson and the Delaware Rivers was forthwith (in 1664, before Nicolls sailed from Portsmouth to take New York) conveyed by the duke, by deeds of lease and release, to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The latter being governor of the Channel Islands at the time, the new colony was called New Jersey, or rather *Nova Cesarea*, in the original grant. In 1675, Lord Berkeley sold for one thousand pounds his undivided half-share in New Jersey to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Billinge and his assigns. Fenwick and Billinge were both Quakers, and Billinge was bankrupt. Not long after this conveyance Fenwick and Billinge fell out about

¹ Penn's curious acquaintance with theology not only served him many a good turn in the polemical controversies, in which he took a not too pacific delight for a Quaker, but it often aided him to turn the tables upon his adversaries in business of a more practical character. Thus when the early Quakers in Maryland were disturbed in their minds about the question of oaths, which had already prevented John Edmondston, of Talbot County, from taking his seat in the Assembly, though often elected, Penn wrote to them (Anno 1673) a letter of advice as to how to deal with the officials of a Catholic colony. He referred them to Polybius, Grotius, Bishop Gaudens, etc.; alluded to the fact that Christ had forbidden "vain swearing," and added: "Thirdly. That it is not only our sense: Polycarpus, Ponticus, Blandina, Basilides, primitive martyrs, were of this mind, and Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Origen, Lactantius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Basilides, Magnus Chrysostom Theophylact, Eusebius, Chromatius, Euthymius (Fathers) so read the text, not to mention any of the Protestant martyrs. Therefore should they be tender." He thus in effect arrayed against the slaves of authority the whole panel of patriotic writers whom the Catholic Church reveres as only a little below the apostles in inspiration, and it was this subtlety and skillful adjustment of means to end in argument which, more than anything else, led to the epithet of "Jesuit" being attached to Penn.

² This was a revival of the old New England confederacy of 1643, of late crippled and made ineffective by inter-colonial dissensions. It finally fell to pieces through the destruction of local self-government and the substitution of royal governors in the New England colonies between 1664 and 1684. See Richard Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic," chap. ii.

the property, and, after the custom of the Friends, the dispute was submitted to arbitration. The disputants fixed upon William Penn as arbitrator. When he made his award, Fenwick was not satisfied and refused to abide by Penn's decision, which, indeed, gave Fenwick only a tenth of Lord Berkeley's share in the joint tenancy, reserving the remaining nine-tenths to Billinge, but giving Fenwick a money payment besides. Penn was offended at Fenwick's recalcitrancy, and wrote him some sharp letters. "Thy days spend on," he said, "and make the best of what thou hast. Thy grandchildren may be in the other world before the land thou hast allotted will be employed." Penn stuck to his decision, and, for that matter, Fenwick likewise maintained his grievance. He sailed for the Delaware at the head of a colony, landed at Salem, N. J., and commenced a settlement. Here he carried matters with such a high hand, patenting land, distributing office, etc., that he made great trouble for himself and others also. His authority was not recognized, and for several years the name of Maj. John Fenwick fills a large place in the court records of Upland and New York, where he was frequently imprisoned and sued for damages by many injured persons.

Billinge's business embarrassments increasing, he made over his interest in the territory to his creditors, appointing Penn, with Gawen Lawrie, of London, and Nicholas Lucas, of Hertford, two of the creditors, as trustees in the matter. The plan was not to sell, but to improve the property for the benefit of the creditors. To this end a partition of the province was made, a line being drawn through Little Egg Harbor to a point near where Port Jervis now is. The part of the province on the right of this line, called East New Jersey, the most settled portion of the territory, was assigned to Carteret. That on the left, West New Jersey, was deeded to Billinge's trustees. A form of government was at once established for West Jersey, in which Penn's hand is distinctly seen. The basis was liberty of person and conscience, "the power in the people," local self-government, and amelioration of the criminal code. The territory was next divided into one hundred parts, ten being assigned to Fenwick and ninety to Billinge's trustees, and the land was opened for sale and occupancy, being extensively advertised, and particularly recommended to Friends. In 1677 and 1678 five vessels sailed for West New Jersey, with eight hundred emigrants, nearly all Quakers. Two companies of these, one from Yorkshire, the other from London, bought large tracts of land, and sent out commissioners to quiet Indian titles and lay off the properties. At Chygoes Island they located a town, first called Beverly, then Bridlington, then Burlington.¹ There was a regular treaty

with the Indians, and the Friends not only secured peace for themselves, but paved the way for the pacific relations so firmly sealed by Penn's subsequent negotiations with the savages. The Burlington colony prospered, and was reinforced by new colonists continually arriving in considerable numbers. In 1680, Penn, as counsel for the trustees of West New Jersey, succeeded, by means of a vigorous and able remonstrance, in getting the Duke of York, then proprietor of New York, to remove an onerous tax on imports and exports imposed by the Governor of New York and collected at the Horekill. The next year Penn became part proprietor of East New Jersey, which was sold under the will of Sir George Carteret, then deceased, to pay his debts. A board of twenty-four proprietaries was organized, Penn being one, and to them the Duke of York made a fresh grant of East New Jersey, dated March 14, 1682, Robert Barclay becoming Governor, while Penn's friend Billinge was made Governor of West New Jersey. Both these governments were surrendered to the crown in Queen Anne's reign, April 15, 1702.

While Penn was thus acquiring knowledge of and strong property interests in America, two other circumstances occurred to intensify his impatience with the state of affairs in England. One was the insensate so-called "Popish plot" of Titus Oates, the other the defeat of his friend, Algernon Sidney, for Parliament. From the date of these events Penn began to look westward, and prepared himself for the accomplishment of his "Holy Experiment." And now, before detailing the history of this great experiment, and describing one of its results in this fair city of

30 pair of hose, 20 fathoms of duffels (Duffield blanket cloth, of which match-coats were made), 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair of tobacco tongs, 60 pair of scissors, 60 tinshaw looking-glasses, 120 awl-blades, 120 fish-hooks, 2 grasps of red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco-boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 jews-harps, and 6 anchors of rum." The value of these articles probably did not exceed three hundred pounds sterling. But, on the other hand, the Indian titles were really worth nothing, except so far as they served as a security against Indian hostility. It has been said that there is not an acre of land in the eastern part of Pennsylvania the deeds of which cannot be traced up to an Indian title, but that in effect would be no title at all. Mr. Lawrence Lewis, in his learned and luminous 'Essay on Original Land Titles in Philadelphia,' denies this absolutely, and says that it is "impossible to trace with any accuracy" the titles to land in Philadelphia derived from the Indians. Nor is it necessary to trace a title which is of no value. The Indians could not sell land to individuals and give valid title for it in any of the colonies; they could sell, if they chose, but only to the government. Upon this subject the lawyers are explicit. All good titles in the thirteen original colonies are derived from land-grants, made or accepted not by the Indians, but by the British crown. Thus Chalmers (*Political Annals*, 677) says, "The law of nations sternly disregarded the possession of the aborigines, because they had not been admitted into the society of nations." At the Declaration of Independence (see *Dallas' Reports*, ii. 470) every acre of land in this country was held, mediately or immediately, by grants from the crown. All our institutions (Wheaton, viii. 588) recognize the absolute title of the crown, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and recognize the absolute title of the crown to extinguish that right. An Indian conveyance alone could give no title to an individual. (The references here given are quoted from the accurate Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic.")

¹ The value of Indian lands at that time to the savages may be gathered from the price paid in 1677 for twenty miles square on the Delaware between Timber and Oldman's Creeks, to wit: 30 match-coats (made of hairy wool with the rough side out), 20 guns, 30 kettles, 1 great kettle,

which we write, it is proper to say a few words concerning the life of the great founder.

William Penn was born in London, in St. Catherine's Parish, hard by the Tower, Oct. 14, 1644. His father was Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn, his mother Margaret Jasper, daughter of a well-to-do Rotterdam merchant. They were united Jan. 6, 1643, when the elder Penn, though only twenty years old, had already received his commission as post-captain in the royal navy, and William was their first child. Admiral Penn was a kind-hearted, genial, but shrewd



ARMS OF PENN.

and observant man of the world. He was a skillful sailor and navigator, very brave and prompt, a man of action, a man also who was determined to get on in the world which he saw about him. He had set his hopes on a fortune and the peerage. The fortune he got; the peerage he would have secured but for his son William's adhesion to the doctrine of the Friends. At court he steered himself as adroitly as he had steered his fleet amid the reefs and cays of the Antilles on his way to Jamaica and Hispaniola. He owed his early promotion and appointment to Cromwell, but when he thought the times were ripe he deliberately betrayed the Protector and offered his fleet to Charles II. He was a great favorite with Charles and the Duke of York, and the latter became his son's chief protector for the father's sake. He was impetuous, irascible, yet strongly attached to his family and their interests as he interpreted them. It is almost pathetic to notice the many efforts he made to reclaim his son from what he regarded as his wayward departure from common sense in joining the Society of Friends. He at first beat the boy and turned him out-doors, then sent him abroad in the best company, and with a pocket full of money, to make the grand tour of Europe, and learn gayety and frivolity enough to enable him to shine at court. He dispatched him to become a member of the brilliant family of the Duke of Ormond, viceroy of Ire-

land. But the young man proved, as his father thought, incorrigible, and he was again beaten, kicked out of the house, and left to shift for himself. Finally, when, broken in health and spirits, and disappointed in his fondest anticipations, the admiral found himself on his death-bed, he had learned to admire his son's skill and quickness in polemical fence, and the calm, unbending, uncomplaining fortitude with which he bore persecution, insult, and imprisonment. "Son William," he whispered, just before he died, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching and to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world."

Lady Penn seems to have been as quiet and domestic as Sir William was gay and worldly. Pepys said, twenty years after her marriage, that she had been very handsome and "is now very discreet." It is not improbable that John Jasper, the merchant of Rotterdam, may have been of Puritan stock or affinities; it is nearly certain that from his mother Penn derived the strength of his early religious impressions, his tendency to sobriety of thought and conversation, and his quiet but deep enthusiasm, just as he inherited from his father the quick mother-wit, the shrewdness in bargaining, and the political and courtier-like skill in dealing with men of all ranks and judging all sorts of characters which so often stood him in good stead in the experiences of his checkered life. Those early religious impressions, whatever their source, grew with the boy's growth and strengthened with his strength. While he was yet at Chigwell grammar school he had visions of the "Inner Light," though he as yet had never heard Fox's name mentioned. He was not a puny child, though he must have been a studious one. He delighted and excelled in field sports, boating, running, hunting, and athletic exercises. He was sent from the grammar school to Oxford, and entered as a fellow-commoner in Christ Church College at the early age of fifteen. The dean of Christ Church was the famous polemical writer, Dr. John Owen; South was orator of the university, Locke was a fellow of Christ Church, and the profligate but witty Wilmot was a fellow-commoner. Penn studied assiduously, he joined the "serious set," he went to hear Thomas Loe preach the new gospel of the Society of Friends, he resented the discipline which the college attempted to put upon him and his intimates in consequence, and he was expelled the university for rejecting the surplice and rioting in the quadrangle. His father beat him, relented, and sent him to France, where he came home with the manners and dress of a courtier, but saturated with Genevan theology. Pepys says he looked quite "modish," and Pepys was a judge of dress. He had shown in Paris that he could use his rapier gallantly, and his father took him to sea with him, to prove to the court, when he returned as bearer of dispatches, that he was capable of beginning the career of office. The plague of London set him again

upon a train of serious thinking, and his father to counteract this sent him to the Duke of Ormond, at the same time giving him charge of his Irish estates. Penn danced in Dublin and fought at Carrickfergus equally well, and he even applied for a troop of horse. He was a very handsome young fellow, and armor and lace became him mightily, as his portrait of this date shows. But at Cork he met Thomas Loe again, and heard a sermon upon the text "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." Penn came out of this meeting a confirmed Quaker. His father recalled him, but could not break his convictions, and then again he was driven from home, but his mother still found means to supply his needs. He now joined the Quakers regularly, and became the most prominent of the followers of that singularly eccentric but singularly gifted leader of men, George Fox. Penn's affection for Fox was deep and strong. He repeatedly got "the man in the leather breeches" released from jail, and he gave him a thousand acres of land out of the first surveys made in Pennsylvania. Fox had great influence over him, and it is likely that Penn reciprocally wrought upon Fox's character for his benefit.

We must not lightly regard the sacrifices of this handsome young enthusiast. He was a favorite; he had the manners to push him at court; he had certain and powerful influences upon his side; yet, instead of taking the step that would make him Lord Weymouth, he became a preacher for a despised sect, universally treated as zealots or lunatics, whose steadfast disregard of a statute made them continually inmates of the loathsome gaols of England. Penn did this for conscience' sake; and he was neither a zealot nor a lunatic, but an English gentleman, fond of dress, comfort, ease, and something like luxury, an accomplished courtier, a thorough business man, and one of the shrewdest students and judges of character. Penn preached in public as Fox was doing, and so well that he soon found himself a prisoner in the Tower of London, where, when brought up for trial, he defended himself so ably as to prove that he could have become a great lawyer had he so chosen. He profited by his imprisonments to issue a series of works, chiefly controversial, which revealed a writer of great force and perspicuity and acuteness. He could not perhaps cope with Baxter, but he vanquished nearly every opponent who came against him. Penn married in 1672, his wife being Gulielma Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, a lady of lovely person and sweet temper. It was a love-match; "remember," he says in his beautiful letter to wife and children on his departure for America, "remember thou wast the love of my youth and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as the most worthy of all my earthly comforts; and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellences, which yet were many." But Penn did not give many weeks to his honeymoon. He was soon

at his work again, wrestling for the truth, and, it must be said, wrestling still more lustily, as one who wrestles for victory, with the oppressors of the faithful. In this cause he went to court again, resumed his relations with the Duke of York, and secured that prince's influence in behalf of his persecuted sect. This semi-alliance of Penn with the duke led up directly to the settlement of Pennsylvania. When, after Penn's return from his first visit to America, he resumed his place at court upon the accession of James II., he became one of the most considerable men in the kingdom. He had the monarch's private ear, and his influence was all the time exerted on the side of justice and humanity, while he expended the best efforts of his natural courtier's tact and shrewd mother-wit in the vain endeavor to save a predestined despot and fanatic from the consequences of his fatal errors and blind follies.

After James' abdication came persecution, debts, semi-exile, affliction of every sort to the Quaker courtier. His wife died, his son went to the bad, his steward robbed and betrayed him, his province and people were ungrateful, he was accused of treason, hunted by the royal pursuivants, and reduced to poverty. There came an Indian summer of prosperity after this, when, acquitted of debt, and accusations dismissed, married to another wife, and glad to see how his work thrived, he returned to his province and enjoyed a brief reign of luxurious indolence and importance at his manor and mansion of Pennsbury. Then his government was again threatened by the royal power, and he reluctantly went back to England, to find his affairs all disordered. "I never was so low and so reduced," he writes to James Logan. "O Pennsylvania," he says later on, in the bitterness of his spirit, "what hast thou not cost me? Above £30,000 more than I ever got by it, two hazardous and most fatiguing voyages, my straits and slavery here, and my son's soul almost!" He was forced into prison for debt, and when finally released, resumed his labors as a minister at the age of sixty-five. Soon after this he was paralyzed, his vigorous intellect dwindled away to second-childishness, but his sweetness of temper and disposition were still retained to the last, and in a way which evidently made a strong impression on all who saw him. "No insanity, no lunacy," says his old friend, Thomas Story, after a visit to him, "at all appeared in his actions, and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his loving deportment to all that came near him; and that he had still a good sense of truth is plain by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth in an evening meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted, so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him, not in judgment but in mercy, that he might have rest and not be oppressed thereby to the end." That end was now not

far off, and William Penn "forsook the decayed tabernacle" of his body on the 30th day of the Fifth Month (July, 1718, O. S.), in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The funeral took place August 5th, in the burying-ground at Jordan's Quaker meeting-house, in Buckinghamshire, where his first wife and several of his family were already interred. His



WILLIAM PENN'S BURIAL-PLACE.

own Monthly Meeting at Reading has left the best summary of his character in the touching little memorial entitled "A Testimony concerning William Penn," the last paragraph of which is as follows: "In fine he was learned without vanity, apt without forwardness, facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious; of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the strain of ambition; as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity; a man, a scholar, a friend; a minister surpassing in speculative endowments, whose memorial will be valued by the wise and blessed with the just." "This," says Bancroft, "is the praise of William Penn," that in an age of debauchery and *ennui*, skepticism and pessimism, when all around him, even the wisest, shook their heads, "Penn did not despair of humanity, and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, cared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government."

It certainly was a "noble idea" which lay at the bottom of Penn's "Holy Experiment," and its history should be unfolded with scrupulous exactness as well as with reverent hands.

We have seen how, after the Restoration, the attention of the court as well as the people of England was directed in a much larger measure than formerly to the American colonies. Many who were weary of strife, discontented with the present aspect of affairs or apprehensive of the future, sought relief and peace in emigration. The hardships of the wilderness, the

perils of Indian warfare, the depressing diseases of a new climate and unbroken soil were as nothing to those in comparison with the blessings of political and religious liberty secured by emigration. As far as the court was concerned, Charles wanted provinces to give away to his favorites, while his cabinets, both under Clarendon, the Cabal, and Danby, had strong

political reasons for putting the colonies more immediately under control of the crown in order to check their manifest yearning for self-government and comparative independence. Thus the representatives of prerogative were compelled likewise to give an enlarged attention to colonial affairs. The Council for Foreign Plantations was given new powers and a greater and more exalted membership in 1671, and in 1674 this separate commission was dissolved, and the conduct of colonial affairs intrusted to a committee of the Privy Council itself, which was directed to sit once a week and report its proceedings to the Council. This committee comprised some of the ablest of the king's councilors, and among the members were the Duke of York and the Marquis of Halifax. William Penn's relations with the duke gave him great facilities in dealing with this committee.

Admiral Penn at his death had left his son a property of £1500 a year in English and Irish estates. There was in addition a claim against King Charles' government for money lent, which with interest amounted to £15,000. The king had no money and no credit. What he got from Louis XIV. through the compliant Barillon hardly sufficed for his own *menus plaisirs*.¹ Penn being now resolved to establish a colony in America alongside his New Jersey plantations, and to remove there himself with his family so as to be at the head of a new Quaker community and commonwealth, petitioned the king to grant him, in lieu of the claim of £15,000, a tract of country in America north of Maryland, with the Delaware on its east, its western limits the same as those of Maryland, and its northern as far as plantable country extended. Before the Privy Council Committee Penn explained that he wanted five degrees of latitude measured from Lord Baltimore's line, and that line, at his suggestion, was drawn from the circumference of a circle, the radius of which was twelve miles from New Castle as its centre. The petition of Penn's was received June 14, 1680. The object sought by the petitioner, it was stated, was not only to provide a peaceful

¹ Not to be wondered at when we find in Charles' book of secret service money such entries as the following: "March 28th. Paid to Duchess of Portsmouth [king's mistress] £13,341 10s. 4½d. in various sums. June 14th. Paid to Richard Yates, son of Francis Yates, who conducted Prince Charles from the field of Worcester to Whyte Ladies after the battle, and suffered death for it under Cromwell, £10 10s."

home for the persecuted members of the Society of Friends, but to afford an asylum for the good and oppressed of every nation on the basis of a practical application of the pure and peaceable principles of Christianity. The petition encountered much and various opposition. Sir John Werden, agent of the Duke of York, opposed it because the territory sought was an appendage to the government of New York, and as such belonged to the duke. Mr. Burke, the active and untiring agent of Lord Baltimore, opposed it because the grant asked by Penn would infringe upon the territory covered by Baltimore's charter. At any rate, said Mr. Burke, in a letter to the Privy Council Committee, if the grant be made to Penn, let the deed expressly state lands to the north of Susquehanna Fort, "which is the boundary of Maryland to the northward." There was also strong opposition in the Privy Council to the idea of a man such as Penn being permitted to establish plantations after his own peculiar model. His theories of government were held to be Utopian and dangerous alike to Church and State. He was looked upon as a Republican like Sidney. However, he had strong friends in the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Hyde, Chief Justice North, and the Earl of Halifax. He had an interview with the Duke of York, and contrived to win him over to look upon his project with favor, and Sir J. Werden wrote to the secretary, saying, "His royal Highness commands me to let you know, in order to your informing their lordships of it, that he is very willing Mr. Penn's request may meet with success." The attorney-general, Sir William Jones, examined the petition in view of proposed boundaries, and reported that with some alterations it did not appear to touch upon any territory of previous grants, "except the imaginary lines of New England patents, which are bounded westward by the main ocean, should give them a real though impracticable right to all those vast territories." The draught of the patent, when finally it had reached that stage of development, was submitted to the Lords of Trade to see if English commercial interests were subserved, and to the Bishop of London to look after the rights of the church. The king signed the patent on March 4, 1681. A certified copy of the venerable document may now be seen framed and hung up in the office of the Secretary of State at Harrisburg. The name to be given to the new territory was left blank for the king to fill up, and Charles called it Pennsylvania. Penn, who seems to have been needlessly squeamish on the subject, wrote to his friends to say that the name was in honor of his father, and that he wanted the territory called New Wales, and offered the Under Secretary twenty guineas to change the name, "for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me." However, he consoled himself with the reflection that "it is a just and clear thing, and my God, that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I

shall have a tender care to the government that it be well laid at first."

The charter, which is given complete in Hazard's Annals, consists of twenty-three articles, with a preamble reciting the king's desire to extend his dominions and trade, convert the savages, etc., and his sense of obligation to Sir William Penn:

I. The grant comprises all that part of America, islands included, which is bounded on the east by the Delaware River from a point on a circle twelve miles northward of New Castle town to the 43° north latitude if the Delaware extends so far; if not, as far as it does extend, and thence to the 43° by a meridian line. From this point westward five degrees of longitude on the 43° parallel; the western boundary to the 40° parallel, and thence by a straight line to the place of beginning.

II. Grants Penn rights to and use of rivers, harbors, fisheries, etc.

III. Creates and constitutes him Lord Proprietary of the Province, saying only his allegiance to the King, Penn to hold directly of the kings of England, "as of our castle of Windsor in the county of Berks, in free and common socage, by fealty only, for all services, and not in capite, or by Knight's service, yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors, two beaver-skins, to be delivered at our castle of Windsor on the 1st day of January every year," also one-fifth of precious metals taken out. On these terms Pennsylvania was erected into "a province and seigniority."

IV. Grants Penn and his successors, his deputies and lieutenants "free, full, and absolute power" to make laws for raising money for the public uses of the Province and for other public purposes at their discretion, by and with the advice and consent of the people or their representatives in assembly.

V. Grants power to appoint officers, judges, magistrates, etc., to pardon offenders, before judgment or after, except in cases of treason, and to have charge of the entire establishment of justice, with the single proviso that the laws adopted shall be consonant to reason and not contrary nor repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, and that all persons should have the right of appeal to the King.

VI. Prescribes that the laws of England are to be in force in the Province until others have been substituted for them.

VII. Laws adopted for the government of the Province to be sent to England for royal approval within five years after their adoption, under penalty of becoming void.

VIII. Licenses emigration to the new colony.

IX. Licenses trade between the colony and England, subject to the restrictions of the Navigation Acts.

X. Grants permission to Penn to divide the colony into the various minor political divisions, to constitute fairs, grant immunities and exemptions, etc.

XI. Similar to IX., but applies to exports from colony.

XII. Grants leave to create seaports and harbors, etc., in aid of trade and commerce, subject to English customs regulations.

XIII. Penn and the Province to have liberty to levy customs duties.

XIV. The Proprietary to have a resident agent in London, to answer in case of charges, etc., and continued misfeasance to void the charter and restore the government of the Province to the King.

XV. Proprietary forbidden intercourse or correspondence with the enemies of England.

XVI. Grants leave to Proprietary to pursue and make war on the savages or robbers, pirates, etc., and to levy forces for that end, and to kill and slay according to the laws of war.

XVII. Grants full power to Penn to sell or otherwise convey lands in the Province.

XVIII. Gives title to persons holding under Penn.

XIX. Penn may erect manors, and each manor to have privilege of court-baron and frank-pledge, holders under manor-title to be protected in their tenure.

XX. The King not to lay taxes in the Province "unless the same be with the consent of the Proprietary, or chief Governor, or Assembly, or by act of Parliament of England."

XXI. The charter to be valid in English courts against all assumptions or presumptions of ministers or royal officers.

XXII. Bishop of London may send out clergymen if asked to do so by twenty inhabitants of the Province.

XXIII. In cases of doubt the charter is to be interpreted and construed liberally in Penn's favor, provided such construction do not interfere with or lessen the royal prerogative.

On the 2d of April, after the signing of the charter, King Charles made a public proclamation of the fact of the patent, addressed chiefly to the inhabitants of the territory, enjoining upon them to yield ready obedience to Penn and his deputies and lieutenants. At the same time Penn also addressed a letter to the inhabitants of the province, declaring that he wished them all happiness here and hereafter, that the Providence of God had cast them within his lot and care, and, though it was a new business to him, he understood his duty and meant to do it uprightly. He told the people that they were not now at the mercy of a Governor who came to make his fortune out of them, but "you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution and has given me his grace to keep it." He hoped to see them in a few months, and any reasonable provision they wanted made for their security and happiness would receive his approbation. Until he came he hoped they would obey and pay their customary dues to his deputy.

That deputy was Penn's cousin, William Markham, a captain in the British army, who was on April 20, 1681, commissioned to go out to Pennsylvania, and act in that capacity until Penn's arrival. He was given power to call a Council of nine, of which he was to be president; to secure a recognition of Penn's authority on the part of the people; to settle bounds between Penn and his neighbors; to survey, lay out, rent, or lease lands according to instructions; to erect courts, make sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other inferior requisite officers, so as to keep the peace and enforce the laws; to suppress disturbance or riot by the *posse comitatus*, and to make or ordain any ordinances or do whatever he lawfully might for the peace and security of the province. Markham was particularly instructed to settle, if he could, boundaries with Lord Baltimore, and Penn gave him a letter to that neighbor of his. The deputy soon after sailed for Pennsylvania, on what day is not definitely known, but he was in New York on June 21st, when he obtained from the Governor, Anthony Brockholls, a proclamation enjoining upon the inhabitants of Pennsylvania that they should obey the king's charter and yield a ready obedience to the new proprietary and his deputy. When Markham met Lord Baltimore the interview was unsatisfactory. The boundary question at once came up, and was as quickly let drop when Markham found that the lines could not be run according to the two charters respectively without giving to Baltimore some lands which Penn was resolved to keep as his own.

It is not supposed that Markham took out any emigrants with him. His business was to get possession of the province as speedily as possible, so as to insure the allegiance of the people, secure the revenue, and prepare the way for Penn. It is probable, therefore,

that he sailed in the first ship offering for New York or Boston, without waiting for company. Meanwhile, even before Markham's departure, Penn began to advertise his new province and popularize what information he had concerning it. This was the business part of the "Holy Experiment," and Penn was very competent to discharge it. He published a pamphlet (through Benjamin Clark, bookseller, in George Yard, Lombard Street) entitled "Some account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, etc. Together with privileges and powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made publick for the information of such as are or may be disposed to transport themselves or servants into those parts." This prospectus shows the extent of the knowledge Penn had already gleaned concerning his province, and how closely he had studied the methods by which he proposed to secure its prompt and effective planting and settlement. It is not necessary to incorporate the whole of such a pamphlet in this narrative, but some of its salient points must be noted. It was written, we must remember, in April, 1681, a month after the signing of the patent. Penn begins with an excursus upon the benefit of plantations or colonies in general, "to obviate a common objection." "Colonies," he says, "are the seeds of nations, begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous countries, as conceiving them best for the increase of human stock and beneficial for commerce." Antiquity is then searched through for examples needless to repeat, but all brought in to prove that colonies do not weaken or impoverish the mother-country. Indeed, this part of his argument reads as if it were Penn's brief while his petition was before the Privy Council, and as if he drew it up in reply to objections there urged against conceding him the patent. He shows how colonies and foreign plantations have contributed to the benefit of England's commerce and industry, and might be expected to continue to do so. He denies that emigration has depopulated the country, but says that the increase of luxury has drawn an undue proportion of the rural communities into cities and towns, and that the increased cost of living thus brought about tends to prevent marriage and so promotes the decay of population. For this and the many attendant evils emigration, he suggests, is the only effective remedy. He then proceeds to speak of his province, the inducements it offers to colonists, and the terms on which he is prepared to receive them.

"The place," he says, "lies six hundred miles nearer the sun than England," so far as difference of latitude goes, adding, "I shall say little in its praise to excite desires in any, whatever I could truly write as to the soil, air, and water; this shall satisfy me, that by the blessing of God and the honesty and industry of man it may be a good and fruitful land." He then enumerates the facilities for navigation by way of the

Delaware Bay and River, and by way of Chesapeake Bay also; the variety and abundance of timber; the quantity of game, wild fowl, and fish; the variety of products and commodities, native or introduced, including "silk, flax, hemp, wine, sider, wood, madder, liquorish, tobacco, pot-ashes, and iron, . . . hides, tallow, pipe-staves, beef, pork, sheep, wool, corn or wheat, barley, rye, and also furs, as your peltree, mincks, racoons, martins, and such like store of furs which is to be found among the Indians that are profitable commodities in England." Next, after explaining the channels of trade,—country produce to Virginia, tobacco to England, English commodities to the colonies,—he gives assurance that under his liberal charter, paying due allegiance to the mother-country, the people will be able to enjoy the very largest proportion of liberty and make their own laws to suit themselves, and that he intends to prepare a satisfactory constitution.

Penn states explicitly in this pamphlet the conditions of immigration into his province. He looks to see three sorts of people come,—those who will buy, those who will rent, and servants. "To the first, the shares I sell shall be certain as to number of acres; that is to say, every one shall contain five thousand acres, free from any incumbrance, the price a hundred pounds, and for the quit-rent but one English shilling, or the value of it, yearly, for a hundred acres; and the said quit-rent not to begin to be paid till 1684. To the second sort, that take up land upon rent, they shall have liberty so to do, paying yearly one penny per acre, not exceeding two hundred acres. To the third sort, to wit, servants that are carried over,¹ fifty acres shall be allowed to the master for every head, and fifty acres to every servant when their time is expired. And because some engage with me that may not be disposed to go, it were very advisable for every three adventurers to send over an overseer with their servants, which would well pay the cost."²

Penn next speaks of his plan for allotments or dividends, but as his scheme was not then, as he confesses, fully developed, and as he later furnished all the details of this scheme as he finally matured it, we will pass that by for the present. It is enough to say that the plan is very closely followed to-day in Eastern Europe to promote the sale of government bonds.

¹ The practice of carrying servants "over" was not long continued. In a few years many came to try their fortunes and entered into service.

² On this basis, if we suppose the servant allotments to pay the same quit-rent as other tenants, Penn's colonists would be assessed about thus:

Menors.—5000 acres @ £100, int. 5 per cent.	£5
50 servants to a minor, giving it 2500 acres more,	
total quit-rent @ 1s. per 100 A.	3 10
(Equal to 27½ pence per 100 A. per annum)	£8 10s.
Tenants.—200 A. @ 1d. per A.	
5000 A. 25 tenants, 25 servants, 1250 A. 6250 A. @ 1d.	26
Servants.—75 servants @ 50 A., equal to 3750 A. @ 1d.	15 12½

Thus Penn, in placing 17,500 acres, proposed to get £100 cash and yearly rents amounting to £45 2s., or 5s. 2d. nearly per 100 acres, the greater part of the burden falling upon the smaller tenants of course. The purchaser of 5000 acres had, moreover, a further advantage in sharing in the allotments, or "dividends," as Penn calls them.

The persons, Penn says, that "Providence seems to have most fitted for plantations" are "1st, industrious husbandmen and day laborers that are hardly able (with extreme labor) to maintain their families and portion their children; 2d, laborious handicrafts, especially carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, etc., where they may be spared or low in the world, and as they shall want no encouragement, so their labor is worth more there than here, and there provisions cheaper." 3d, Penn invites ingenious spirits who are low in the world, younger brothers with small inheritances and (often) large families; "lastly," he says, "there are another sort of persons, not only fit for but necessary in plantations, and that is men of universal spirits, that have an eye to the good of posterity, and that both understand and delight to promote good discipline and just government among a plain and well-intending people; such persons may find room in colonies for their good counsel and contrivance, who are shut out from being of much use or service to great nations under settled customs; these men deserve much esteem and would be hearken'd to."

Very considerably Penn next tells all he knows about the cost and equipments for the journey and subsistence during the first few months, "that such as incline to go may not be to seek here, or brought under any disappointments there." He mentions among goods fit to take for use or for sale at a profit "all sorts of apparel and utensils for husbandry and building and household stuff." People must not delude themselves, he says, with the idea of instant profits. They will have a winter to encounter before the summer comes, "and they must be willing to be two or three years without some of the conveniences they enjoy at home, and yet I must needs say that America is another thing than it was at the first plantation of Virginia and New England, for there is better accommodation and English provisions are to be had at easier rates." The passage across the ocean will be at the outside six pounds per head for masters and mistresses, and five pounds for servants, children under seven years old fifty shillings, "except they suck, then nothing." Arriving out in September or October, "two men may clear as much ground by spring (when they set the corn of that country) as will bring in that time, twelve months, forty barrels, which makes twenty-five quarters of corn. So that the first year they must buy corn, which is usually very plentiful. They must, so soon as they come, buy cows, more or less, as they want or are able, which are to be had at easy rates. For swine, they are plentiful and cheap, these will quickly increase to a stock. So that after the first year, what with the poorer sort sometimes laboring to others, and the more able fishing, fowling, and sometimes buying, they may do very well till their own stocks are sufficient to supply them and their families, which will quickly be, and to spare, if they follow the English husbandry, as they do in New Eng-

land and New York, and get winter fodder for their stock." Finally, the candid Penn recommends that none should make up their minds hastily, all get the consent of their friends or relatives, and all pray God for his blessing on their honest endeavors.

During all the rest of this year and of 1682 and up to the moment of his embarkation from Europe, William Penn was most busily and absorbingly engaged in the multifarious preparations for his new plantations. He drew up a great variety of papers, concessions, conditions, charters, statutes, constitutions, etc., equal to the average work of half a dozen congressional committees. As much of this matter is unique and highly characteristic, we think it best to group it all together in a separate chapter (next succeeding this), so as to present as full and accurate a picture as can be made of Penn as a law-giver and a statesman. In addition to work of this sort, requiring concentrated and abstracted thought and study, his correspondence was of the most voluminous character, and he was further most actively employed in disposing of lands and superintending the sailing of ship-loads of his colonists. The first of these papers on concessions and conditions was prepared indeed on the eve of the sailing of the first vessels containing his "adventurers." This was in July, and the vessels arrived out in October. Every paper he published called forth numerous letters from his friends, who wanted him to explain this or that obscure point to them, and he always seems to have responded cheerfully to these exhaustive taxes upon his time. His work seems to have attracted great attention and commanded admiration. James Claypoole writes (July 22d), "I have begun my letter on too little a piece of paper to give thee my judgment of Pennsylvania, but, in short, I, and many others wiser than I am, do very much approve of it, and do judge William Penn as fit a man as any one in Europe to plant a country." Penn had also been busily negotiating with the Duke of York for the lands now constituting the State of Delaware, which were the duke's property, and which Penn wanted to possess in order to insure to his own province the free navigation of the Delaware, and perhaps also to keep this adjacent territory from falling into the hands of his neighbor, Lord Baltimore, who claimed it under his charter. But Sir John Werden, the duke's agent, still held off and gave Penn much trouble and uneasiness. The latter had received a tempting offer from a company of Marylanders of £6000 cash and two and a half per cent. royalty for the monopoly of the Indian (fur) trade between the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers, but he refused it upon noble grounds. The Lord had given him his province, he said, over all and great opposition, and "I would not abuse His love, nor act unworthy of His providence, and so defile what came to me clean. No! let the Lord guide me by His wisdom and preserve me to honor His name and serve His truth and people, *that an example and standard may be set up to*

the nations; there may be room there, though none here." So also he refused to abate the quit-rents, even to his most intimate friends, "intending," as Claypoole wrote, "to do equal by all," but he did reduce them from a penny to a half-penny in favor of servants settling on their fifty-acre lots after having served their time. Subsequently, as we shall see, Penn was less rigidly moral in his land contracts. In lieu of the proposed monopoly, Penn made very liberal concessions of land and privileges to another company, "The Free Society of Traders," whose plans he favored and whose constitution and charter he helped to draw. This work will be described farther on.

Notwithstanding all these and many other heavy and pressing engagements, Penn seems to have found time to attend to his work as a preacher and a writer of religious tracts and pamphlets. He went on a mission tour into the West of England, he wrote on "Spiritual Commission," he mediated between dissenting Friends, and healed a breach in his church; his benevolent endeavors were given to aid and encourage the Bristol Quakers, then severely persecuted, and he barely escaped being sent to jail himself for preaching in London at the Grace Church Street meeting.

Penn had expected to go out to Pennsylvania himself late in the fall of 1681, but the pressure of all these concerns and the rush of emigrants and colonists delayed him. He found he would have settlers from France, Holland, and Scotland, as well as from England, and few besides servants would be ready to go before the spring of 1682. "When they go, I go," he wrote to his friend, James Harrison, "but my going with servants will not settle a government, the great end of my going." He also said in this letter that in selling or renting land he cleared the king's and the Indian title, the purchaser or lessee paid the scrivener and surveyor. In October Penn sent out three commissioners, William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, to co-operate with Markham in selecting a site for Penn's proposed great city, and to lay it out. They also were given very full, careful, and explicit instructions by Penn, particularly as to dealing with the Indians, some Indian titles needing to be extinguished by them. He wrote a letter to the Indians themselves by these commissioners, which shows he had studied the savage character very carefully. It touched the Indian's faith in the one universal Great Spirit, and finely appealed to his strong innate sense of justice. He did not wish to enjoy the great province his king had given him, he said, without the Indians' consent. The red man had suffered much injustice from his countrymen, but this was the work of self-seekers; "but I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country, I have a great love and regard for you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life, and the people I send are all of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly,

and if in anything any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them." This was the initiatory step in that "traditional policy" of Penn and the Quakers towards the Indians which has been so consistently maintained ever since, to the imperishable honor of that sect.

As the year 1682 entered we find Penn reported to be "extraordinarily busy" about his province and its affairs. He is selling or leasing a great deal of land, and sending out many servants. A thousand persons are going to emigrate along with him. He gets Claypoole to write to his correspondent in Bordeaux for grape-vines, fifteen hundred or two thousand plants, to carry out with him, desiring vines that bear the best grapes, not the most. Claypoole has himself bought five thousand acres, wants to go out and settle, but doubts and fears. He don't feel sure about the climate, the savages, the water, the vermin, reptiles, etc. April 4th Penn finally ratified the charter of his Free Society of Traders, and erected their land into a manor. They had taken twenty thousand acres in a single block. Their constitution was now at once promulgated and subscriptions solicited. April 18th Penn sends out Capt. Thomas Holme, duly commissioned to act as surveyor-general of Pennsylvania, with detailed instructions how to act. Holme sails in the ship "Amity," along with Claypoole's son John, April 23d. On May 5th Penn publishes his "Frame of Government," following it with his *précis* of new statutes for the Pennsylvania Assembly to act upon. By June 1st Penn had made the extraordinary sale of five hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred acres of land in the new province, in parcels of from two hundred and fifty to twenty thousand acres. Penn's mother died about this time, causing him much affliction. The Free Society of Traders is organized, Claypoole makes up his mind at last to emigrate, the site for Philadelphia is determined, and Markham buys up Indian titles and settlers' land upon it, so as to have all clear for the coming great city. August 31st the Duke of York gives Penn a protective deed for Pennsylvania, and on the 24th the Duke finally concedes New Castle and Horekill (Delaware) to him by deed of feoffment. This concludes the major part of Penn's business in England, and he is ready to sail Sept. 1, 1682, in the ship "Welcome," three hundred tons, Capt. Robert Greenway, master. It is then that he writes the touching letter to his wife and children, from which we have already quoted. He embarked at Deal with a large company of Quakers, and from the Downs sent a letter of "salutation to all faithful friends in England."

CHAPTER VIII.

WILLIAM PENN AS A LAW-GIVER AND STATESMAN.

HERE, while the "Welcome" is on the ocean struggling with the waves, and her passengers are mostly down with the smallpox, faithfully ministered to by Penn and his friend Robert Pearson, seems to be the proper place to discuss the great founder's legislative principles, measures, statutes, ordinances, and regulations, with a view not only to illustrate the main subject of these volumes, but also to ascertain Penn's real merits as a statesman and a framer of laws. He has been greatly and perhaps indiscriminately praised for his performances in this sphere, but it is not over-praise in view of the fact that what he did was rather upon theory than after a full experience. Penn had had no real legislative practice, and the knowledge of law which he acquired during his brief and interrupted studies at Lincoln's Inn could not have been either thorough or extensive. He never was in Parliament; his acquaintance with affairs both at Westminster and Whitehall was chiefly through the lobby and not in the halls. But he had read much, thought deeply, and the candor and genuineness of purpose which characterized him afforded him material assistance in arriving promptly at just conclusions from sound premises. He was rather practical than logical in his mental processes, but his strong good sense never deserted him, and this gives a directness, a consistency, and an apparent simplicity to his system which make it look even more admirable than it actually is. It has been positively asserted and as positively denied that he owed the best part of his system to Algernon Sidney. It is known that he often consulted Sidney and Sir William Petty, as well as many other of his friends, and that he was eager for advice from every quarter. Probably he was counseled also by Halifax, Hyde, and Sutherland from the abundance of their parliamentary and cabinet political experiences. But the constitution, laws, instructions, circulars, concessions, commissions, letters, etc., which emanated from Penn during those two most busy years all have the same general earmark. They are William Penn's work, and William Penn was a Quaker of an oppressed and persecuted sect, at the same time that he was a courtier deeply indebted to the bigoted Duke of York. If we do not remember these things we will not be able to put a fair and intelligible interpretation upon Penn's legislative work.

But first let us, avoiding repetitions, present a condensed summary of what that work was. Abstracts of the charter or patent for Pennsylvania and of Penn's first prospectus of the province and the conditions of emigration have already been given, and we have seen how shrewdly Penn, as attorney for himself and his province, managed affairs before the com-

mittee of the Privy Council and with the Duke of York and his agent in the matter of the Delaware Hundreds. His clever handicraft has also been illustrated in the conduct of the complicated affairs of Berkeley and Carteret, Billinge and Fenwick, and the East and West New Jersey Plantations. The leading documents relating to Pennsylvania, in which Penn's hand directed matter and text, from the execution of the patent down to the moment of the "Welcome's" sailing, naturally group themselves into two classes: *first*, practical executive work; *second*, fundamental law-making, with theoretical declarations of principles and rules of interpretation. It is necessary, therefore, to look at Penn in this place in the double light of the business manager of a great incorporated speculation, the Holy Experiment, as he himself called it in a letter, and as a speculative philosopher, like Hobbes, Locke, or Bentham, seeking to evolve constitutions out of the blended action of his own consciousness, his reading, and his knowledge of men and the world.

In the general conduct of his experiment, while attributing everything to Providence, Penn did not neglect worldly devices of a very shrewd sort. He advertised his province with great pains, very extensively and very attractively. By the time he was ready to sail it had attracted a general and lively interest throughout Europe, and especially among those persecuted sects among whom Penn's ministry had fallen in the course of his visits to the Continent. The Walloons, the Mennonites or Mennists, the Labadists, the various Reformed German sects and heresies from Protestantism and Romanism, watched the experiment as closely as the Quakers did. Penn made the terms on which settlers would be received very plain, and he stated perspicaciously in advance the probable cost of living and the probable average of hardships for which immigrants into the new province must prepare themselves. This was not only characteristically candid, it was eminently politic. It forestalled disappointment, it prevented the access of undesirable adventurers, and it tended to increase the number of substantial "bone and sinew" planters, who might have recoiled before imaginary perils, but who laughed at the little catalogue of petty inconveniences and hardships which he displayed before them. In the regulations for colonists set forth in his statement of "certain conditions or concessions agreed upon by William Penn, proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in that province, the 11th of July, 1681," the system of plantation is plainly described. First, a large city is to be laid off on navigable water, divided into lots, and purchasers of large tracts of lands (five thousand acres) are to have one of these city lots assigned them, the location determined by chance. It was Penn's original plan to have his great city consist of ten thousand acres, divided into one hundred lots of one hundred acres

each, one of these lots to be awarded (by lot) to each purchaser of a tract of manorial proportions, who was to build in the centre of his lot and surround his house with gardens and orchards, "that it may be a green country town," he said, "which will never be burnt and always be wholesome."¹ Of course no great city could be built on any such plan, and Penn himself abandoned it or greatly modified it even before he sailed, the commissioners and surveyor finding it impossible to observe the conditions, especially when vessels began to be numerous along the water-front and business sprang up. This system of great farms, with a central township divided into minor lots, Penn proposed to extend all over the province. His road system was excellent. Roads were to be built not less than forty feet wide from city to city, on air-lines as nearly as possible; all streets were to be laid off at right angles, and of liberal width, and no buildings were to be allowed to encroach on these, nor was any irregular building to be permitted. This rule of symmetry, amounting to formality, could not be carried out any more than the great city plan. It was not Penn's notion probably, for he was not a precisian in anything, and it looks much more like a contrivance borrowed by him for the nonce from Sir William Petty, Sir Thomas Browne, or some other hare-brain among his contemporaries. Penn's system of quit-rents and of manors also, the foundations of a great fortune, resembled closely that of Lord Baltimore in Maryland. It is likely that Penn got the idea where Baltimore derived his, from Ireland, that form of irredeemable ground-rent being an old and familiar Irish tenure.² The quit-rent system caused almost immediate discontent in Pennsylvania, and undoubtedly injured the proprietary's popularity and interfered with his income. His large reservations of choice lots in every section that was laid out contributed to this also.

Every person was to enjoy access to and use of water-courses, mines, quarries, etc., and any one could dig for metals anywhere, bound only to pay for damages done. Settlers were required to plant land surveyed for them within three years. Goods for export could only be bought or sold, in any case, in public market, and fraud and deception were to be punished by forfeiture of the goods. All trading with Indians was to be done in open market, and fraud upon them prevented by inspection of goods. Offenses against Indians were to be punished just as those against the whites, and disputes between the two races to be settled by a mixed jury. Indians to have the same privileges as the whites in improving their lands and

¹ Instructions to commissioners for settling the colony, Oct. 10, 1681.

² This has been conclusively shown in some opinions (published in the Maryland Reports) of the judges of the Maryland Court of Appeals. These opinions were given in interpretation of leases "for ninety-nine years, renewable forever." It was decided that these leases were perpetual, and their historical relation to the Irish leases was demonstrated in order to establish the fact of their irredeemable character.

raising crops. Stock not marked within three months after coming into the possession of planters to be forfeited to the Governor. In clearing land, one-fifth to be left in wood, and oak and mulberry trees to be preserved for ship-building. To prevent debtors from furtively absconding, no one was to leave the province until after three weeks' publication of the fact.

In his instructions to the commissioners for laying out the province, Penn enlarges upon the plan for the great town, which is to be located on his side the Delaware, where "it is most navigable, high, dry, and healthy; that is, where most ships may best ride, of deepest draught of water, if possible to load or unload at the bank or key side, without boating or lightering of it." Other things are to be postponed until this site is chosen and laid out. If the place selected has settlers on it, they are to be removed, either by buying their lands or giving them other tracts in exchange.¹ In dealing with Indians the commissioners are bidden to be tender of offending them, but to make sure, "by honest spies," that no one is instructing them to stand off for higher prices. Give them plenty of love, says Penn in effect, but do not pay too much for their land, and do not let them sell you what does not belong to them. "Be grave; they love not to be smiled on." The commissioners are forbidden to sell any islands; they are to lay off the streets in a rectangular way, to preserve a broad water-front, to reserve a central lot of three hundred acres for the Governor's house, and in other matters to be guided by circumstances and their own discretion.²

The charter to the Pennsylvania Company, the Free Society of Traders, bears date March 24, 1682. The incorporators named in Penn's deed to them were "Nicholas Moore, of London, medical doctor; James Claypoole, merchant; Philip Ford (Penn's unworthy steward); William Sherloe, of London, merchant; Edward Pierce, of London, leather-seller; John Symcock and Thomas Brassey, of Cheshire, yeoman; Thomas Baker, of London, wine-cooper; and Edward Brookes, of London, grocer." The deed recites Penn's authority under his patent, mentions the conveyance to the company of twenty thousand acres, erects this tract into the manor of Frank, "in free and common socage, by such rents, customs, and services as to them and their successors shall seem meet, so as to be consistent with said tenure," allows them two justices' courts a year, privilege of court-baron and court-leet and view of frank-pledge, with

all the authority requisite in the premises. The society is authorized to appoint and remove its officers and servants, is given privilege of free transportation of its goods and products, and exempted from any but necessary State and local taxes, while at the same time it can levy all needful taxes for its own support within its own limits. Its chief officers are commissioned as magistrates and charged to keep the peace, with jurisdiction in case of felony, riot, or disorder of any kind. It is given three representatives in the Provincial Council, title to three-fifths of the products of all mines and minerals found, free privilege to fish in all the waters of the province, and to establish fairs, markets, etc., and the books of the society are exempted from all inspection. The society immediately prepared and published an address, with its constitution and by-laws, in which a very extensive field of operation is mapped out. The address, which is ingenious, points to the fact that while it proposes to employ the principle of association in order to conduct a large business, it is no monopoly, but an absolutely free society in a free country. "It is," says this prospectus, "an enduring estate, and a lasting as well as certain credit; a portion and inheritance that is clear and growing, free from the mischief of frauds and false securities, supported by the concurrent strength and care of a great and prudent body, a kind of perpetual trustees, the friend of the widow and orphan, for it takes no advantage of minority or simplicity."³

Penn's commission to Capt. Thomas Holme as surveyor-general is dated April 18th. It contains nothing salient beyond the ordinary terms of such instruments. All this executive department work recorded above shows Penn in the light of a skillful, thrifty administrator, well instructed even in the minutest details of his business, and always looking out shrewdly for his own interests. On April 25th he published his "frame of government," or, as James Claypoole called it in one of his letters, "the fundamentals for government,"—in effect, the first

² In this society votes were to be on basis of amount of stock held, up to three votes, which was the limit. No one in England was allowed more than one vote, and proxies could be voted. The officers were president, deputy, treasurer, secretary, and twelve committee-men. Five, with president or deputy, a quorum. Committee-men to have but one vote each in meetings, with the casting vote to the president. Officers to hold during seven years on good behavior; general election and reopening of subscription books every seventh year; general statement at the end of each business year. The officers to live on society's property. All the society's servants were bound to secrecy, and the books were kept in society's house, under three locks, the keys in charge of president, treasurer, and oldest committee-man, and not to be intrusted to any person longer than to transcribe any part in daytime and in the house, before seven persons appointed by committee. The society was to send two hundred servants to Pennsylvania the first year, to build two or more general factories in Pennsylvania, one on Chesapeake Bay, one on Delaware or elsewhere; to aid Indians in building houses, etc., and to hold negroes for fourteen years' service, when they were to go free, "on giving to the society two-thirds of what they can produce on land allotted to them by the society, with a stock and tools; if they agree not to this, to be servants till they do." The leading object of the society at the outset seems to have been an extensive free trade with the Indians.

¹ Penn balances this direction very closely between thrift and conscience. He says, "Herein [in buying or exchanging these lands] be as sparing as ever you can, and urge the weak bottom of their grant, the Duke of York never having had a grant from the King, etc. Be impartially just and courteous to all, that is pleasing to the Lord and wise in itself." Yet Penn, like Swenson and the other Swedes, had bought his title, just as they did, of the Indians and the Duke of York.

² This interesting paper was signed in London, Sept. 30, 1681, with Richard Vickery, Charles Jones, Jr., Ralph Withers, Thomas Callowhill, and Philip Th. Lehmann as witnesses.

Constitution of Pennsylvania. Hepworth Dixon claims that in the composition of this instrument Penn received so much aid from Algernon Sidney "that it is quite impossible to separate the exact share of one legislator from that of the other." On the contrary, others of Penn's biographers see nothing in it but Penn's work under the inspiration of George Fox's "inner light." A careful examination of the document itself, however, and the preamble will, it is believed, establish it as a genuine production of the author of the "concessions and conditions of settlement" and the "instructions to the commissioners," which have been analyzed above. It is the work of William Penn, and reflects precisely some of the brightest and some of the much less bright traits of his genius and character.

The document is entitled "The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania, in America, together with certain laws agreed upon in England by the governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid province, to be further explained and continued there by the first provincial council that shall be held, if they see meet."

The "preface" or preamble to this Constitution is curious, for it is written as if Penn felt that the eyes of the court were upon him. The first two paragraphs form a simple excursus upon the doctrine of the law and the transgressor as expounded in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin," etc. From this Penn derives, not very perspicuously, however, "the divine right of government," the object of government being twofold, to terrify evil-doers and to cherish those that do well, "which gives government a *life beyond corruption* [i.e., divine right], and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be." Hence Penn thinks that government seems like a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end.¹ "They weakly

err," continues Penn, in an admirable sentence, the clearest possible anticipation of modern convictions in regard to penitentiary institutions, "they weakly err that think there is no other use of government than correction, *which is the coarsest part of it.*" He declines saying much of "particular frames and modes," for the reason that men are so hard to please. "It is true they seem to agree in the end, to wit, happiness, but in the means they differ. . . . Men side with their passions against their reason, and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds that they lean to them against the good of the things they know."

The form, he concludes, does not matter much after all. "Any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule and the people are a party to these laws." Good men are to be preferred even above good laws, and that which makes a good constitution must keep it, he says, to wit, men of wisdom and virtue. The frame of laws now published, Penn adds, has been carefully contrived "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." This is very nicely balanced, but it scarcely harmonizes with the letter referred to previously which Penn sent out to the people of his province by Markham, promising them freedom to make their own laws and govern themselves.

In the Constitution, which follows the preamble, Penn begins by confirming to the freemen of the province all the liberties, franchises, and properties secured to them by the patent of King Charles II. The government of the province is to consist of "the Governor and freemen of the said province, in form of a Provincial Council and General Assembly, by whom all laws shall be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted." The Council, of seventy-two members, is to be elected at once, one-third of the members to go out, and their successors elected each year, and after the first seven years those going out each year shall not be returned within a year. Two-thirds of the Council are required to constitute a quorum, except in minor matters, when twenty-four will suffice. The Governor is always to preside over the sessions of Council, and is to have three votes. "The Governor and Provincial Council shall *prepare and propose* to the General Assembly hereafter mentioned *all bills* which they shall at any time think fit to be passed into laws within the said province, . . . and on the ninth day from their so meeting, the said General Assembly, after reading over the proposed bills by the clerk of the Provincial Council, and the occasion and motives for them being opened by the Governor or his deputy, shall give their affirmative or negative, which to them seemeth best, . . . and the

discharged themselves of the trouble of 'working out their own salvation, and proving all things, that they might hold fast that which is good,' and in the room of that care bequeathed the charge of these affairs to a standing pensioner for that purpose."

¹ Compare this with Penn's pamphlet of 1679, called "An Address to all Protestants," where he says, "The fourth great ecclesiastical evil is preferring human authority above reason and truth," and at the same time abuses the accredited State administrators of religion as the greatest obstacles to faith. "Is not prophecy, once the church's, now engrossed by them and wholly in their hands? Who dare publicly preach or pray that is not of their order? Have they not only the keys in keeping? May anybody else pretend to the power of absolution or excommunication, much less to constitute ministers? Are not all church rites and privileges in their hands? Do not they make it their proper inheritance? Nay, so much larger is their empire than Caesar's that only they begin with births and end with burials: men must pay them for coming in and going out of the world. Thus their profits run from the womb to the grave, and that which is the loss of others is their gain and part of their revenue. . . . The minister is chooser and taster and everything for them (the people). . . . They seem to have delivered up their spiritual selves, and made over the business of religion—the rights of their souls—to their pastor, and that scarcely with any limitation of truth, too. And as if he were, or could be, their guarantee in the other world, they become very unsolicitous of any further search here. So that if we would examine the respective parishes of Protestant as well as Papish countries, we shall find it come to that sad pass that very few have any other religion than the tradition of their priests. They have given up their judgment to him, and seem greatly at their ease that they have

laws so prepared and proposed as aforesaid that are assented to by the General Assembly shall be enrolled as laws of the province, with this style: 'By the Governor, with the assent and approbation of the freemen in the Provincial Council and General Assembly.' Here is the fatal defect of Penn's Constitution, a defect which robs it of even any pretence of being republican or democratic in form or substance. The Assembly, the popular body, the representatives of the people, are restricted simply to a veto power. They cannot originate bills; they cannot even debate them; they are not allowed to think or act for themselves or those they represent, but have nothing to do except vote "yes" or "no." To be sure, the Council is an elective body too. But it is meant to consist of the Governor's friends. It is the aristocratic body. It does not come fresh from the people. The tenure of its members is three years. Besides, for ordinary business, twenty-four of the Council make a quorum, of whom twelve, with the Governor's casting vote, comprise a majority. The Governor has three votes; the Free Society of Traders six; if the Governor have three or four friends in Council, with the support of this society he can control all legislation. It seems incredible that William Penn should have of his own free will permitted this blemish upon his Constitution, which he claimed gave all the power of government and law-making into the hands of the people.

It is impossible for Penn to have acted ignorantly or unadvisedly in this matter. He was born amid the thunder of the great struggle, in the very hour of the triumph of the English Parliament over the executive upon this very issue of the power of the Commons to originate bills, a contest that had been going on for three hundred years, and had been incessantly waged since the beginning of the reign of King Edward III. He could not help knowing that this question had been fought out, or was still cause for battle between Governor and Council and the popular Assembly in every American colony. He was too familiar with our colonial history to have forgotten the inauguration of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1619, and how, successively in each colony as it was formed, in the language of Bancroft, "popular assemblies burst everywhere into life with a consciousness of their importance and an immediate capacity for efficient legislation."¹ Why was it, then, that Penn, who certainly

desired popular freedom, and sought anything else rather than the investment of arbitrary power in his own office and that of the Governor's advisers, followed in the footsteps of Lord Baltimore and John Locke, and attempted to deprive his popular assembly of every actual legislative function? We think the reason is plain that it was only by promising to construct his proprietary government after this model he was able to secure his patent at all. His relations with the Duke of York have been set forth. When, in 1675, the committee of the Privy Council was given charge of colonial affairs, the Duke of Albemarle (Monk) was chairman, but the Duke of York was the most active and controlling spirit of the committee. When Halifax opposed the attempt to subvert the autonomy of the colonies, and bring them directly under the sovereign power of the throne, he was dismissed from office, and the Privy Council voted that Governors and Councils of colonies "should not be obliged to call assemblies from the country to make taxes and to regulate other important matters, but that they should do what they should judge proper, rendering an account only to his Britannic majesty." This action was not finally taken till 1684, but it represented the well-matured views of the Duke of York, who had long held that colonies did not need General Assemblies, and ought not to have them. Penn was fully acquainted with these views and bowed in deference to them. He stooped to conquer. He waived his principles in order to secure his province, feeling that good must come from that establishment in innumerable ways.

Aside from this fatal piece of subservience there is much to praise in Penn's Constitution and something to wonder at, as being so far in advance of his age. The executive functions of Governor and Council are carefully defined and limited. A wholesome and liberal provision is made for education, public schools, inventions, and useful scientific discoveries.²

The Provincial Council, for the more prompt dispatch of business, was to be divided into four committees,—one to have charge of plantations, "to situate and settle cities, posts, and market-towns and highways, and to have and decide all suits and controversies relating to plantations," one to be a committee of justice and safety, one of trade and treasury, and the fourth of manners, education, and arts, "that

this power has existed since 1667. In New Jersey the Assembly of representatives, with law-making power, is as old as 1668. In South Carolina the freemen took part in law-making, through their delegates, from 1674. In New Hampshire the law-making power resided in the Assembly from March 16, 1680.

² In the preamble Penn lays down a doctrine now universally recognized, and the general acceptance of which, it is believed, affords the surest guarantee for the perpetuity of American institutions: that virtue and wisdom, "because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after-ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy than to their parents for their private patrimonies." No great truth could be more fully and nobly expressed than this.

¹ The Virginia Burgesses were first summoned July 30, 1619, two each from three cities, three hundreds, three plantations, Argall's Gift, and Kiccowtan. They met together with Governor and Council until 1680, when, under Lord Colepepper's government, the two houses separated. —(Beverly.) In Massachusetts, May 19, 1634, twenty-five delegates, chosen by the freemen of the towns of their own motion, appeared and claimed a share in making the laws. The claim was allowed and they became members of the General Court. In Connecticut the popular body was first provided for Jan. 14, 1639. In Maryland the first House of Burgesses dates from February, 1639, and they soon voided the authority of the Governor and Council, under the charter, to originate bills. In Rhode Island the power of popular assemblies dates from May, 1647. In North Carolina, in spite of Locke's aristocratic constitution,

all wicked and scandalous living may be prevented, and that youth may be successively trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts."

The General Assembly was to be elected yearly, not to exceed two hundred members, representing all the freemen of the province. They were to meet in the capital on "the 20th day of the second month," and during eight days were expected to freely confer with one another and the Council, and, if they chose, to make suggestions to the Council committees about the amendment or alteration of bills (all such as the Council proposed to offer for adoption being published three weeks beforehand), and on the ninth day were to vote, "not less than two-thirds making a quorum in the passing of laws and choice of such officers as are by them to be chosen." The General Assembly was to nominate a list of judges, treasurers, sheriffs, justices, coroners, etc., two for each office, from which list the Governor and Council were to select the officers to serve. The body was to adjourn upon being served with notice that the Governor and Council had no further business to lay before them, and to assemble again upon the summons of the Governor and Council. Elections were to be by ballot, and so were questions of impeachment in the Assembly and judgment of criminals in the Council. In case the proprietary be a minor, and no guardian has been appointed in writing by his father, the Council was to appoint a commission of three guardians to act as Governor during such minority. No business was to be done by the Governor, Council, or Assembly on Sunday, except in cases of emergency. The Constitution could not be altered without the consent of the Governor and six-sevenths of the Council and the General Assembly. (Such a rule, if enforced, would have perpetuated any Constitution, however bad.) Finally Penn solemnly declared "that neither I, my heirs nor assigns, shall procure or do anything or things whereby the liberties in this charter contained and expressed shall be infringed or broken; and if anything be procured by any person or persons contrary to these premises it shall be held of no force or effect."

On May 15th Penn's code of laws, passed in England, to be altered or amended in Pennsylvania, was promulgated. It consists of forty statutes, the first of which declares the charter or Constitution which has just been analyzed to be "fundamental in the government itself." The second establishes the qualifications of a freeman (or voter or elector). These include every purchaser of one hundred acres of land, every tenant of one hundred acres, at a penny an acre quit-rent, who has paid his own passage across the ocean and cultivated ten acres of his holding, every freeman who has taken up fifty acres and cultivated twenty, "and every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident in the said province that pays scot and lot to the government." All these electors are also eligible to election both to Council and Assembly.

Elections must be free and voluntary, and electors who take bribes shall forfeit their votes, while those offering bribes forfeit their election, the Council and Assembly to be sole judges of the regularity of the election of their members.

"No money or goods shall be raised upon or paid by any of the people of this province, by way of public tax, custom, or contribution, but by a law for that purpose made." Those violating this statute are to be treated as public enemies and betrayers of the liberties of the province.

All courts shall be open, and justice shall neither be sold, denied, or delayed. In all courts all persons of all (religious) persuasions may freely appear in their own way and according to their own manner, pleading personally or by friend; complaint to be exhibited fourteen days before trial, and summons issued not less than ten days before trial, a copy of complaint to be delivered to the party complained of at his dwelling. No complaint to be received but upon the oath or affirmation of complainant that he believes in his conscience that his cause to be just. Pleadings, processes, and records in court are required to be brief, in English, and written plainly so as to be understood by all.

All trials shall be by twelve men, peers, of good character, and of the neighborhood. When the penalty for the offense to be tried is death the sheriff is to summon a grand inquest of twenty-four men, twelve at least of whom shall pronounce the complaint to be true, and then twelve men or peers are to be further returned by the sheriff to try the issue and have the final judgment. This trial jury shall always be subject to reasonable challenge.

Fees are required to be moderate, their amounts settled by the Legislature, and a table of them hung up in every court-room. Any person convicted of charging more than the lawful fee shall pay twofold, one-half to go to the wronged party, while the offender shall be dismissed. All persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted at law shall have double damages against the informer or prosecutor.

All prisons, of which each county is to have one, shall be work-houses for felons, vagrants, and loose and idle persons. All persons shall be bailable by sufficient security, save in capital offenses "where the proof is evident or the presumption great." Prisons are to be free as to fees, food, and lodging.

All lands and goods shall be liable to pay debts, except where there is legal issue, and then all goods and one-third of the land only. (This is meant in case a man should die insolvent.) All wills in writing, attested by two witnesses, shall be of the same force as to lands or other conveyances, being legally proved within forty days within or without the province.

Seven years' quiet possession gives title, except in cases of infants, lunatics, married women, or persons beyond the seas.

Bribery and extortion are to be severely punished, but fines should be moderate and not exhaustive of men's property.¹

Marriage (not forbidden by the degrees of consanguinity or affinity) shall be encouraged, but parents or guardians must first be consulted, and publication made before solemnization; the ceremony to be by taking one another as husband and wife in the presence of witnesses, to be followed by a certificate signed by parties and witnesses, and recorded in the office of the county register. All deeds, charters, grants, conveyances, long notes, bonds, etc., are required to be registered also in the county enrollment office within two months after they are executed, otherwise to be void. Similar deeds made out of the province were allowed six months in which to be registered before becoming invalid.

All defacers or corrupters of legal instruments or registries shall make double satisfaction, half to the party wronged, be dismissed from place, and disgraced as false men.

A separate registry of births, marriages, deaths, burials, wills, and letters of administration is required to be kept.

All property of felons is liable for double satisfaction, half to the party wronged; when there is no land the satisfaction must be worked out in prison; while estates of capital offenders are escheated, one-third to go to the next of kin of the sufferer and the remainder to next of kin of criminal.

Witnesses must promise to speak the truth, the whole truth, etc., and if convicted of willful falsehood shall suffer the penalty which would have been inflicted upon the person accused, shall make satisfaction to the party wronged, and be publicly exposed as false witnesses, never to be credited in any court or before any magistrate in the province.

Public officers shall hold but one office at a time; all children more than twelve years old shall be taught some useful trade; servants shall not be kept longer than their time, must be well treated if deserving, and at the end of their term be "put in fitting equipage, according to custom."

Scandal-mongers, back-biters, defamers, and spreaders of false news, whether against public or private persons, are to be severely punished as enemies to peace and concord. Factors and others guilty of breach of trust must make satisfaction, and one-third over, to their employers, and in case of the factor's death the Council Committee of Trade is to see that satisfaction is made out of his estates.

All public officers, legislators, etc., must be professors of faith in Jesus Christ, of good fame, sober and honest convictions, and twenty-one years old. "All persons living in this province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be

the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever." The people are required to respect Sunday by abstaining from daily labor. All "offenses against God," swearing, cursing, lying, profane talking, drunkenness, drinking of healths, obscenity, whoredom and other uncleanness, treasons, misprisions, murders, duels, felony, sedition, maimings, forcible entries and other violence, all prizes, stage-plays, cards, dice, May-games, gamesters, masks, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, and the like, "which excite the people to rudeness, cruelty, looseness, and irreligion, shall be respectively discouraged and severely punished, according to the appointment of the Governor and freemen in Council and General Assembly."

All other matters not provided for in this code are referred to "the order, prudence, and determination" of the Governor and Legislature.

The most admirable parts of this code, putting it far ahead of the contemporary jurisprudence of England or any other civilized country at the time,² are the regulations for liberty of worship and the administration of justice. Penn's code on this latter point is more than a hundred years in advance of England. In the matter of fees, charges, plain and simple forms, processes, records, and pleadings, it still remains in advance of court proceedings and regulations nearly everywhere. The clauses about work-houses and

² But we must except the Catholic colony in Maryland, founded by Sir George Calvert, whose charter of 1632 and the act of toleration passed by the Assembly of Maryland in 1649, under the inspiration of Sir George's son, Cecilius, must be placed alongside of Penn's work. Two brighter lights in an age of darkness never shone. Calvert's charter was written during the heat of the Thirty Years' religious war, Penn's Constitution at the moment when all Dissenters were persecuted in England and when Louis XIV. was about to revoke the Edict of Nantes. The Virginians were expelling the Quakers and other sectaries. In New England the Puritan Separatists, themselves refugees for opinion's sake, martyrs to the cause of religious freedom, were making laws which were the embodiment of doubly distilled intolerance and persecution. Roger Williams was banished in 1635, in 1650 the Baptists were sent to the whipping-post, in 1634 there was a law passed for the expulsion of Anabaptists, in 1647 for the exclusion of Jesuits, and if they returned they were to be put to death. In 1656 it was decreed against "the cursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers," that captains of ships bringing them in were to be fined or imprisoned, Quaker books, or "writings containing their devilish opinions," were not to be imported, Quakers themselves were to be sent to the house of correction, kept at work, made to remain silent, and severely whipped. This was what the contemporaries of Calvert and Penn did. We have seen Penn's law of liberty of conscience. Calvert's was equally liberal. The charter of Calvert was not to be interpreted so as to work any diminution of God's sacred Christian religion, open to all sects, Protestant and Catholic, and the act of toleration and all preceding legislation, official oaths, etc., breathed the same spirit of toleration and determination, in the words of the oath of 1637, that none in the colony, by himself or other, directly or indirectly, will "trouble, molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ for or on account of his religion."

¹ "Contentements, merchandise, and wainage," says the text,—the land by which a man keeps his house, his goods, and his means of transportation.

about bailable offenses are also far in advance of even the best modern jurisprudence, and the provisions for a complete registration of births, etc., have yet to be enforced in some of the States closely adjoining Pennsylvania, despite the fact that accurate registries of this sort are essential preliminaries to any collection of vital statistics. This systematic recording of all transactions, public or domestic, has been characteristic of the Society of Friends from its earliest beginnings, and their registry and minute-books are now filled with historical materials of the most precious sort.

CHAPTER IX.

FOUNDING THE GREAT CITY—PENN IN PHILADELPHIA—HIS ADMINISTRATION.

PENN was very well represented in the new province and his interests intelligently cared for from the time that Lieutenant-Governor Brockholls, of New York, surrendered the colony until he himself arrived and took formal possession. His cousin, Capt. William Markham, Deputy Governor, as has been seen, arrived out in October, 1681, his commissioners, appointed for laying out the proposed great city, came over towards the end of the year, and his surveyor-general, Capt. Thomas Holme, reached Philadelphia in the early summer of 1682. The commissioners, as originally appointed Sept. 30, 1681, were William Crispin, Nathaniel Allen, and John Bezar. They sailed either in the ship "John and Sarah" or the "Bristol Factor," taking the southern passage and stopping at Barbadoes, where Crispin died. Crispin, the head of the commission, was a man of mature years and Penn's own kinsman, like Markham. It appears by a letter from Penn to Markham, dated London, Oct. 18, 1681, that Penn intended Crispin to hold high office in the new province. He says, "I have sent my cosen, William Crispin, to be thy assistant, as by Commission will appear. His Skill, experience, Industry, and Integrity are well known to me, and particularly in Court keeping, &c., so yt is my will and pleasure that he be as Chief Justice to Keep y^e Seal, y^e Courts and Sessions, & he shall be accountable to me for it. The profits redounding are to his proper behoof. He will show thee my Instructions weh guide you in all y^e business, & y^e cost is left to your discretion; y^e is, to thee, thy two Assistants and y^e Council." After telling Markham that if he prefers the sea to the deputyship he will procure him the profitable command of a passenger-ship to run between England and Pennsylvania, he adds: "Pray be very respectful to my Cosen Crispin. He is a man my father had great confidence in and value for. Also strive to give content to the Planters, with meekness and sweetness, mixed with authority, carry it so as thou mayst honour me as well as thyselfe, and I do

hereby promise thee I will effectually answer it to thee and thyn." In this letter, as Penn states, was inclosed another, in the Norse language, addressed to the Swedes of the new province by Liembergh, the ambassador of Sweden in London. Markham is to give this to the Swedish pastor and bid him read it to his countrymen.

Before Crispin's death was known to Penn he had appointed William Heage as additional commissioner. There does not appear on the record evidence of any great amount of work done by them, though they probably afforded assistance to both Markham and Holme in executing, as well as they could, the instructions of Penn. Being on the spot it was soon discovered that these instructions would require to be sensibly modified. For example, in selecting the site for the city and locating it in the fork of the Schuylkill and Delaware, which was done early in the spring of 1682,¹ it was found that scarcely more than an eighth of the acres called for could be laid off.

Markham was in New York on June 21, 1681, where he procured the proclamation already spoken of from Governor Brockholls. The first record we have of his appearance on the Delaware is the following "Obligation of Councilmen:" "Whereas, wee whose hands and Seals are hereunto Sett are Chosen by Wm. Markham (agent to Wm. Penn, Esq., Proprietor of y^e Province of Pennsylvania) to be of the Council for y^e s^d province, doe hereby bind ourselves by our hands & Seals, that wee will neither act nor advise, nor Consent unto anything that shall not be according to our own Consciences the best for y^e true and well Government of the s^d Province, and Likewise to Keep Secret all y^e votes and acts of us, The s^d Councell, unless Such as by the General Consent of us are to be published. Dated at Vpland y^e third day of August, 1681.

"Robert Wade, Morgan Drewet, W^m. Woodmanse, (W. W. The mark of) William Warner, Thomas Ffairman, James Sandlenes, Will Clayton, Otto Ernest Koch, and y^e mark (L) of Lacy (or Lasse) Cock." Wade, Drewet, Woodmanson, Fairman, Sandeland, Clayton, and the two Cocks were old residents upon the Delaware; Fairman, Clayton, and both the Cocks owning land within the present limits of Philadelphia. Fairman appears to have had one of the best or most convenient houses on the site of the nascent city at and before the time of Penn's arrival. There is on file a bill and receipt for £426 10s. 6d., which he rendered Penn for services in surveying, doing errands, furnishing horses, hands, etc., between 1681 and later years. He boarded and lodged

¹ Claypole writes, in England, July 24, 1682, "I have taken up resolutions to go next spring with my whole family to Pennsylvania, so have not sent my orders for a house for planting, but intend to do it when I do come. I have one hundred acres where our capital city is to be, upon the river near Schuylkill and Peter Cock. There I intend to plant and build my first house." This land of Peter Cock's appears to have adjoined the Swenson estate, and Penn gave him twice as many acres for it on the west side of the Schuylkill.

Whereas wee whose hands and Seals are herunto
setts are Chosen by Wm Markham (agent to ~
Wm Penn Esq^r Proprietor of y^e Province of Pensilvania
to be of the Councell for y^e s^d province, doe hereby
bind our selves by our hand & Seals that, wee neither
act nor advise nor Consent, unto any thing that
shall not be according to our own Consciencess the
best for y^e true and well Government of the s^d
Province and Likewise to Keep secret all y^e votes
and acts of us The s^d Councell unless Such, as by the
Generall Consent of us are to be Published, Dated
at Ups and y^e third day of August 1681

Robert Child
James Smith
The. Fairman
will Clayson
Otho Lloyd
The mark W W
Woodman
Richard Harrison
Morgan
The mark L of
Lacy Cook

Markham, Haige, and Holme and family at different times, and gave up his house to Penn the winter after the Governor's arrival. It appears also by this bill that Markham, aided by Fairman, made the survey of the river-front which determined the site of Philadelphia. They were seven weeks "taking the courses and soundings of the Delaware," and Fairman's charge for his services was £10. For "taking the courses of the Schuylkill, etc., for sounding and placing Philadelphia on Delaware River, etc.," his charge was £6.¹

In September Upland Court appears to have been reorganized under Markham's instructions and jury trials instituted. The justices present at the meeting of this newly organized court were William Clayton, William Warner, Robert Wade, William Byles, Otto Ernest Cock, Robert Lucas, Lasse Cock, Swen Swenson, and Andreas Bankson, five of them being members of Markham's Council. The clerk of the court was Thomas Revell, and the sheriff's name was John Test. The first jury drawn in this court—the first drawn in Pennsylvania—was in a case of assault and battery (Peter Earicksen *vs.* Harman Johnson and wife), and their names were Morgan Drewet, William Woodmanson, William Hewes, James Browne, Henry Reynolds, Robert Schooley, Richard Pittman, Lasse Dalboe, John Akraman, Peter Rambo, Jr., Henry Hastings, and William Oxley; two more of the Deputy Governor's Council being on this jury. At the next meeting of Upland Court, in November, Markham was present, and he attended all the subsequent sessions up to the time of Penn's arrival.

A petition to Markham, dated from "Pesienk (Passyunk), in Pennsylvania, 8th October, 1681," would tend to show that the Indians of that day could not see the merits of "Local Option." It is signed by Nanne Seka, Keka Kappan, Jong Goras, and Espon Ape, and shows that "Whereas, the sell-

ing of strong liquors [to Indians] was prohibited in Pennsylvania, and not at New Castle; we find it a greater ill-convenience than before, our Indians going down to New Castle, and there buying rum and making them more debauched than before (in spite of the prohibition). Therefore we, whose names are hereunder written, do desire that the prohibition may be taken off, and rum and strong liquors may be sold (in the foresaid province) as formerly, until it is prohibited in New Castle, and in that government of Delaware." This petition appears to have been renewed after Penn's arrival, for we find in the minutes of the Provincial Council, under date of 10th of Third month (May 20, 1683), that "The Gov'r [Penn] Informs the Council that he had Called the Indians together, and proposed to Let them have rum if they would be contented to be punished as y^e English were; which they agreed to, provided that y^e Law of not Selling them Rum be abolished." The law was in fact declared to be a dead letter, but in 1684 Penn besought the Council to legislate anew on the subject so at least as to arrest indiscriminate sales of spirits to the savages. This subject of selling rum to the Indians is continually coming up in the Colonial Records.

On the 15th of July, 1682, as one result of his careful surveys of the Delaware, Deputy Governor Markham bought of certain Indian sachems, or "sachamakers" (named Idquahon, Icanottowe, Idquoquequon, Sahoppe, for himself and Ockmickon, Merkehowan, Oreckton, for Nannacassey, Shaurwaughton, Swanpisse, Nahoosey, Tomackhickon, Weskekitt, and Towharis), on Penn's account, a large tract of country on the Delaware above Philadelphia, including the major part of what is now Bucks County (a name given by Penn himself in recollection of his long family connection with Buckinghamshire in England), and including also the site of the manors of Pennsbury and Highlands. It seems likely Penn himself knew something about the qualities of this tract, and had directed Markham's attention to it as well as to Burlington Island. The Quakers of the West New Jersey settlement were well acquainted with it, George Fox had ridden through it in 1672 on his way to Maryland, and the preliminary paths of the high-road from New York to the Delaware passed through it, crossing the Delaware either at Bristol or at Trenton. Pennsbury was beautifully located in the bend of the river at the falls, where the Delaware makes an elbow at right angles. This whole tract now bought by Markham—the consideration to the Indians being the usual assortment of match-coats, blankets, arms, trinkets, wampum, rum, and in this case with a little money added—had already a history of its own. The Walloon families sent by the Dutch to the South River are supposed to have dwelt during their brief stay in that section on Verhulsten Island, just below the falls. Hudde, the Dutch commissary on the Delaware, erected the

¹ Robert Wade was the first Quaker in Upland; he came over with Fenwick in 1675. His house, called "Essex House," was a Quaker stopping-place; William Edmundston preached there in 1675, and this was the first house at which Penn lodged on landing in 1682. Sandeland was a Scotchman, came with Governor Carr, and settled in Upland in 1669. He married a daughter of Jorān Kyn, the Swede who founded Upland, and the Yeates family are among his descendants. Thomas Fairman, the surveyor (he appears to have been officially so in 1696), was a forehanded Quaker, who came in probably from New Jersey in 1679. He married Elizabeth Kinsey, daughter and heir of John Kinsey, of Herefordshire, England, and by her got three hundred acres of ground, with house and outbuildings, at Shackanaxon. This land she had bought from Lasse Cock, Nov. 12, 1678. It was his share of a "town" of eighteen hundred acres only a short time previously laid off at that point. Fairman's house was the Quaker meeting-house and Penn's residence. Lasse Cock's building it may have been the cause of the Indians frequenting the spot. Fairman took two hundred and sixty acres on March 12, 1679, at Bensalem, Neshaminy Creek, and June 8, 1680, he got a grant for two hundred acres more. John Kinsey, Elizabeth Fairman's father, was one of the commissioners sent over in 1677 by the Quaker Company of Yorkshire to settle Indian claims in West Jersey. They came in the ship "Kent," and bought all the land on the east side of the Delaware from Oldman's Creek to Assanpink Creek. This purchase was the beginning of Burlington.

West India Company's coat of arms on the tract in 1646, and both Campanius and Adrian Van der Donck, in their books about the South River country, have spoken of this section.¹

In 1654, Lindstrom, the Swedish engineer, who came over with Risingh, mapped this part of the Delaware and adjacent lands, beginning at the falls, which he designated as *La Cataract d'Asinpink*. Welcome Creek, on which Penn built his manor-house, was called by Lindstrom *La Rivière de Sipaessingz-Kjil*, and Burlington Island, opposite Bristol, is styled *Mechansio*. Peter Alrichs, who held many offices under both Dutch and English on the Delaware from his arrival at Henlopen in 1659 until the accession of Penn, had titles to Burlington Island and part of the mainland near Bristol under grants from the West India Company and from Governor Nichols in 1667. In 1682 he sold to Samuel Borden, and in 1688 to Samuel Carpenter. Alrichs' Island was occupied in 1679 by a Dutchman named Barentz. In 1675, Governor Andros bought of four Indian chiefs,—Mamarckickam, Anrickton, Sackoquewano, and Nanneckos,—some of the same party apparently who sold to Markham, a tract on the river from the present Bristol to Taylorsville, embracing fine lands in three townships, and including what was afterwards Penn's Manor. This purchase was made for the Duke of York, but Mr. Davis, the historian of Bucks County, thinks the purchase was never consummated, or at least the land never occupied. The Swedes petitioned Andros in November, 1677, for leave "to settle together in a town on the west side of the river near the falls," in this same tract.² It seems quite probable, in view of all the circumstances, that there is foundation for the legend that the commissioners, with Markham and Holme, had looked curiously at Pennsbury, with a view to locating the great city there. The difficulty with regard to Upland was that so many Swedish titles would have to be extinguished, and, besides, the division line between Maryland and Pennsylvania

was still unsettled. Pennsbury was rejected after survey, probably because the depth of water was insufficient. At Coquannock, on the contrary, every condition required by Penn was fulfilled, except that the neck of the peninsula first occupied was too narrow to permit a town site of ten thousand acres to be laid out upon it, and the original city, as mapped by Thomas Holme, only contained between twelve hundred and thirteen hundred acres.

When the site was determined, Holme and his assistants went to work with the greatest industry to lay the ground off into lots, as well as to survey the farm and manor tracts which had already been sold. There was need to do this promptly, for now a stream of immigration began to pour in upon the city and the adjacent towns and plantations. It started before Penn had sailed from Deal, and it continued through the year, twenty-three ships, one every sixteen days, having arrived in the Delaware in 1682. Over one thousand immigrants came over that year, and Penn wrote to Lord North, in September, 1683, that "since last summer we have had about sixty sail of great and small shipping, which is a good beginning." At the end of this same year he said, in a letter to the Marquis of Halifax, "I must, without vanity, say that I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among us."

All these new settlers wanted their lands laid off, so that they might begin to build upon them; many were living in tents, or in caves cut in the high banks of the Delaware and the Schuylkill. Holme and the commissioners accordingly laid off the town and began to apportion the lots with as much dispatch as possible. One of the earliest surveys on record is as follows: "No. 142, David Hammon; return for a lot. Warrant, 1681, 5th mo. 5th.³ I have caused to be surveyed and set out unto David Hamon, in right of Amos Nythols, purchaser of 250 acres, his City Lot, between the 5th and 6th sts. from Delaware, and on the south side of the lot called as yet Pool street [afterwards Walnut Street], in the city of Philadelphia, containing in length 220 foot, bounded on the west with Robert Hart's lot, on the east with John Kirk's lot, on the north with y^e said Pool Street, and on the south with vacant lots; and containing a breadth of 50 foot, and was surveyed on the 6th instant, and accordingly entered and recorded in my office and hereby returned into the Governor's Secretary's office, Philadelphia, this 10th of y^e 5th month, 1682.

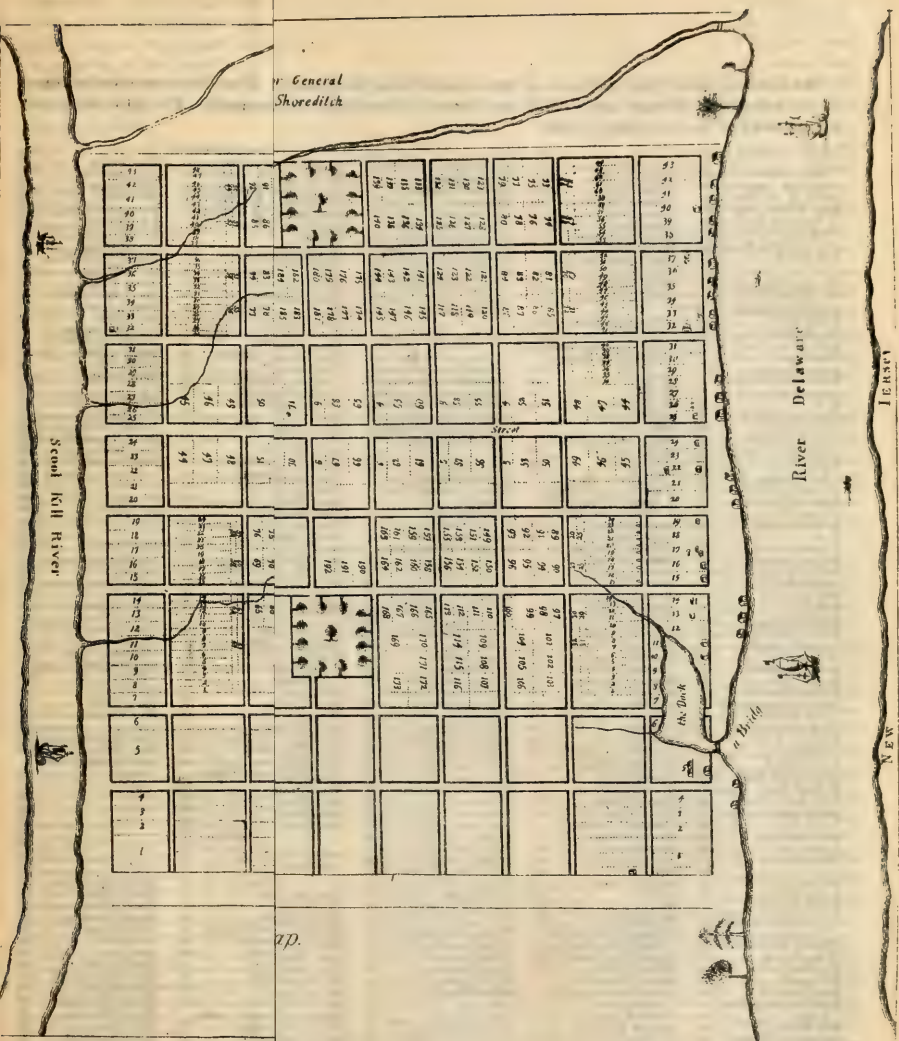
"THOMAS HOLME, *Surveyor-General*."

This is proof that the city was named, surveyed, platted, and lots had begun to be occupied by settlers in July, 1682. Exactly how, or when, or why Penn named the city Philadelphia does not now seem easy

¹ Davis' History of Bucks County, Pa., p. 21, *et seq.*

² The names of these petitioners were Lawrence (or Lasse, Lacy) Cock, Israel Helm, Moens Cock, Andreas Beuckson, Ephraim Herman, Caspar Herman, Sven Loon, John Dalbo, Jasper Fisk, Hans Mounson, Frederick Boomy, Erick Muelk, Gunner Rambo, Thomas Harwood, Eric Cock, Peter Jockum, Peter Cock, Jr., Jan Stille, Jonas Nielson, Oele Swenson, James Sanderling, Matthias Matthias, J. Devos, and William Orlam. Ephraim and Caspar Herman were both sons of Augustus Herman, a Bohemian adventurer of great accomplishments, a soldier, scholar, surveyor, sailor, and diplomatist, who, after serving in Stayvesant's Council in New Amsterdam, and conducting an embassy from him to Lord Baltimore, incurred the haughty director's displeasure and was cast into prison. He escaped, went into Maryland, surveyed and made a map of the Chesapeake Bay and the province, and was paid with the gift of a territory in Kent and Cecil Counties, which he called Bohemia Manor. It was intersected by a river of the same name. A part of this tract was sold by Herman to a congregation of Labadists, who settled upon it. Ephraim Herman, who was born in 1654, lived chiefly among the Swedes in New Amstelund Upland. He was clerk of the court here in 1676. In 1679 he married Elizabeth von Rodenburg, a daughter of the Governor of Curaçao, and took her to Uplande, where he shortly afterwards deserted her to join the Labadists. He returned to her, however, after a while, and was in Upland on the day of Penn's arrival.

³ "1681," if meant for the year, is an error. The plat of the city had not been marked out as early as the 5th of July, 1681. "1682, 5th mo. 5th" must have been meant.



General
Shoreditch

Stool Kill River

River Delaware

JERSEY

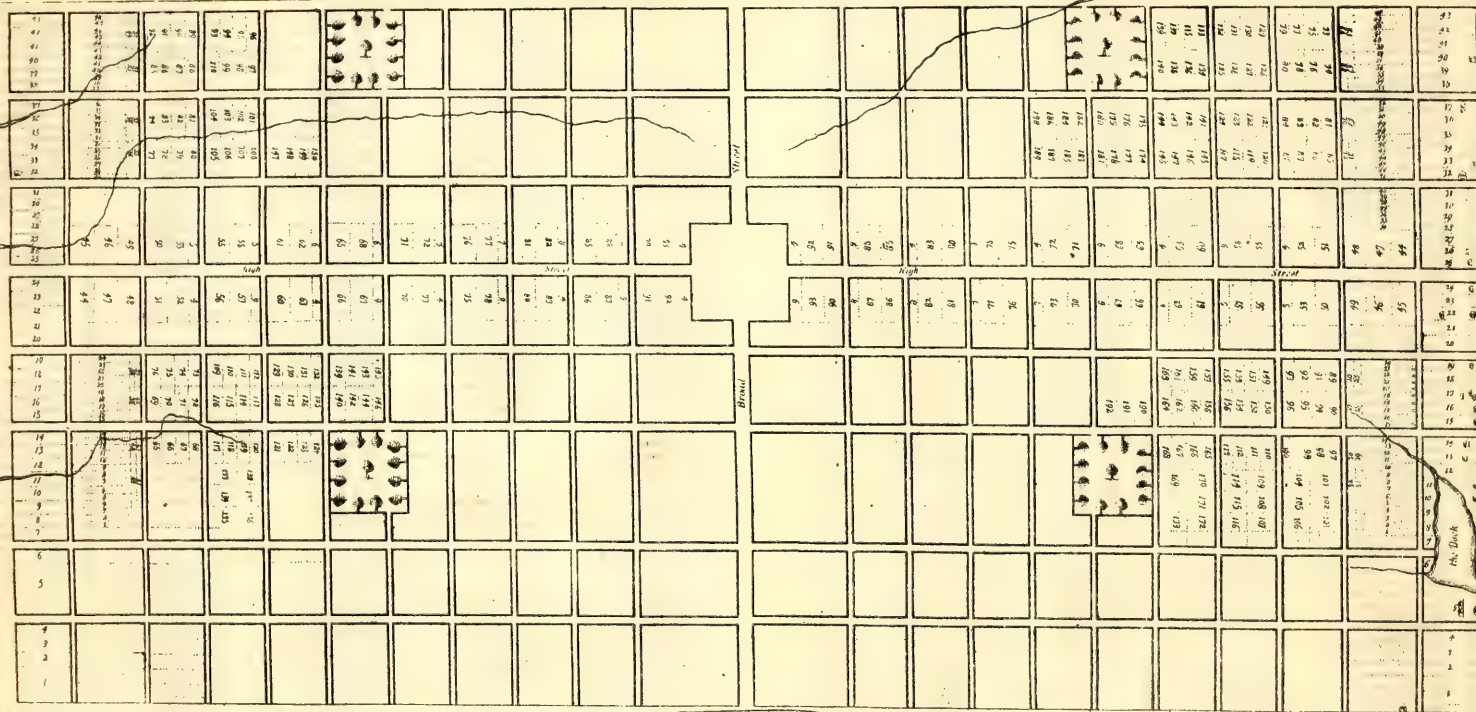
NEW

ap.

A Portraiture of the City
Philadelphia
in the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA
in
America

by Thomas Holme Surveyor General
Sold by Andrew Sowle in Shoreditch
London

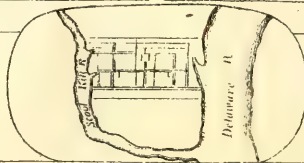
SCULL KILL RIVER



River Delaware

JERSEY

See explanation



on back of Map.

order of the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, in London, 1688. That list is imperfect by reason of ancient spelling and errors have been corrected and the names spelled properly. The list is taken from

DELAWARE FRONT LOTS.	No.	John Bezer	38	John Alop	No.	Randle Vernon	57	George Gerrish	128	South end with N 1, and	No.	George Shore	33	John Denny	No.	Here follows the Purchasers under 1000 acres,	No.	John Bailey	No.
The purchases of 1000		Richard Crosby	39	Sabrina Colaba		Roda Vernon	58	Edw. Tardiff	129	proceeds with the		Edw. Hubbard	34	John Egan		the last of the		Joel Bailey	
acres and upwards at		Charles P. Kent	40	Charles P. Kent		Charles P. Kent	41	John Marshall	130	Front to the northward		John Thomas	35	John Egan		Front of Skuykill and		Rich ^d Mills	
the Front and High		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	131	streets and begin at		High Lamb	36	John Egan		the Southern		John Pinn	
streets and begin at		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	132	the South end of the		Rich ^d Pinn	37	John Egan		the last of the		John Worral	
the South end with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	133	proceeds by N ^o as in the		Sam ^l Allen	38	John Egan		Draught.		John Cam	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	134			Edw. Bennett	37	John Egan				Joseph Egan	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	135			Wm. Lawrence	38	John Egan				Rich ^d Wardall	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	136			Philip Ford	39	John Egan				Rich ^d Proder	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	137			John Mason	40	John Egan				Henry Pinn	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	138			Nich. Allen	38	John Egan				Henry Leitch	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	139			John King	39	John Egan				Francis Jones	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	140			Henry Powell	40	John Egan				John Millington	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	141			Rich ^d Baker	39	John Egan				John Poyner	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	142			James Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	143			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	144			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	145			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	146			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	147			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	148			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	149			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	150			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	151			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	152			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	153			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	154			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	155			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	156			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	157			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	158			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	159			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	160			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	161			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	162			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	163			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	164			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	165			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	166			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	167			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	168			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	169			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	170			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	171			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	172			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	173			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	174			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	175			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	176			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	177			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	178			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	179			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	180			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	181			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	182			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	183			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	184			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	185			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	186			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	187			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	188			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	189			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	190			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	191			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	192			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	193			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	194			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	195			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	196			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	197			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	198			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	199			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	200			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	201			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	202			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	203			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	204			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	205			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	206			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	207			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	208			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	209			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	210			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	211			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	212			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	213			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	214			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	215			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	216			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	217			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	218			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
with N 1, and		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	219			John Bivon	40	John Egan				John Price	
proceeds to the North end		John Alop	39	John Alop		John Alop	40	John Alop	220										

The following Committee of the Free Society of Traders, in London, 1683. That list is imperfect by reason of the misspelling and errors have been corrected and the names spelled properly. The list is taken from the appendix c

DELAWARE FRONT IN 1, and		No.	No.		Here follows the Purchasers under 1000 acres, placed in the back of the Front of Skuykill and begins at the Southern Side with N 1, and so proceeds by N as in the Draught.		No.	
The purchasers of the	George Shore.....	33	John Dennison.....	No.	Shadrach Welsh.....	1	Thos. Bailey.....	71
acres and upwards	John Edw. Wm.....	34	John Edw. Wm., & Mary Penington.....	57 14	John Nixon.....	2	Joel Johnson.....	72
placed in the Front	John Thomas.....	35	Rich ^d . Penn.....	58 15	Peter Bland.....	3	Rich ^d . Mills.....	73
High Streets, and 1	Hugh Lamb.....	36	John Cole.....	59 16	Henry Green.....	4	Thos. Plank.....	74
on Delaware front.....	Sarah Fuller.....	37	Will Russell.....		Morris Lenhoms.....	5	Francis Harrison.....	75
South end with No. 2	Sam ^l . Allen.....	38	Henry Bayly.....	60 17	John Bevan.....	6	John Worral.....	76
proceed to the Northern	Edw. Bennet.....	39	John Mason.....		John Clare.....	7	Thos. Cam.....	77
with No. 43.....	Rich ^d . Fletcher.....	40	Thos. Elwood.....		Wm. Morden.....	8	Joseph Jones.....	78
William Penn, Junr., &c.	Thos. King.....	41	John King.....		John Poyer (Boyer).....	9	Richard Wardall.....	79
Philip Ford.....	Henry Pawling.....	42	Philip Lehanan.....		John Price.....	10	Rich ^d . Elder.....	80
Lawrence Growden.....	George Powell.....	43	John Masou.....	61 18	Thos. Crosdale.....	11	Henry Wright.....	81
Thos. Society.....	Rich ^d . Baker.....	44	Thos. Elwood.....		Wm. Beaks.....	12	Henry Leitchfield.....	82
John Marsh.....	John Brock.....	45	Geo. Powell.....		Francis Cowburn (Co-burn).....	13	Francis Johnson.....	83
James Harrison.....	James Dilworth.....	46	Rich ^d . Vickris.....	40	Thos. Dell (Dill).....	14	John Millington.....	84
Thomas Farnborough.....	Edw. Welsh.....	47	Chas. Harford.....		John Swift.....	15	Mary Southworth.....	85
James Boyden.....	H. Killingbeck (Killingbeck).....	48	Wm. Beaks.....	64 22	John Poyer (Boyer).....	16	Matthew Marks.....	86
N. N.....	Rich ^d . Vickris.....	49	Chas. Lloyd.....	65 23	Thos. Pender.....	17	Joshua Holland.....	87
Francis Borough.....	Chas. Harford.....	50	Edw. Shubard.....	66 24	John Pender.....	18	John Elton.....	88
Robert Knight.....	Wm. Brown.....	51	Geo. Shore.....	67 25	Wm. Lawrence.....	19	Thos. Langborn.....	89
John Reynolds.....	Chas. Lloyd.....	52	Rich ^d . Vickris.....	68 26	Henry Combs.....	20	John Fuster.....	90
Nathaniel Bromley.....	Chas. Lloyd.....	53	Sam ^l . Barker.....		Ann Olin.....	21	Joseph Potter.....	91
Enoch Flower.....	Thos. Crossell.....	54	John Hart.....		John Haynes.....	22	David Hammond.....	92
John Moore.....	Walter King.....	55	James Hunt.....		Robt. Adams.....	23	Thos. Worth.....	93
Hamphrey South.....	Francis Smith.....	56	Rich ^d . Collins.....	69 27	John Hughes.....	24	Edw. Carter.....	94
Sabian Cole.....	Rich ^d . Penn.....	57	John Bowland.....		Rich ^d . Noble.....	25	Thos. Worth.....	95
Thomas Baker.....	Sam ^l . Kowles.....	58	John Tovey.....		John Longworthy.....	26	Edw. Carter.....	96
James Claypole.....	Isaac Gellings.....	59	Wm. Pardo.....		James Clayton.....	27	Edw. Carter.....	97
Alexander Parker.....	Wm. Markham.....	60	Robt. Dimsdal.....	70 28	Henry Lewis.....	28	Edw. Carter.....	98
Robert Greenway.....	Edmund Warner.....	61	John ap John.....	71 29	Lewis David.....	29	Edw. Carter.....	99
Samuel Carpenter (on)			Herbert Springert.....		Wm. Howell.....	30	Robt. Hart.....	100
Charles Taylor.....			Wm. Brown.....		John Bargo.....	31	Robt. Hart.....	101
Wm. Shurdlow.....			Francis Smith.....	72 30	Reese Redrah.....	32	Math. Grange.....	102
John Love.....			John Marsh.....	73 31	Will Cardy.....	33	James Lowney.....	103
Nathaniel Allen.....			Chas. Harford.....		Will Bastick.....	34	Ralph Kinsey.....	104
Edward Jefferson (Pet.)			John Clowes.....		John Burchell.....	35	Ralph Kinsey.....	105
John Sweetapple.....			Edw. West.....		Cuthbert Hyhurst.....	36	Ralph Kinsey.....	106
Thomas Bond.....			Edw. Bennet.....	74	John Burchell.....	37	Philip Aldrich.....	107
Richard Crockett.....			Wm. Powell.....	75 32	Thos. Morris.....	38	Sam ^l . Arkinson.....	108
Robert Taylor.....			John North.....		Daniel Middeot (Middeot).....	39	Edw. Walter.....	109
Thomas Rowline.....			Rich ^d . Haines.....		John Jones.....	40	Thos. Powell.....	110
Thomas Herriot (pro-ably Herriot).....			Henry Pawling.....		Roger Beck.....	41	Edw. Cartridge (Cart-ridge).....	111
Charles Pickering.....			John Shires.....		Rich ^d . Hunt.....	42	John Brown.....	112
Thomas Beattie.....			Hugh Lamb.....	76 33	Robt. Sunderlands.....	43	James Dicks.....	113
Bourne.....			Isaac Gellis.....		Geo. Keith.....	44	John Pearce.....	114
John Willard.....			Wm. Bauer.....	78 35	John Sasahold.....	45	John Stephen.....	115
Edward Hardham.....			Thos. Rudyard.....	79 36	Wm. Bigley.....	46	Eliz. Lovel.....	116
Richard Webb.....			Thos. Roberts.....	80 37	Peter Dallo.....	47	John Oldman (Oldham).....	117
John Bay, or Boy.....			Will Jenkins.....		Wm. East.....	48	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	118
Daniel Smith.....			Rich ^d . Ganton.....		Geo. Strode (Stroud).....	49	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	119
Letitia Penn.....			Edw. Martindale.....	81 38	John Sumner.....	50	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	120
Wm. Bowman.....			George Wood.....		John Richards.....	51	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	121
Griffith Jones.....			Edw. Prichard.....	84 41	Jos. Bristow.....	52	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	122
Thomas Callowhill.....			John Peacock.....		Peter Young.....	53	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	123
Wm. Stanley.....			Thos. Phillips.....	82	Geo. Powell.....	54	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	124
Joseph Fisher.....			Sam ^l . Tavernor.....		John Sanson.....	55	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	125
Robert Turner.....			Thos. Pearce.....		John Pearson (probably Parsons).....	56	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	126
John Holme (probab-ly Holme).....			Rich ^d . Shead.....	83 40	Christ. Tophold.....	57	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	127
Thomas.....			Francis Rogers.....	84 41	Wm. Salway.....	58	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	128
Tlement Willard.....			Geo. Rogers.....	84 42	Francis Hurford.....	59	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	129
Richard Davis.....			Arthur Peritt.....	85 43	John Walne.....	60	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	130
Abraham Parks.....			Thos. Napper.....		Will Cecil.....	61	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	131
Wm. Smith.....					John Spence.....	62	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	132
John Blakelins.....					Arthur Bewes.....	63	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	133
Eden (probably Allen).....						64	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	134
Foster.....						65	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	135
Wm. Wade.....						66	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	136
Benjamin Chambers.....						67	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	137
Samuel Fox.....						68	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	138
Francis Borough.....						69	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	139
John Barber.....						70	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	140
George Palmer.....						71	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	141
John Sharpless.....						72	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	142
Henry Muldock.....						73	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	143
Thomas Rowland.....						74	Thos. Oldman (Oldham).....	144

to ascertain. Of course he selected the name himself; and, as we know from one of his letters, did so before the site was chosen, and he had in full view its meaning of brotherly love. Doubtless, likewise, Penn had in view that one of the "seven churches of Asia" to which the angel in Revelation was commanded to write.¹

On the 19th of September, 1682, Holme and the commissioners had a drawing of lots in Philadelphia in compliance with the instructions given by the Proprietary Governor. The lots drawn were on Second, Broad, and Fourth Streets, but as these drawings were never ratified, and as a great many radical changes were made in Penn's land distribution system after he came into the province, it is needless to dwell more at length upon the subject in this place.²

Penn's ship, the "Welcome," sailed from "the Downs" (the roadstead off Deal and Ramsgate, where the Goodwin Sands furnish a natural breakwater) on or about Aug. 31, 1682. Claypoole writes on September 3d that "we hope the 'Welcome,' with William Penn, is gotten clear." The ship made a tolerably brisk voyage, reaching the capes of the Delaware on October 24th, and New Castle on the 27th, being thus fifty-three days from shore to shore. The voyage, however, was a sad one, almost to the point of disaster. The smallpox had been taken aboard at Deal, and so severe were its ravages that of the one hundred passengers the ship carried thirty, or nearly one-third, died during the passage. The terrible nature of this pestilence may be gathered from one striking fact, and that is this: antiquarians, searching for the names of these first adventurers who came over with

Penn,—a list of names more worthy to be put on record than the rolls of Battell Abbey, which preserves the names of the subjugators of England, who came over with William the Conqueror,—have been able to find the most of them attached as witnesses or otherwise to the wills of the well-to-do burghers and sturdy yeomen who embarked with Penn on the "Welcome" and died during the voyage. During this period of trial and affliction, when the natural instincts of man are turned to terror and selfish seclusion, Penn showed himself at his best. His whole time and that of his friends was given to the support of the sick, the consolation of the dying, the burial of the dead. Richard Townshend, a fellow-passenger, said, "His good conversation was very advantageous to all the company. His singular care was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many who were sick with the smallpox. . . . We had many good meetings on board." In these pious services Penn had the cordial help of Robert Pearson, to whom, in return, he gratefully gave the privilege of rebaptizing the town on the Delaware at which some of the survivors landed, and thus the significant and appropriate name of Upland, applied by the Swedes to their second colony, was lost in the euphonious but meaningless and inappropriate cognomen of Chester.

The record of Penn's arrival at New Castle is as follows: "October 28. On the 27th day of October, arrived before the town of New Castle, in Delaware, from England, WILLIAM PENN, ESQ., proprietary of Pennsylvania, who produced two certain deeds of feoffment from the illustrious prince, James, Duke of York, Albany, etc., for this town of New Castle, and twelve miles about it, and also for the two lower counties, the Whorekill's and St. Jones's, which said deeds bear date the 24th August, 1682; and pursuant to the true intent, purpose, and meaning of his royal highness in the same deeds, he the said William Penn received possession of the town of New Castle, the 28th of October, 1682." ³ This delivery was made, as the records show, by John Moll, Esq., and Ephraim Herman, gentlemen, attorneys, constituted by his royal highness, of the town of Delaware, otherwise called New Castle; the witnesses to the formal ceremony, in which the key of the fort was delivered to Penn by one of the commissioners, "in order that he might lock upon himself alone the door," and which was accompanied with presents of "turf and twig, and water and soyle of the river Delaware," were Thomas Holme, William Markham, Arnoldus de la Grange, George Forman, James Graham, Samuel Land, Richard Tugles, Joseph Curles, and John Smith. Penn at once commissioned magistrates for the newly-annexed counties, and made Markham his attorney to receive possession of the lower counties from Moll and Herman. He also summoned a court

¹ Rev. chap. i. 2; iii. 7-11. There were two Philadelphia's before Penn's city,—one, this city referred to, in Asia Minor, now called Ala-Shehr ("the exalted city"), which still has a considerable population, maintains a Greek Church archbishopric, and has numerous remains of antiquity, including five Christian Churches; and the Philadelphia in Syria, anciently called "Rabbak," and now "Amman" or "Ammon," site of the Ammonites. It lies on an affluent of the Jordan, fifty-five miles from Jerusalem, in the pashalik of Damascus. Ala-Shehr is a sacred city even among the Turks, who carry their dead long distances in order to bury them there.

But there may have been another reason for Penn's giving the name of Philadelphia to his new city. Jane Leadley was the founder of a religious sect in England during the seventeenth century which was very near in its observances to those of the Quakers. It was said to have originated from the society founded by Madame Bourignon. Jane Leadley's society made many proselytes in England and on the Continent of Europe, in Holland, Belgium, and Germany. Its members were closely allied to the Quakers and the Mennonists, the Quakers sometimes preaching to the Leadleyites and *vice versa*. Both Fox and Penn were acquainted with Jane, who called her sect the "Philadelphian Society." Her secretary, Heinrich Johann Deichmann, was a German, and the friend and correspondent of John Kelpius, the "Hermit of the Wissahickon." The Continental agent of the Philadelphiai was Hermann von Saltzungen, and there was little to distinguish the *amici* of the Philadelphia from the disciples of Schwenkfeld, Mennio, and Labadie; all claimed a common descent from Jacob Boehme, Johann Arnd, Johann Tauler, and Thomas à Kempis.

² Much confusion is found in the names and dates and order of transactions at this period in respect to land apportionment. Records appear to have been revised without any account kept of the changes, and consequently authorities differ materially concerning what was done. See Lewis' Land Titles, 64-174, and John Blair Linn, Duke of York's Laws.

³ Hazard's Annals.

to meet at New Castle on November 2d. On that day Penn was present with the justices, and Markham, Holme, Haige, Symcock, and Brassey, of the Provincial Council. The lower counties gave in their allegiance to Markham for Penn on November 7th. In the interval between his arrival and the meeting of court, October 29th, Penn went to Upland to pay a short visit. There is no positive information that shows at what time Penn arrived in Philadelphia. The record of the Society of Friends says, "At a Monthly Meeting the 8th, 9th month, 1682: At this time Governor William Penn and a multitude of Friends arrived here and erected a city called Philadelphia, about half a mile from Shackamaxon, where meetings, etc., were established, etc. Thomas Fairman, at the request of the Governor, removed himself and family to Tacony, where there was also a meeting appointed to be kept, and the ancient meeting of Shackamaxon removed to Philadelphia, from which, also, other meetings were appointed in the Province of Pennsylvania." This has been construed to say that Penn arrived at Philadelphia on the 8th. If that was correct, then he must have gone to Fairman's house on the same day, and the place of Friends' Meeting was changed on the same day. It is clear, from letters of Penn from Upland and other places, that he did not go to Fairman's house until February or March, 1683.

Traditions, upon which imaginative writers have been eager to expatiate, speak of Penn coming to his new city from Upland or New Castle in a handsome barge, and describe how and where he landed. But we need not place as great confidence in tradition as John F. Watson seems to have done. This indefatigable antiquarian and most graphic and agreeable writer,—the very Boswell of old Philadelphia, its men and manners,—after tossing aside bundle after bundle and chest after chest full of precious early documents, the *materia prima* of history, with the characteristic comment that "they furnish but little in my way," rubs his hands with exquisite complacency and listens with the most perfect faith to the rambling and confused recitals of old men and old women, the older the better, to whom dates are as dreams of the night, and who make up in detail and obstinacy what they lack in precision and authenticity. "A handsome barge" on the Delaware would have been a strange craft. Why should not Penn come to Philadelphia on the "Welcome" with the other passengers, and land with them somewhere between Wicaco and Shackamaxon, on the site of the city which had been laid off under his instructions?

Penn was at that time thirty-eight years old, still young, graceful, athletic, enthusiastic, still fond of boating and riding. Tradition even says (though we must be permitted to doubt this, in view of his conception of the gravity of the Indian character, as laid down in his instructions to Crispin and his fellow-Commissioners, and in his later letter to the Company

of Free Traders) that he competed with and eclipsed the young Indian braves in their jumping matches. But at least he bore no resemblance to the Penn painted by old Mr. Benjamin West in his wretched misrepresentation upon the so-called Shackamaxon treaty. Even the sedate Mr. Janney cannot help entering a protest against West's having depicted Penn as "a corpulent old man." He says nothing about the plain broadbrim hat and the snuff-colored, shad-bellied coat in which West has clothed Penn, both of them sixty years out of the way. West painted Penn's figure from his recollection of the figures and dress of the elders he used to see when a lad in the meeting-house at Springfield, just as, according to his pupil Dunlap's "History of the Arts of Design," he painted the hands in every portrait he made from his own or those of one of his students. Mr. J. F. Fisher, in his discourse before the Pennsylvania Historical Society on "the private life and domestic habits of William Penn," says that West has misconceived Penn's dress as unpardonably as he has his age and figure. "The true costume of the figure," he remarks, "would have been that in vogue towards the end of the reign of Charles II. This (as nearly as I can ascertain) was a collarless coat, perfectly straight in front, with many buttons, showing no waist nor cut into skirts, having only a short, buttoned slit behind, the sleeves hardly descending below the elbow, and having large cuffs, showing the full shirt sleeves. The vest was as long as the coat, and, except as to the sleeves, made apparently in the same way. The breeches were very full, open at the sides, and tied with strings." Mr. Fisher is uncertain about the hat, but we know from Penn's account-books that he was nice and particular in regard both to his hats and wigs, and that he paid quite a price for a pair of leather spatterdashes to use when riding on horseback. He also had a gig, a state coach and four, and a barge, manned by a coxswain and six oarsmen, and carrying sail besides. No such person seems to have any place in honest old West's preposterous picture.

The antiquarians and chroniclers of Philadelphia have sought, with indefatigable zeal, the names of the persons who embarked with Penn in the "Welcome" to aid him in promoting his "Holy Experiment," and they have pursued the work so successfully that it is not believed that more than four or five of the one hundred who sailed in that ship have been overlooked. Apparently most of them were people of standing and some estate, the servants seeming to have been sent over in other vessels for the most part. Judging from the account of stores of one of these emigration larders, as given by Dixon, they were well equipped for even a longer voyage.¹ The list of pas-

¹ Dixon says, quoting from Thomas Story's MS. papers, "It is not to be supposed that the traveling Friends denied themselves the little consolations of the larder by the wayside. In a list of creature comforts put on board a vessel leaving the Delaware for London, on behalf a Quaker preacher, are enumerated 32 fowls, 7 turkeys, 11 ducks, 2

sengers, derived chiefly from Mr. Edward Armstrong's address before the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Chester in 1851 (his authorities being there given in full), begins with

JOHN BARBER and Elizabeth, his wife. He was a "first purchaser," and made his will on board the "Welcome."

WILLIAM BRADFORD, first printer of Philadelphia and earliest government printer of New York.

hams, a barrel of China oranges, a large keg of sweetmeats, ditto of rum, a pot of tamarinds, a box of spices, ditto of dried herbs, 18 cocoa-nuts, a box of eggs, six balls of chocolate, six dried codfish and five shaddocks, six bottles of citron water, four bottles of Madeira, five dozen of ale, one large keg of wine, and nine pints of brandy. There was also more solid food in the shape of flour, sheep, and hogs." In one of the first cases tried by Penn and his Council at Philadelphia, that of sundry passengers against James Kilner, master of the ship "Levese," of Liverpool, it was shown that the passengers had so much beer on board that the sailors drank it surreptitiously by the gallon during the voyage.

1 We have examined with care the evidence both for and against the assumption that Bradford came over in the ship with Penn, and our judgment is that it is by no means proven, but, on the contrary, that the preponderance is against the assumption. The evidence is conflicting. Mr. John William Wallace, of Philadelphia, in his able address before the New York Historical Society on the occasion of the celebration of the two hundredth birthday of Bradford (of whom he is a descendant), has summed up both sides of the case: (1) Bradford, in his American Almanac for 1739, stated he was born May 20, 1663; (2) that Watson, Dixon, Armstrong, and all tradition concur in believing that Bradford came over in the "Welcome" with Penn; (3) Bradford's obituary, *New York Gazette*, May 25, 1752, says, "He came to America seventy years ago" (which would be 1682), "and landed at a place where now stands Philadelphia, before that city was laid out or a single house built there"; (4) "But, stronger than all, his name is given among the names of persons belonging either to Philadelphia or the adjoining lower counties under the date of the 12th of 9th mo., 1683 (minutes of Provincial Council, i. 27)." "My supposition is," says Mr. Wallace, "that Bradford came, took a survey of the country, returned to England, got married, and came finally in 1685, with his press."

Here we have one piece of documentary evidence, the rest is hearsay, tradition. *Per contra*: (1) Bradford's tombstone in Trinity churchyard, New York, says he was born in 1660; if he was born in 1663, his wife, who died in 1731, aged sixty-eight, would have been a year older than he, and he only nineteen when Penn brought him over to make him printer for the province; (2) The minutes of Council, quoted above, simply show that the 12th of October, 1683, almost a year after Penn landed, a certain William Bradford owed the province for "28 lbs porks." This is not evidence that the said Bradford came over with Penn, or that he was Bradford the printer. Forty ships had come over in that interval of a year,—why not some one of the name of Bradford in one of them? (3) We do know that William Bradford the printer did come over in 1685, that he brought books for sale as well as printing materials, and that he came armed with a letter of introduction from George Fox. This letter we think affords indubitable evidence that Bradford did not come on with Penn, and had never been in the colony before. It is dated "London, 6th month, 1685," and is addressed to leading members of the Society of Friends in Rhode Island, West and East New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Fox says, "This is to let you know that a sober young man, whose name is William Bradford, comes to Pennsylvania to set up the trade of printing Friends' books. And let Friends know of it in Virginia, Carolina, Long Island, and Friends in Plymouth Patent and Boston. And what books you want he may supply you with; or Answers against Apostates or wicked Professors Books. He may furnish you with our Answers; for he intends to keep up a correspondence with Friends that are Stationers or Printers here in England. . . And so you may do well to encourage him. He is a civil young man and convinced of truth. He was apprentice with our friend, Andrew Sowle; since married his daughter," etc. Now, does any one suppose that a man who had come out with Penn and stayed at least a year in the province would have needed to be introduced in this way, and had all these particulars told about him by Fox three years later? It is contrary to reason. (4) Bradford was a man of extraordinary enterprise and activity. He knew how to advertise himself by novel undertakings. His energy was so great that he could not keep still. He came over in 1685, reaching Philadelphia not sooner than October. In January, 1686 (9th of 11th mo., 1685),

WILLIAM BUCKMAN and Mary, his wife, with Sarah and Mary, their children, of Billingshurst, Sussex.

JOHN CARVER and Mary, his wife, of Hertfordshire, a first purchaser. BENJAMIN CHAMBERS, of Rochester, Kent. Afterwards sheriff (in 1683) and otherwise prominent in public affairs.

THOMAS CROSSDALE (Crossdale) and Agnes, his wife, with six children, of Yorkshire.

ELLEN COWWILL and family.

JOHN FISHER, Margaret, his wife, and son John.

THOMAS FITZWALTER and sons, Thomas and George, of Hamworth, Middlesex. (He lost his wife, Mary, and Josiah and Mary, his children, on the voyage.) Member of Assembly from Bucks in 1683, active citizen, and eminent Friend.

THOMAS GILLET.

ROBERT GREENAWAY, master of the "Welcome."

CUTHBERT HATHURST, his wife and family, of Easington, Bolland, Yorkshire; a first purchaser.

THOMAS HERIOTT, of Hurst-Pier-Point, Sussex. First purchaser.

JOHN HET.

RICHARD INGOLO. Clerk to Provincial Council in 1685.

ISAAC INGRAM, of Gattor, Surrey.

GILES KNIGHT, Mary, his wife, and son Joseph, of Gloucestershire.

WILLIAM LUSHINGTON.

HANNAH MOODRIDGE.

JOSHUA MORRIS.

DAVID OGDEN, "Probably from London."

EVAN OLIVER, with Jean, his wife, and children,—David, Elizabeth, John, Hannah, Mary, Evan, and Seaborn, of Radnor, Wales. (The last, a daughter, born at sea, within sight of the Delaware Capes, Oct. 24, 1682.)

ROBERT PEARSON, emigrant from Chester, Penn's friend, who renamed Upland after his native place.

JOHN ROWLAND and Priscilla, his wife, of Billingshurst, Sussex. First purchaser.

THOMAS ROWLAND, Billingshurst, Sussex. First purchaser.

JOHN SONGHURST, of Chillington, Sussex. First purchaser. (Some say from Conyhurst, or Hitchingfield, Sussex.) Devoted to Penn. Member of first and subsequent Assemblies. A writer and preacher of distinction among the Friends.

JOHN STACKHOUSE and Margery, his wife, of Yorkshire.

GEORGE THOMPSON.

RICHARD TOWNSEND, or Townsend, wife Anna, son James (born on "Welcome" in Delaware River), of London. First Purchaser. A leading Friend and eminent minister. Miller at Upland and on Schuylkill.

WILLIAM WADE, of Hanton parish, Sussex.

THOMAS WALMSLEY, Elizabeth, his wife, and six children, of Yorkshire.

NICHOLAS WALN, of Yorkshire. First purchaser. Member from Bucks of first Assembly. Prominent in early history of province.

JOSEPH WOODROOFE.

THOMAS WRIGHTSWORTH and wife, of Yorkshire.

THOMAS WYNN, chirurgion, of Caerwys, Flintshire, North Wales. Speaker of first two Assemblies. Magistrate for Sussex County. "A person of note and character." (Chestnut Street, in Philadelphia, was originally named after him.)

DENNIS ROCHFORD and Mary, his wife, John Heriott's daughter. From Erstorfey, Wexford, Ireland. Also their two daughters, who died at sea. Rochford was member of Assembly in 1683.

JOHN DUTTON and wife.

PHILIP THEODORE LEHNMAN (afterwards Lehman), Penn's private secretary.

BARTHOLOMEW GREEN.

was already hauled up before Council for an offense. As the record says, "The Secretary [Markham] Reporting to y^e Council that in y^e Chronologie of y^e almanack sett forth by Sam^l Atkins of Philadelphia & Printed by Wm. Bradford, of y^e same place, there was these words ('the beginning of Governm^t here by y^e Lord Penn,') the Council Sent for Sam^l Atkins and ordered him to blott out y^e words 'Lord Penn'; & likewise for Wm. Bradford, y^e Printer, and gave him Charge not to print anything but what shall have Licence from y^e Council." Does any one suppose that an active person of this stamp, who could get out an almanac within two months after landing, would have remained utterly without record for a year in 1682-83? (5) Bradford did not know Penn, or he never would have thought of styling him Lord Penn. On this evidence we submit the case.

NATHANIEL HARRISON.
 THOMAS JONES.
 JEANE MATTHEWS.
 WILLIAM SMITH.
 HANNAH TOWNSHEND, daughter of Richard.

Dr. George Smith, in the "History of Delaware County," specifies the following as having probably come about the time of William Penn, some before and others immediately afterwards, and before the end of 1682:

RICHARD BARNARD, of Sheffield, settled in Middletown.
 JOHN BEALES, of Bales, who married Mary, daughter of William Clayton, Sr., in 1682.
 JOHN BLUNSTON, of Derbyshire, his wife Sarah, and two children. A preacher of the Society, member of Assembly and of Council, and Speaker of the former body.
 MICHAEL BLUNSTON, Little Hallam, Derbyshire.
 THOMAS BRASSEY (or Bracy), of Willaston, Cheshire. Representative of the Free Society of Traders, member of first Assembly.
 SAMUEL BRADSHAW, of Oxtou, Nottinghamshire.
 EDWARD CARTER, of Brampton, Oxfordshire, member of the first English jury impaneled at Chester.
 ROBERT CARTER, son of the foregoing.
 JOHN CHURCHMAN, of Waldron, Essex.
 WILLIAM COBE, who gave his name to Cobb's Creek. He took the old Swede's mill on the Karakung.
 THOMAS CORURN, his wife Elizabeth, and their sons William and Joseph, from Cashel, Ireland.
 RICHARD CROSEY, of London.
 ELIZABETH FEARNE, widow, with son Joshua and daughters Elizabeth, Sarah, and Rebecca, of Derbyshire.
 RICHARD FEW, of Levington, Wiltshire.
 HENRY GIBBONS, with wife Helen and family, of Parvidge, Derbyshire.
 JOHN GOODSON, chirurgion, of Society of Free Traders. Came in the ship "John and Sarah" or "Bristol Factor."
 JOHN HASTINGS and Elizabeth, his wife.
 JOSHUA HASTINGS and Elizabeth, his wife. He was on the first grand jury.
 THOMAS HOOD, of Breason, Derbyshire.
 VALENTINE HOLLINGSWORTH, of Cheshire. Ancestor of the Hollingsworth family of Philadelphia (and Maryland).
 WILLIAM HOWELL and Margaret, his wife, of Castlebight, Pembroke-shire, Wales.
 ELIZABETH HUMPHREY, with son Benjamin, and daughters Anne and Gobitha, of Llanegrin, Merioneth, Wales.
 DANIEL HUMPHREY, of same place as foregoing.
 DAVID JAMES, his wife Margaret and daughter Mary, of Llangeley and Gilecwm, Radnorshire, Wales.
 JAMES KENNELLY, of Cheshire.
 HENRY LEWIS, his wife Margaret and their family, of Narbeth, Pembroke-shire.
 MORDECAI MADDOCK, of Lloem Hall, Cheshire.
 THOMAS MINSHALL and wife Margaret, of Stoke, Cheshire.
 THOMAS POWELL, of Rudheith, Cheshire.
 CALEB PUSEY and wife Ann, and daughter Ann.
 SAMUEL SELLERS, of Belper, Derbyshire.
 JOHN SHARPLESS, Jane his wife, and children,—Phebe, John, Thomas, James, Caleb, Jane, and Joseph, of Huddleston, Cheshire.
 JOHN SIMCOCK, of Society of Free Traders, from Ridley, Cheshire. A leading man in the province.
 JOHN SIMCOCK, JR., son of the foregoing. JACOB SIMCOCK, ditto.
 CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR, of Skipton, Yorkshire.
 PETER TAYLOR and WILLIAM TAYLOR, of Suttin, Cheshire.
 THOMAS USHER.
 THOMAS VERNON, of Stouthorne, Cheshire.
 ROBERT VERNON, of Stokes, Cheshire.
 RANDALL VERNON, of Sandyway, Cheshire.
 RALPH WITHERS, of Bishop's Canning, Wiltshire.
 GEORGE WOOD, his wife Hannah, his son George, and other children, of Bonball, Derbyshire.
 RICHARD WORRELL (or Worrall), of Oare, Berkshire.
 JOHN WORRELL, probably brother of foregoing.
 THOMAS WORTH, of Oxtou, Nottinghamshire.

The passengers by the "John and Sarah" and "Bristol Factor," so far as known, include William Crispin, who died on the way out, John Bezar and family, William Haige and family, Nathaniel Allen and family, John Otter, Edmund Lovett, Joseph Kirkbridge, and Gabriel Thomas.

W. W. H. Davis, whose interesting history of Bucks County was published in 1876, says that one-half of the "Welcome's" passengers who arrived with Penn settled in that county. He names the Rowlands, Fitzwalter, Buckmans, Hayhurst, Ingelo, Walmsly, Walne, Wrigglesworth (Wrightsworth?), Croasdale, and Kirkbridge. He also says there was a JOHN GILBERT among the "Welcome" passengers. Of the immigrants who arrived in 1682, but did not come over with Penn, Mr. Davis presents quite a list: RICHARD AMOR, of Buckelbury, Berkshire; HENRY PAXSON, of Bycot House, Slow parish, Oxfordshire. (He embarked with his family, but lost his wife, son, and brother at sea.) LUKE BRINSLEY, of Leek, Staffordshire, stone-mason and servant of Penn; JOHN CLOWS, JR., his brother Joseph, sister Sarah, and servant HENRY LENGART; (there was another Clows contemporary with these, who had three children, Margery, Rebecca, and William, and three servants, JOSEPH CHERLEY, DANIEL HOUGH, and JOHN RICHARDSON). There was also JOHN BROCK (or Brockman), of Stockport, Cheshire, with his servants; he had two grants of land, one of one thousand acres; WILLIAM VENABLES, of Chathill, Staffordshire, with Elizabeth, his wife, and two children, Joyce and Francis; GEORGE POWNALL, with Eleanor, his wife, five children (and three servants, JOHN BREASLEY, ROBERT SAYLOR, and MARTHA WORRAL), of Laycock, Cheshire; WILLIAM YARDLEY, with Jane, his wife, of Bausclough, Staffordshire, with children, Enoch, Thomas, and William, and servant, ANDREW HEATH.¹

In his speech to the magistrates in his first court at Upland, November 2d, Penn, after giving them full assurances and explanations in regard to his intended course, recommended them to take inspection, view, and look over their town plots, to see what vacant room may be found therein for the accommodating and seating of newcomers, traders, and handicraftsmen therein. The proprietary was evidently

¹ Yardley was born in 1632, and had been a minister among the Friends for twenty-five years. He was a member of the first Assembly, and Isaac Pemberton was his nephew. This Pemberton, conspicuous in the affairs of the province, was the son-in-law of James Harrison, Penn's friend and correspondent and afterwards his steward at Pennsylvania. After Penn sailed for Pennsylvania, in 1682, Harrison and Pemberton, with their families, servants, and others, embarked on the ship "Submission" to join Yardley, part of whose land purchases (at the Falls of the Delaware, where he had already begun to build a house) having been on account of Harrison and Isaac and Phineas Pemberton. The captain of the "Submission," instead of keeping his contract, landed the party at the mouth of the Patuxent River, Maryland. Their goods were landed on the other side of the bay, at Choptank meeting-house, and it was not until May, 1683, that they, their families, and luggage finally reached their destination.—(See Davis, *Hist. Bucks County*, and Hazard, *Annals*, p. 600.)

afraid of being crowded at Philadelphia, where as yet but very little building had been done. Granting that half the thousand persons who came over with Penn or before or after him in 1682 were able to find some sort of lodgings, either on the spot or at the various settlements and houses along the Delaware from the Horekills to the Falls, and on the east side of the Delaware again from the Falls to New Salem, there would still remain five hundred houseless people on the site of the new city or about to arrive there in the next two months. It was the second week in November when the "Welcome's" passengers landed, and the winds must have already become bleak and cutting, with now and then a film of ice or a flurry of snow, to prevent them from forgetting that winter was about to come. The "first purchasers" and others who came over at this time were nearly all Quakers, well-to-do people at home, who had sold their property in England and sought refuge in America to escape the prosecutions that had been visited upon them so often and so severely. They had servants, and were well supplied with clothing and provisions. Some of them were delicately nurtured women and children, unused to hardships of any kind. To such persons there would have been nothing romantic and nothing inviting in the prospect of a winter camp-meeting on the banks of the Delaware. The woods and swamps were so deep and thick between the two rivers that a span of hopped horses lost there were not recovered for several months. There were no roads, scarcely any paths, and the low houses of the Swedes and the lodges of the Indians were few and far apart. But the Quakers were a patient, long-suffering people, and the lofty woods of Coaquanock afforded at least a far better lodging-place than the loathsome jails of England, in which so many of them had languished. The air was pure, the water was clear and good, and the hearts of the adventurers beat high with hope. Their arms were strong, and they had good teachers in the Swedes, and the wood was plenty, both for fuel and other purposes, and every one had his axe and his spade. Some dug holes and caves in the dry banks of the two rivers, propped the superincumbent earth up with timbers, and hanging their pots and kettles on improvised stakes and hooks at the entrance, speedily had warm and comparatively comfortable lodgings in the style of what hunters used to call "half-faced camps."¹

¹ The "caves," of which so much has been said in connection with the early history of Philadelphia, were not all made by the passengers who came over at the same time as Penn. The Indians dug some, the Swedes may have dug others. Dr. Mease, in his "Picture of Philadelphia" (1811), conjectures that the name "Schuylkill" ("hidden river") came from the circumstance that a good many Maryland settlers used to lurk on its banks, concealing themselves from the Dutch and probably the Indians. This is fanciful and far-fetched; the Indian names were significant, but the Dutch seldom were. Acellius, in a note upon the Indian word *Wicaco*, or *Wicacor*, derives it from *Wickling*, dwelling, and *Chio*, fire-tree. He adds that "Upon the shore by *Wicaco* was a place which was formerly called *Futtalantti*, or 'Robbers' Hole.' The reason of that was that some Indians, who had engaged in robbery, had dug a

Others rolled together forty or fifty logs, notched them at each end, and, aided by their neighbors, could in a day or two erect "log cabins," and these, roofed over with poles, upon which a thatch of bark from dead and fallen trees was laid, and the interstices between the logs "chinked" with stones, mud, and clay, made residences which, in some sections of the country, are still thought to be good enough for anybody. Others made more primitive huts still of stakes, bark, and brushwood, such as the savages sometimes toss together for their summer lodgings. The settlers had blankets and warm clothes in abundance, and we may suppose that the furs which the Indians brought in were in ready demand. With all these rude resources, we may safely believe that the early adventurers on the Delaware got through their first winter without much suffering or many deaths, except among the old people, with whom there seems to have been a considerable mortality. At any rate, no such cry of distress went up from Penn's first settlement as was heard from Plymouth and Jamestown after their first winters. If there were deaths, there were births also, and in one of the caves on the Delaware, long afterwards known as the "Pennypot," was born John Key, the first child of English parents who saw light within the precincts of Philadelphia. Penn signalized the event by presenting the child with a lot of ground in the city, and John Key survived to be eighty-five years old, bearing the cognomen of "first-born" as long as he lived.

Penn was not idle while his people were getting ready for the winter. He sent off two messengers to Lord Baltimore to ask to know when he could receive him; he appointed sheriffs for the three counties into which he had laid off his new province,—Chester, Philadelphia, and Buckingham,—and for the three annexed counties of Delaware (or New Castle), Jones, and New Deal, or Horekill; and then he took horse and rode to New York to see the Governor there, and look into the affairs of his friend the Duke of York's province. When he returned he went to Chester, and there issued writs to all the sheriffs to summon the freeholders to meet on November 20th, to elect representatives to serve as their deputies in the Provincial Council and delegates in General Assembly, which were to meet on December 4th, at Up-land. Chester County chose three councilors and nine assemblymen. Nicholas More was president of the

cave in a hill by the river and there concealed themselves. When other Indians went along there upon the strand to fish or hunt, these robbers attacked, seized, and murdered them. The Indians around there missed their people from time to time, and did not know what had become of them. Finally they discovered the robbers' nest. The entrance was well fortified, so they dug a hole through the roof on the hill and smoked them. Those who were besieged resolved to die in their stronghold; but, although they could not save themselves, they would not give up their booty to others; they broke up their *Senean* or *Wangsem* by pounding it between stones, which was heard by those outside." This is proof that there were caves in the bank before the whites came, and the above is probably an Indian legend to explain their existence.

Assembly, which met as summoned. The first day was devoted to organization and the selection of committees; on the second day the credentials of members and contested election cases were disposed of, and the house proceeded to adopt a series of rules and regulations for its government. These have no special interest, except that they show the lower house had set out to become a deliberative body, and was prepared to originate bills as well as vote upon them. The three lower counties sent in a petition for annexation and union, and the Swedes another, asking that they might be made as free as the other members of the province, and have their lands entailed upon them and their heirs forever. The same day a bill for annexation and naturalization came down from the Governor and was passed, and on the next day the Legislature passed Penn's "Great Law," so called, and adjourned or was prorogued by the Governor for twenty-one days. It never met again.



SUPPOSED MEETING-PLACE OF THE FIRST ASSEMBLY AT UPLAND.

[From Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania.]

The act of union and naturalization, after reciting Penn's different titles to Pennsylvania and the three lower counties or Delaware Hundreds, and the reasons there were in favor of a closer union and one government for the whole, enacts that the counties mentioned "are hereby annexed to the province of Pennsylvania, as of the proper territory thereof, and the people therein shall be governed by the same laws and enjoy the same privileges in all respects as the inhabitants of Pennsylvania do or shall enjoy." To further the purpose of this act of union it is also enacted that "all persons who are strangers and foreigners that do now inhabit this province and counties aforesaid," and who promise allegiance to the king of England, and obedience to the proprietary and his government, "shall be held and reputed freemen of the province and counties aforesaid, in as ample and full manner as any person residing

therein;" other foreigners in the future, upon making application and paying twenty shillings sterling, to be naturalized in like manner. This act, says Penn in a letter written shortly afterwards, "much pleased the people. . . . The Swedes, for themselves, deputed Lacy Cock to acquaint him that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, declaring it was the best day they ever saw." An "act of settlement" appears to have been passed at the same time, in which, owing to "the fewness of the people," the number of representatives was reduced to three in the Council and nine in the Assembly from each county, the meetings of the Legislature to be annually only, unless an emergency should occur in the opinion of Governor and Council.

Penn's "Great Law," passed as above recited, contains sixty-nine sections.¹ It represents the final shape in which the proprietary's "frame of government" and code of "laws agreed upon in England" conjointly were laid before the Legislature. The variations from the original forms were numerous, some of them important. The language of the revised code is much improved over the first forms, both in dignity and sustained force. The preamble and first section are always quoted with admiration, and they should have their place here:

"THE GREAT LAW; OR, THE BODY OF LAWS OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA AND TERRITORIES THEREUNTO BELONGING, PASSED AT AN ASSEMBLY AT CHESTER, ALIAS UPLAND, THE 7TH DAY OF THE 10TH MONTH, DECEMBER, 1682.

"Whereas, the glory of Almighty God and the good of mankind is the reason and end of government, and therefore government, in itself, is a venerable ordinance of God; and forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and Governor, and the freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious, and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Caesar his due, and the people their due from tyranny and oppression of the one side and insolency and licentiousness of the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the governor and people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity. *Be it therefore enacted by William Penn, proprietary and governor, by and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the freemen of this province and counties aforesaid in assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that these following chapters and paragraphs shall be the laws of Pennsylvania and the territories thereof:*

"I, Almighty God being only Lord of conscience, father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who only can enlighten the mind and persuade and con-

¹ There is a discrepancy here which it is difficult to make clear. The text follows Hazard; but Mr. Linn, in his work giving the "Duke of York's laws," shows that the "Great Law" as adopted contained only sixty-one sections, and Mr. Hazard's classification is pronounced to be "evidently erroneous." In fact it is said in Council Proceedings of 1689 that a serious lack of agreement was discovered between the Council copy of laws and the enrolled parchment copies in the hands of the Master of the Rolls. Mr. Linn also claims that Mr. Hazard is in error in regard to the date of the passage of the "Act of Settlement," which was adopted not in 1682, but March 19, 1683.

vince the understanding of people in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind; it is enacted by the authority aforesaid that no person now or at any time hereafter living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in anywise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice, nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect without any interruption or reflection; and if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matter of religion such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly. But to the end that looseness, irreligion, and atheism may not creep in under pretense of conscience in this province, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of the creation every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common toil and labor that, whether masters, parents, children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the scriptures of truth at home, or to frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions."¹

The second article of the code requires that all officers and persons "commissionated" and in the service of the Commonwealth, and members and deputies in Assembly, and "all that have the right to elect such deputies shall be such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Saviour of the world," etc. This was not perhaps

¹ To these primitive Quakers, as to the Puritans likewise, Almighty God seems to have been constantly a visible, audible presence, in whose awful court everything, even the ordinary business of every-day life, was transacted. This is strikingly manifest in the two paragraphs just quoted. They show, moreover, the strong influence of his peculiar doctrines upon Penn's mind in framing this Constitution and laws. Government was a divine ordinance, and the suppressed minor premise that Penn's tenure under King Charles imparted some of that supernatural authority to himself, at once disposes of the notion that Penn had any just conception of a republican, much less a democratic form of government. He did not seek, did not desire the outward semblances of power for himself or his successors, but his notion of government was strictly paternal, and that the people needed to be fenced in against themselves and their own misguided passions quite as much as against external tyranny and oppression. This spirit seems to pervade the entire instrument, and effectively disposes of the notion, so fondly nursed by Hepworth Dixon, that Penn's constitutional views were "inspired" by Algernon Sidney. Dixon would have gone much nearer the truth if he had sought their germs in the moral and political system of the atheist philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, who had great influence in Penn's day. Many of the expressions in Penn's Constitutions curiously resemble the cast of thought in Hobbes' "Leviathan" and his earlier treatises, *De Cive* and *De Corpore Politico*. Compare, for example, Penn's preamble with the following from the treatise *De Cive*: "Societates autem civiles non sunt meri congressus, sed fœdera, quibus faciendis fides et pacta necessaria sunt. . . . Alia res est appetere, alia esse capax. Appetunt enim illi qui tamen conditiones æquas, sine quibus societas esse non potest, accipere per superbiam non dignantur." Hobbes held that the state of man in natural liberty is a state of war, a war of every man against every man, wherein the notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have no place. "For," he says, "if we could suppose a great multitude of men to consent in the observation of justice and other laws of nature without a common power to keep them all in awe, we might as well suppose all mankind to do the same, and then there neither would be nor need to be any civil government or commonwealth at all, because there would be peace without subjection." (*Leviathan*, c. 17.) This is Penn's government, "an ordinance of God, . . . whereby the people may have their due . . . from insolvency and licentiousness." The difference is that Hobbes finds the need for strong government in the laws of nature, Penn in the fact of man's weakness and Almighty God's supervision of human affairs.

illiberal for Penn's day, but under it not only atheists and infidels but Arians and Socinians were denied the right of suffrage. Swearing "by the name of God or Christ or Jesus" was punishable, upon legal conviction, by a fine of five shillings, or five days' hard labor in the House of Correction on bread and water diet. Every other sort of swearing was punishable also with fine or imprisonment, and blasphemy and cursing incurred similar penalties. Obscene words one shilling fine or two hours in the stocks.

Murder was made punishable with death and confiscation of property, to be divided between the sufferer's and the criminal's next of kin. The punishment for manslaughter was to be graduated according to the nature of the offense. For adultery the penalty was public whipping and a year's imprisonment at hard labor; second offense was imprisonment for life, an action for divorce also lying at the option of the aggrieved husband or wife; incest, forfeiture of half one's estate and a year's imprisonment; second offense, the life term; sodomy, whipping, forfeiture of one-third of estate, and six months in prison; life term for second offense; rape, forfeiture of one-third to injured party or next friend, whipping, year's imprisonment, and life term for second offense; fornication, three months' labor in House of Correction, and, if parties are single, to marry one another after serving their term; if the man be married he forfeits one-third his estate in addition to lying in prison; polygamy, hard labor for life in House of Correction.

XIV. Drunkenness, on legal conviction, fine of five shillings, or five days in work-house on bread and water; second and each subsequent offense, double penalty. "And be it enacted further, by the authority aforesaid, that they who do suffer such excess of drinking at their houses shall be liable to the same punishment with the drunkard." Drinking healths, as conducive to hard drinking, is subject to fine of five shillings. The penalty for selling rum to Indians is a fine of five pounds. Arson is punished with amercement of double the values destroyed, corporal punishment at discretion of the bench, and a year's imprisonment. House-breaking and larceny demand fourfold satisfaction and three months in work-house; if offender be not able to make restitution, then seven years' imprisonment. All thieves required to make fourfold satisfaction; forcible entry to be treated as a breach of the peace, and satisfaction to be made for it. Rioting is an offense which can be committed by three persons, and is punished according to common law and the bench's discretion. Violence to parents, by imprisonment in work-house at parent's pleasure; to magistrates, fine at discretion of court and a month in work-house; assaults by servants on masters, penalty at discretion of the court, so also with assault and battery.

XXVII. Challenges to duels and acceptance of challenge demand a penalty of five pounds fine and three months in work-house. Rude and riotous sports, "prizes, stage-plays, masks, revels, bull-baits, cock-fighting, with such like," are treated as breaches of the peace; penalty, ten days in work-house, or fine of twenty shillings. Gambling, etc., fine of five shillings, or five days in work-house. Spoken or written edition incurred a fine of not less than twenty shillings; slighting language of or towards the magistracy, penalty not less than twenty shillings, five or ten days in the work-house.

XXXII. Slanderers, scandal-mongers, and spreaders of false news are to be treated as peace-breakers; persons clamorous, scolding, or railing with their tongue, when convicted "on full proof," are to go to the House of Correction for three days.

XXXIV. The statute for the encouragement of marriage is as it was quoted above in the laws adopted in England, "but" (xxxv.) "no person, be it either widower or widow, shall contract marriage, much less marry, under one year after the decease of his wife or her husband."

XXXVI. "If any person shall fall into decay and poverty, and be un-

able to maintain themselves and children with their honest endeavor, or who shall die and leave poor orphans, upon complaint to the next justice of the peace of the said county, the said justice finding the complaint to be true, shall make provision for them in such way as they shall see convenient till the next county court, and then care shall be taken for their comfortable subsistence."

XXXVII, etc. "To prevent exaction in public-houses," strong beer and ale of barley-malt shall be sold for not above two pennies per Winchester quart; molasses beer one penny; a bushel must contain eight gallons, Winchester measure, all weights to be avoirdupois of sixteen ounces to the pound; all ordinaries must be licensed by the Governor, and, to insure reasonable accommodation, travelers must not be charged more than sixpence per head for each meal, including meats and small-beer; footmen to pay not over two pence per night for beds, horsemen nothing, but the charge for a horse's hay to be sixpence per night.

XL. "The days of the week and the months of the year shall be called as in Scripture, and not by heathen names (as are vulgarly used), as the first, second, and third days of the week, and first, second, and third months of the year, etc., beginning with the day called Sunday, and the month called March."

Sections XLI. to LXIX. and the end of this code are substantially repeated from the code of laws adopted in England, which have already been analyzed on a preceding page. They relate to the administration of justice, the courts, testamentary law, registration, and the purity of elections. Only a few additions and changes have been made, and these simply for the sake of more perspicuity and clearer interpretation.

gave him; Penn holding firm upon his purchase, the king's letter, and the phrase in the Calvert charter confining its operations to lands hitherto unoccupied, a position in which Penn and the Virginian Claiborne took common ground. The issue of fact as to whether the Delaware Hundreds were settled or unsettled in 1634 could not be determined then and there, even if the contending parties should agree to rest their case upon that point, as neither would do. The proprietaries finally parted, agreeing to meet again in March, and each went home to write out his own views and his own account of the interview to the Lords of the Committee of Plantations. On his way to Chester Penn stopped to visit the flourishing settlement of Friends in Anne Arundel and Talbot Counties, Maryland, reaching his destination on the 29th.

We are at a loss when we attempt to assign a particular date to Penn's treaty with the Indians under the great elm-tree at Shackamaxon, if such a treaty



PENN'S TREATY TREE AND HARBOR OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1800, FROM KENSINGTON.

[From Birch's Views.]

After the meeting of the Assembly, Penn set out on December 11th to go to visit Lord Baltimore, with whom he had an appointment for the 19th. The meeting took place at West River, where Penn was courteously and hospitably entertained. Nothing was accomplished, however, in the way of settling the boundary dispute, beyond a general discussion of the subject. Baltimore contended for what his charter

was ever made. Those who are most familiar with the subject, and have most laboriously studied it in all its bearings, are convinced that the council must have taken place before the meeting of the Legislature at Upland, December 4th. This seems to have been assumed because no such interview could have occurred after that date in 1682; every day of Penn's time can be shown to have been otherwise occupied.

There is nothing on the record to show that there was such a meeting or such a treaty. Penn, always frank and rather exultant in the recital of his affairs, public and private, seems to have kept an absolute silence in regard to this treaty, both in his correspondence with the Lords of the Committee of Plantations and in his letters to his friends at home. In one of the latter, written on December 29th, the day of his return to Upland from Maryland, he says, "I bless the Lord I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion, yet busy enough, having much to do to please all and yet to have an eye to those that are not here to please themselves. I have been at New York, Long Island, East Jersey, and Maryland, in which I have had good and eminent service for the Lord. I am now casting the country into townships for large lots of land. I have had an Assembly, in which many good laws were passed. We could not stay safely till the spring for a government. I have annexed the territories lately obtained to the province and passed a general naturalization for strangers, which hath much pleased the people. As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with, and service enough for God, for the fields here are white for harvest. Oh, how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woful Europe." A full chronicle of his deeds, yet not a syllable about the Shackamaxon treaty, esteemed generally to be the greatest of all his achievements.

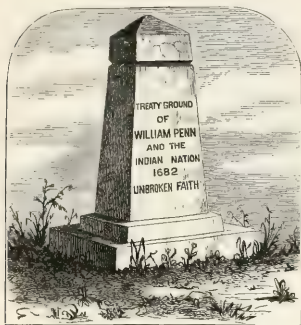
We must not, however, do injustice to the universal tradition on the subject of this supposititious treaty, fortified as it is by everything except that documentary evidence, the singular absence of a line of which casts suspicion on the whole affair. This defect is incurable, of course, unless it can be shown how it occurred, or, *per contra*, how the traditions arose which unite in pointing to the fact of such a treaty and describing how and where it was negotiated. A brief inquiry into this difficult subject will not be inappropriate in this place, and we may begin it by stating the arguments in favor of the supposed negotiations.

First. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Penn would have desired such a treaty and that the Indians would be willing to negotiate one with him. They expected many good things of the Friends, and were taught to look for the arrival of Penn, their leader and chief, with the lively anticipation of benefits. As early as 1677, in negotiations in West New Jersey between the Indians and Quakers (according to a pamphlet of Thomas Budd's, written nine or ten years later), the latter had endeavored to prevent the sale of liquors to the Indians, who seemed to recognize the humanity of the intention. Budd describes a chief as saying, "Now there is come to live

a people among us who have eyes; they see it [rum] to be for our hurt, they are willing to deny themselves the profit of it for our good. These people have eyes; we are glad such a people are come among us; we must put it down by mutual consent, the cask must be sealed up, it must be made fast, it must not leak by day or by night, in light or in the dark, and we give you these four belts of wampum, which we would have you lay up safe and keep by you, to be witnesses of this agreement; and we would have you tell your children that these four belts of wampum are given you to be witnesses, betwixt us and you, of this agreement." These Indians had already heard of Penn and his character and influence; they would naturally have news of his arrival and come to see him at Shackamaxon and Penusbury. As soon as Penn secured possession of his province he began writing letters and sending messages to the Indians, while his deputy, Markham, conducted successfully a series of land treaties with them. His letter of instructions to the commissioners to lay out Philadelphia bids them "Be tender of offending the Indians, . . . to soften them to me and the people; let them know you are come to sit down lovingly beside them. Let my letter and conditions with my purchasers about just dealing with them, be read in their tongue, that they may see we have their good in our eye, equal with our own interest, and after reading my letter and the said conditions, then present their kings with what I send them, *and make a friendship and league with them, according to these conditions*, which carefully observe, and get them to comply with. . . . From time to time, in my name, and for my use, buy land of them, where any justly pretend," etc. The 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th articles of the "conditions and concessions" are here referred to, in which trading with Indians except in market is forbidden, goods sold to "the poor natives" are ordered to be tested, offenses against them punished just as offenses against whites, differences to be settled by mixed juries, and the Indians given liberty, the same as the planters, to improve their grounds, etc. In September, 1681, we find George Fox sending around a circular letter "to all planters," especially in West Jersey, directing them to pay attention to the spiritual welfare of the Indians. In Penn's letter to the Indians, sent them through the hands of his commissioners, he expounds to them his principles of universal justice and of the common brotherhood of mankind, adding that "I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land *and a firm league of peace*," and that "I shall shortly come to you myself, at what time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters." Penn sent by Holme, his surveyor-general, another letter of the same tenor to the Indians, which Holme indorsed as having been read to them by an interpreter the sixth month (August), 1682. The place of the reading is not mentioned, but Holme was at that time living with Fairman in

his house at Shackamaxon, where the Quaker meetings were held.

Second. In 1835 the Historical Society of Pennsylvania appointed a committee, consisting of Peter S. Duponceau, Joshua F. Fisher, and Roberts Vaux, to report upon a communication of John F. Watson in reference to "the Indian treaty for the lands now the site of Philadelphia and the adjacent country." Mr. Vaux having died before the work was finished, Messrs. Duponceau and Fisher made an exhaustive report on the subject, considering all the questions connected with the treaty or supposed treaty at Shackamaxon. Their conclusion was that while no treaty was ever negotiated at Shackamaxon for the purchase of lands, with which were joined stipulations for peace and amity and a league of friendship (since if such a treaty had been made it would necessarily have been recorded), yet there *was* a solemn council held there for the purpose of sealing friendship between the Indians and the proprietary. They found their opinion upon certain expressions in speeches of



MONUMENT ERECTED TO MARK THE SITE OF THE TREATY TREE.

Lieutenant-Governor Keith to the Susquehanna Indians in 1717 and 1722, and by Lieutenant-Governor Gordon in 1728-29. They are firm in their belief that such a treaty or conference did take place, probably in November, 1682, at Shackamaxon, under the great elm-tree which was blown down in 1810. "The treaty was probably made," according to the committee, "with the Lenni Lenape or Delaware tribes and some of the Susquehanna Indians; that it was 'a treaty of amity and friendship,' and perhaps confirmatory of one made previously by Markham [or the commissioners and Holme]. In the concluding language of the report, therefore, 'we hope that the memory of the Great Treaty, and of our illustrious founder, will remain engraved on the memory of our children and children's children to the end of time.'"¹

¹ Hazard, Annals, i. 635.

Third. Tradition has found the place of the treaty, named those present, tells us that Penn came there in a barge, and wore a blue sash. A belt of wampum has come from the Penn family, which, it is claimed, was presented to the proprietary on that occasion. The great Tamanend or Tamany was chief spokesman on this day, and his dress and the emblems worn by him of kingly power are accurately described; in short, the whole scene has been set with a view to bring out the illusion effectively.

On the other hand, those who do not believe that any such treaty was ever negotiated reply:

First. The treaty referred to by Keith and Gordon was not one made by Penn with the Lenni Lenapes in 1682, but one which he negotiated in April, 1701, on occasion of his second visit, with the representatives of several tribes, including the Susquehannocks, *alias* Minquas or Conestogas, the Shawanese, the Onondagoes, etc., which treaty is duly recorded in the Colonial Records. The fact that the Indians possessed a parchment copy of the treaty, which they produced in their council with Keith in 1722, is evidence of this, there being no attempt to prove a written treaty in 1682. At any rate, the actual treaty of 1701 fits all the circumstances of the case, and all the allusions of the Indians and the Governors, far better than the assumed treaty of 1682.

Second. It is easy for tradition to have confused the two occasions, and even to have set the familiar scene at a very early day. In his letter of Aug. 16, 1683, to the Society of Free Traders, Penn, writing from Philadelphia about the Indians, whose habits and language he had been studying closely in the course of a tour among them, describes very minutely the conduct of an Indian council, for he says, "I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land and to adjust the terms of trade." Then he gives a picture of the ordering of an Indian council, which might very well be taken for the original of the traditional accounts of the treaty under the Shackamaxon elm. "Every king," he says, "hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. . . . Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of a half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure." This is the Shackamaxon scene exactly. One almost sees West's picture, or Watson's descriptions, gleaned from the recollections of the oldest inhabitants. But Penn goes on, and from depicting the general scene comes to delineate what was apparently an actual incident in his recollection. "Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. . . . He took me by the hand and told me he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that now

it was not he but the king who spoke. . . . *He first prayed me to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time.* He feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English. Besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take up much time in council before they resolved, and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, *I had not met with so much delay.*" Now this exactly meets the case of Penn's undoubted and recorded treaties with the Indians for land in the spring and summer of 1683. In his letter about the Maryland boundary to the Lords of the Committee on Plantations Penn writes: "In the month called May, Lord Baltimore sent three gentlemen to let me know he would meet me at the head of the Bay of Chesapeake; *I was then in treaty with the kings of the nations for land, but three days after we met ten miles from New Castle, which is thirty from the Bay.*" This was in May or June 23d, and 14th of July following the treaties were negotiated with the Kings Tamanend and Metamequam. Here are the land treaties, the kings and their council, the non-compliance the first time, the delay, all the circumstances. "*When the purchase was agreed on,*" adds Penn (when the actual business of the conference was discharged, in other words), "*great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood and that the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light.*" Then another Indian spoke, charging the natives to love the Christians and so on, "at every sentence of which they shouted and said amen in their way." Finally, Penn says in this letter, written only a month after the transaction, "We have agreed that in all differences between us six of a side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice and you win them." In these sentences we have all the data of the supposititious treaty of Shackamaxon,—a written bargain for land, sealed and paid for, and an unwritten treaty of friendship on the basis of justice and equity. If Penn could describe this event so vividly would he not have dwelt still more upon an earlier and more formal treaty of alliance, made when he had not been in the province a month, and when the Indians and everything else were such novelties to him?

Third. This described treaty covers all that Penn told the historian Oldmixon, to wit, that he "stayed in Pennsylvania two years, and having made a league of amity with *nineteen* Indian nations, established good laws," etc., he returned to England. Now it happens that there are exactly *nineteen* "sachamakers" who sign the various land deeds given by the Indians to Markham in 1682 and to Penn in 1683, to wit: July 15, 1682, *Konyockhickon, Attorecham*; Aug. 1, 1682, *Nomne Soham*, June 24, 1683, *Tammanen*; same date, *Essepenaike, Swanpees, Okettarickon, Wessapoot, Kekerappan*; same date, *Metamequam*; June 25th, *Wingebone*; July 14th, *Secane* and *Icquoquehan*; same date, *Neneshickan, Malebore, Neshanocke, and Oereneon*;

October 10th, *Kekerappan*; October 18th, *Machaloha*. And these are all the Indian deeds on record between the date of Markham's arrival and Penn's return to England.

Is it then necessary to despoil tradition entirely? We do not think so. We are loath to give up the great elm at Shackamaxon, with Tamanend and his council squatted in a double semicircle beneath its wide, bare branches (though there must have been a good deal of frost in the ground so late in November), and Penn with his blue sash, Markham with his scarlet coat, and Lasse Cock, the interpreter, in leather breeches and fur coat, speaking an indescribable mixture of Swedish, Dutch, English, and Indian. We will have to give up the barge, we suppose, for, if such a conference ever occurred, it must have been while Penn was occupying Fairman's house on the spot at Shackamaxon. But there is no inherent improbability in the idea of such a conference. The Indians would be as eager to see Penn, of whom they had heard so much, as he would be curious to meet them. Suppose that, while the "Welcome" was still at New Castle or Upland, or after she had gone up the river and anchored off the mouth of Dock Creek, hard by the house, then just built, which soon came to be known as the Blue Anchor tavern, Penn's counselors had suggested to him, or he to them, that it would be a politic thing to call the Indians together in council, so that he might ratify to them in person the lavish promises made in his name and on his behalf by his agents. The Indians would be notified, a day set, runners sent out, and when the time came there would be no difficulty in securing a very respectable collection of sachems and braves of the contiguous bands. Old Tammany might have been present himself if the weather was good, and if the "Welcome" had not yet gone down the river, and Penn still occupied his cabin, the ship's jolly-boat might very well have served him for barge in which to make a stately entry upon the scene. Then upon his arrival, after the peace pipe had been smoked, there might have ensued such a succession of speech-making and such another love-feast as Penn describes as having taken place after the signing of the land treaties in 1683, and upon newcomers like the passengers of the "Welcome," ignorant equally of the language, the circumstances, and the surroundings, what they then and there witnessed might have made an indelible impression as the first great treaty with the Indians. At the same time Penn, used to state business, and knowing nothing had been accomplished, may not have charged his memory particularly with the occurrence. The presence and acts of Penn and the just dealings of his followers made a strong and lasting impression upon the Indians, not only of Eastern Pennsylvania, but of the whole State and of New York also. They gave him a name of their own, "Onas" (signifying quill, or "pen"), and this patronymic was extended to all his successors

in the executive of Pennsylvania down to quite a late period. His familiar name among the Delawares was "Miquon," and for his sake, while the savages in every section east of the Mississippi and north of the Tennessee, smarting under a thousand wrongs, were waging undying war against every other person of English descent, the peaceful garb of members of the Society of Friends continued to be a passport and a palladium. Penn's traditional policy is still kept up with proud consistency by the Quakers, and there is not a tribe, nor the vestige of a band of savages, within all the broad extent of the United States but has experienced some material benefit from this amiable determination of the quiet sect to right, wherever they can, the injuries inflicted by the white man upon the original owners of the soil.

The year 1683 was a very busy one for William Penn. A great number of colonists arrived, building was very actively going on, the division of land among purchasers was a source of much care and perplexity, the lines and bounds and streets of the new city required to be readjusted, the Council and Assembly had to be newly elected and organized, with much important legislative business before them, and there were besides the boundary question and interviews with Lord Baltimore, Indian land treaties with their tedious preliminary councils and pow-wows, and in addition to all this an extensive and exacting correspondence. Penn, however, was equal to it all, and maintained his health, spirits, and energy remarkably well. He even found time to make an extensive tour through his territories, visited the Indian tribes in friendship with them, curiously studied their manners and customs, and even picked up a smattering of their tongue. Penn was more and more pleased with his province the more he saw of it, and was elated with the great work he had set in motion, even while he could not conceal from himself that his new province was going to prove difficult for him to govern, and that his liberal expenditures in behalf of its settlement would eventually plunge him deep in pecuniary embarrassments.

The Governor's first care, after appointing sheriffs for the several counties and ordering them to issue writs for a new election of members of the Provincial Council and General Assembly, was to replat the city and rename the streets, which had been provisionally named by the commissioners and Holme. In a spirit of avoidance of "man-worship," Penn designated the streets between and parallel to the Delaware and the Schuylkill by numbers; the intersecting streets connecting the two rivers he named after the different varieties of trees and fruits indigenous to the soil. There were a few exceptions to this rule, concessions to some local peculiarity, as, for example, Front, High, Broad, etc. But the main body of streets bore names from Delaware 2d to Delaware 10th, and from Schuylkill 10th to Schuylkill Front Street, and from Cedar, going north, Pine, Spruce, Walnut, Chestnut,

High, Mulberry, Sassafras, and Vine Streets. Lombard Street was not laid out until many years afterwards. This deprives Philadelphia streets of that historical flavor which hangs about the names of thoroughfares in other large cities. As Philadelphia, as originally laid out, contained only about twelve hundred acres, it was found impossible to accommodate the "first purchasers" of large tracts of land with the city lots promised them in the prospectus inviting colonists. To remedy this a portion of territory outside the original survey was laid off and annexed under the name of "the Liberties," and in these the apportioned lots still undrawn were located. These apportionments, as finally arranged by Penn, gave to each purchaser of land about two per cent. of his purchase in town lots. If he took one thousand acres he received twenty acres of lots and nine hundred and eighty acres of farm land. But if the lots were in the Liberties east of the Schuylkill there was a reduction of twenty per cent. in the size of the lots in consequence of their much greater value. While arranging this difficult business as respected Philadelphia, Penn also prepared for the distribution of rural population through the counties which he had opened, and particularly Chester and Buckingham (or Bucks as it soon began to be called), by laying out townships there, and "squares" around which the farmsteads were grouped and in which each landholder had his lot, just as was the case in Philadelphia County, and its township, Philadelphia City. This system is illustrated very graphically on Holme's "map of the improved part of Pennsylvania."

Penn had begun to build, likewise, on his own account. The construction of the mansion-house at Pennsbury is said, rather vaguely, however, to have been commenced by Markham previous to the proprietary's arrival in the province, and it was now pushed vigorously, though Penn does not appear to have occupied the house permanently until his second visit. He also built a house in Philadelphia for his own use. This structure, called the Letitia house, and assumed to have been the first brick house erected in the city, is commonly said to have been put up for Penn's daughter, whose name it bears. Her father did not grant the lot to her by patent until the 29th of first month (March), 1701. Penn lived there when it was first built, and when he returned to England it became the official residence of Markham. The Pennsbury mansion, so situated as to give the Lord Proprietary convenient access both to his own capital and to Burlington, the chief town in the West Jersey plantation, was quite an elaborate building, costing, with expenditures upon the grounds and out-buildings, from five thousand to seven thousand pounds. It was placed on a gentle eminence fifteen feet above high water and one hundred and fifty feet from the river, with a winding creek or cove flowing around one side of it to the rear. Not a vestige of the









FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF
HOLMES' MAP
OF THE
PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA,
With Names of Original Purchasers from
WILLIAM PENN.
1683.





house or plantation now remains, except some gnarled trunks of old cherry-trees, supposed to have been planted by the founder. This mansion-house was, however, not completed until some years after Penn's return to England. The supervision of its construc-

tion was given to James Harrison, and Penn's letters to him on the subject are numerous and interesting. The proprietary in the first few months of his visit seems to have had no other thought than that of a permanent residence in the province, surrounded by his family, and in the midst of sylvan solitude and rural comforts. He had not then learned that new colonies may be harassing and intractable, and that the European with large home interests who goes to dwell in the wilderness cannot escape illustrating the proverb, "Out of sight out of mind." "I am much satisfied with my plan and portion," he wrote to one friend from Chester; to Lord Colepepper, just come out as Governor and proprietor of Virginia, he wrote, 5th February, 1683: "I am mightily taken with this part of the world; here is a great deal of nature, which is to be preferred to base art, and methinks that simplicity, with enough, is gold to lacker, compared with European cunning. I like it so well that a plentiful estate and a great acquaintance on the other side have no charms to remove; my family being once fixed with me, and if no other thing occur, I am likely to be an adopted American. Our province thrives with people; our next increase will be the fruit of their labor. Time, the maturer of things below, will give the best account of this country."

The new sheriffs summoned the freemen electors, and a new election was held under the Constitution and laws for members of the Council and Provincial Assembly. The "act of settlement," or frame of government provisionally adopted by the first Legislature in its brief session at Upland, or Chester, had arranged for the election of a Council of twelve persons

from each county, and a General Assembly to consist of not more than two hundred freemen. The people of the counties, however, thought that this would be too heavy a drain upon a scattered and as yet scanty population, especially at times when labor seemed to be of more value than law-making, and accordingly they simply went outside the charter and elected twelve members from each county, three of whom were designated to serve in the Provincial Council, the rest to act as members of the General Assembly.

The Legislature met for the first time

in Philadelphia, the Council and Governor coming together on the 10th of

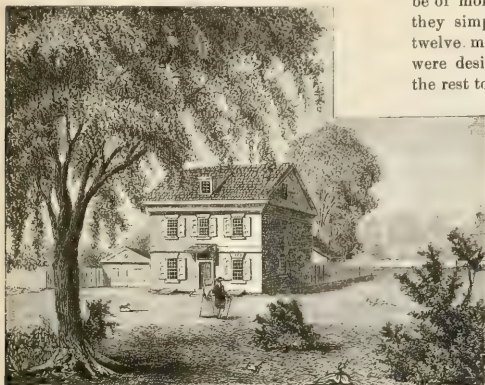
March, 1683, the General Assembly two

days later. The members of the Council

were

William Markham, Thomas Holme, Lasse Cock, Christopher Taylor, James Harrison, William Biles, John Simcock, William Clayton, Ralph Withers, William Haige, John Moll, Edmund Cantwell, Francis Whitwell, John Richardson, John Hilliard, William Clark, Edward Southern, and John Roads. The members of the Assembly were: *Philadelphia County*.—John Songhurst, John Hart, Walter King, Andros Bengtson, John Moon, Griffith Jones, William Warner, Swan Swanson (Sven Svenson, one of the Sven Sever or sons of Sven Shute), and Thomas Wynne (Speaker). *Bucks*.—William Yardley, Samuel Darke, Robert Lucas, Nicholas Wain, John Wood, John Clowes, Thomas Fitzwalter, Robert Hall, James Boyden. *Chester*.—John Hoskins, Robert Wade, George Wood, John Blunston, Dennis Rochford, Thomas Bracy, John Bezar, John Harding, Joseph Phipps. *New Castle*.—John Cann, John Darby, Valentine Hollingsworth, Gasparus Herman, John Dehraef, James Williams, William Guest, Peter Alrichs, Heurick Williams. *Kent*.—John Biggs, Simon Irons, Thomas Hassold, John Curtis, Robert Bedwell, William Windmore, John Brinkloe, Daniel Brown, Benoni Bishop. *Sussex*.—Luke Watson, Alexander Draper, William Fletcher, Henry Bowman, Alexander Moleston, John Hill, Robert Bracey, John Kipshaven, Cornelius Verhoof.

Biographies of these pioneers in law-making as well as plantation may be found in the works of Thompson Westcott (particularly his exhaustive "History of Philadelphia"), in the work of Proud, and in the nice and critical investigations now being pursued in the Historical Magazine of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Markham, Holme, Simcock are already known to the reader. The latter was the founder of Ridley, in Chester County. James Harrison was Penn's friend, agent, and property commissioner. William Biles came from Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, arriving in the Delaware June 12, 1679, with wife, seven children, and two servants, having a grant from Andross of three hundred and nine acres on the west bank of the river below Trenton Falls. He was a man of talent and influence and a leader. Governor Evans sued him for slander, for saying, "He is but a boy; he is not fit to be our Governor; we'll kick him out, we'll kick him out." Whitwell was an early settler on the Lower Delaware. Thomas Wynne, first Speaker of the first Assembly, was a Welsh Quaker preacher, one of the Welsh colony afterwards at Merion. He was an ancestor of John Dickinson. John Songhurst came over with Penn. William



THE LETITIA HOUSE.

Yardley, of Bucks, came over in September, 1682; a yeoman of Sussex, the founder of Yardleyville, and connected with the Harrisons and Pembertons. He had been twenty-five years a preacher when he immigrated. Haige was a London merchant. Lasse (Lorenz, Laurence, Larsson, or Laers) Cock, or Kock, was the son of Peter Larsson Kock, who came over in 1641, servant to the Swedish West India Company. Lasse, his son, was Penn's interpreter and Markham's right-hand man. He and his family were original members of the old Swedes' Church at Wicaco. Andros (Andreas) Binkson (Bengtsson, now Bankson and Benson) was one of the old Swedes. Peter Alrichs was son of the Dutch director on South River, owner of Alrichs' or Burlington Island. Gasparus Herman, son or grandson of Augustine Herman, of Bohemia Manor. Thomas Fitzwalter came over with Penn, and was prominent in many public affairs. Blunston was an immigrant of 1682, from Little Hallam, Derbyshire, having a certificate from the Quaker Meeting-house there. He was a member of the Society of Free Traders, and a man of consequence. John Bezar, or Bezear, of Bishops Canning, in Wiltshire, was one of Penn's land commissioners. His business in England was that of maltster, and he was a regular preacher of the Quakers; had been imprisoned and put in the stocks for attempting to preach in the "steeple-house" at Marlborough. He settled at Marcus Hook. Thomas Bracey was also one of the Society of Free Traders and an active Friend. Robert Wade came over with John Fenwick. He was a resident of Upland as early as 1675. He owned Essex House, at Upland, built by Armgardt Pappegoya, which is supposed to have been the first Quaker meeting-house in Pennsylvania. He also was an active Quaker. Christopher Taylor was the best scholar among the Quaker immigrants, native of Skipton, Yorkshire, convert of George Fox, eminent preacher, often incarcerated, once for two years; taught classical schools on both sides the Atlantic, held important public offices, was well acquainted with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and published a *Compendium Trium Linguarum* of those languages. William Clayton came out in 1678, bought Hans Oelsson's share of Marcus Hook; an active Quaker, and had a large part in public affairs. John Clows came over in 1682, previous to Penn, and John Richardson appears to have been his servant.¹

At the first meeting of the Council in Philadelphia, March 10, 1683, Penn took the chair and sixteen of the eighteen councilors were present. The sheriffs of the different counties (John Test, for Philadelphia) were called in and made their returns respecting the election. The rules were of the simplest: the Governor ordered those speaking to do so standing, one at a time, and facing the chair, and the members

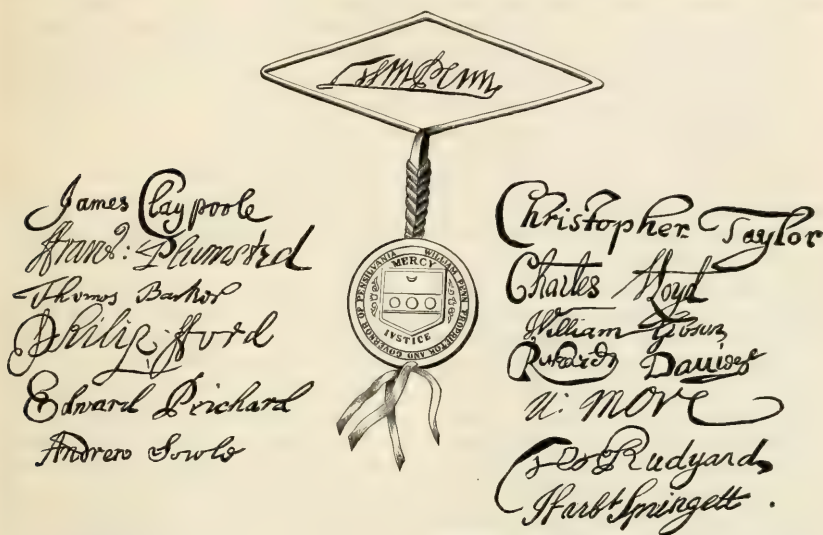
agreed upon a *viva voce* vote in all except personal matters. When these arose the vote was to be by ballot. The question of the power of electors to change the number of representatives without modifying the charter at once arose, when Penn answered that they might "amend, alter, or add for the Publick good, and that he was ready to settle such Foundations as might be for their happiness and the good of their Posterities, according to y^e powers vested in him." Then the Assembly chose a Speaker, and there was an adjournment of Council till the 12th. On the session of Council of that day nothing seems to have been done beyond compelling Dr. Nicholas More, president of the Free Society of Traders, to appear and apologize for having abused Governor, Council, and General Assembly "in company in a publick house, . . . as that they have this day broken the charter, and therefore all that you do will come to nothing & that hundreds in England will curse you for what you have done & their children after them, and that you may hereafter be impeacht for Treason for what you do." Dr. More's apologies were ample, as became such a determined conservative. The next day's session was occupied with improvement of the rules and suggestions as to amending the charter. It was obvious that the freemen of the province were determined this should be done, in spite of Dr. More's suggestions about impeachment. On the 15th, John Richardson was fined for being "disordered in Drink," and reproved. The question of giving Governor and Council authority to prepare all bills was finally settled affirmatively, but apparently only after considerable debate. On the 16th, Dr. More, of the Free Society of Traders, wrote to ask such an interpretation of the law against fornication as applicable to servants as would be "more consistent wth the Mr. & Mrs. Interest." This was the first utterance of a corporation in Pennsylvania, and it was not on the side of humanity or morality, but of the "master and mistress interest,"—the society did not care how severely servants were punished for their vices, so that the punishment was not such as to deprive the corporation of their services.

Among the earliest bills prepared for submitting to the General Assembly were the following: A bill for planting flax and hemp, for building a twenty-four by sixteen feet House of Correction in each county, to hinder the selling of servants into other provinces and to prevent runaways, a bill about passes, about burning woods and marshes, to have cattle marked and erect bounds, about fencing, showing that servants and stock gave the settlers more concern than anything else. The country was so large and free that it was difficult to retain people in any sort of bondage, and, where nineteen-twentieths of the land was uninclosed and free to all sorts of stock, it was necessary to fence in improved and cultivated tracts to save the crops from destruction. These bills and

¹ His diary contains notes of many minor events in the history of the province.

other matters were given in charge of the various committees into which the Council now began to divide itself. On the 19th the Speaker and a committee of the Assembly reported the bill of settlement (charter or Constitution) with "divers amendments,"

and cattle-brands. Also bills requiring hogs to be ringed, coroners to be appointed in each county, regulating wages of servants without indenture, bailbonds, and summoning grand juries. There was offered likewise a law of weights, and a bill fixing the punish-



FAC-SIMILE OF WILLIAM PENN'S AUTOGRAPH AND SEAL AND THE AUTOGRAPHS OF ATTESTING WITNESSES TO THE CHARTER OF 1682.

which were yielded to by the Governor and Council, and other amendments suggested. The Duke of York's laws and the fees charged in New York and "Delaware" were also considered in this connection; finally, on the 20th, there was a conference between the Governor and the two houses, "and then the question being asked by the Gov^r whether they would

have the old charter or a new one, they unanimously desired there might be a new one, with the amendm^t putt into a Law, w^h is past." Other bills introduced at this time looked to regulating county courts, protested bills of exchange, possessions, "sailor's wracks," acts of oblivion, "Scoulds,"

seizure of goods, limits of courts in criminal cases, marriage by magistrates, executors and administrators, limiting the credit public-houses may give to twenty shillings, protecting landmarks, ear-marks,

and ment for manslaughter, and it was ordered that the seal of Philadelphia County be the anchor, of Bucks a tree and vine, of Chester a plow, of New Castle a castle, of Kent three ears of Indian corn, and of Sussex a sheaf of wheat. The pay of Councilors was fixed at three shillings, and Assemblymen two shillings sixpence per diem, the expenses of government to be met by a land-tax. On April 2, 1683, "the Great Charter of this province was this night read, signed, sealed and delivered by y^e Gov^r to y^e inhabitants, and received by y^e hands of James Harrison and y^e Speaker, who were ordered to return y^e old one wth y^e hearty thanks of y^e whole house, which accordingly they did." Then on the 3d, after passing some minor laws, the chief of which was to prohibit the importation of felons, the Assembly adjourned "till such time as the Governor and Provincial Council shall have occasion for them."

The new charter, Constitution, bill of settlement, or frame of government was modeled upon the plan originally proposed by Penn. It retained in the hands of Governor and Council the authority to originate bills, but in other respects it deviated materially from the conditions of the old charter. The



SEAL OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1683.

Council was to consist of three, and the General Assembly of six members from each county. The members of Council served one, two, and three years respectively. A provision was introduced looking to increase of representation in proportion to the growth of population. The whole legislative body was to be called the General Assembly, and all bills becoming acts were to be called acts of such Assembly, and the lower house was not to adjourn until it had acted upon the business before it. It was, moreover, distinctly implied in the language of the charter that some of the rights and prerogatives enjoyed by Penn under it were to cease with his life; they were concessions to his character and his labors for the province, and not a final surrender of freemen's rights. In return Penn confirmed all in all their liberties, and pledged himself to insure to all the inhabitants of the province the quiet possession and peaceable enjoyment of their lands and estates.

The Governor and Council were in what may be called continuous session, since the charter required that the Governor or his deputy shall always preside in the Provincial Council, "and that he shall at no time therein perform any act of State whatsoever that shall or may relate unto the justice, trade, treasury, or safety of the province and territories aforesaid but by and with the advice and consent of the Provincial Council thereof." The Assembly, however, did not meet again until October 24th, when, after a two days' session, devoted to business legislation and providing that country produce could be taken in lieu of currency, it adjourned. The business before the Council during 1683 was mainly of a routine character. The people and officials were too busily occupied in outdoor work—building, planting, surveying, laying off manors and townships and treating with Indians—to have time to spare for records and debates. Governor William Penn exercised his authority and sat as president of Council. The great number of ships coming and going, with their gangs of sailors, caused a good deal of rioting and disorder in the public-houses that had sprung up at several points on the water-front of the young city; complaints were frequent, and the Governor and Council were much put to it for means to arrest such demoralizing proceedings. Constables were appointed, hours set for early closing, and finally the Governor had to issue his proclamation against the offending taverns and ordinaries. Servants also gave trouble in various ways, so that finally masters were authorized to flog them for slight offenses, and in case they ran away five days were ordered to be added to their term of service for every day's absence without leave. Some of the sailors in port also combined with other ill-conditioned persons to coin counterfeit money and put it in circulation. Small change was so scarce and so much sought after that these scamps were shortly enabled to dispose of a large quantity of their spurious coin before being apprehended. This coin was rather de-

based than counterfeit. R. Felton testified that he received of the chief offender "24 lbs. of Bard Silver to Quine for him;" this was "alloyed" as heavily as it would bear with copper and "quined" into "Spanish bits and Boston money" (Massachusetts "pine-tree shillings," first coined in 1652, and the old Spanish piece or "levy," eleven-penny bit, the coin which is the basis of the "piece-of-eight" or dollar, and which perhaps has had a wider circulation than any other coin ever known). These spurious coins, which the counterfeiters stoutly maintained were as good as the Spanish debased coin then in circulation, were passed upon some leading business men. Griffith Jones took eight pounds in the new "bits," and several other persons were victimized, so that Penn had to issue another proclamation. The parties were tried before a jury and convicted. Penn sentenced the ringleader to redeem all his false money, pay a fine of £40, and give security for good conduct. Another was fined £10, and a third, who turned State's evidence, got off with an hour in the stocks. There was also a trial of two poor wretches, both Swedes, for witchcraft. The jury, however, rendered a verdict of guilty of the "common fame of witches, but not guilty as indicted;" the women's husbands went security for them, and we hear no more of witchcraft in Philadelphia, nor do the names of Margaret Mattson and Gethro Hendrickson appear again in the police annals. While on this subject we might as well refer to a singular record in the Council minutes for May 13, 1684, as illustrative of the character and methods of Penn, and what he meant by creating the office of peacemaker or arbitrator, who might stand between the people and the courts and save them the expenses and heart-burnings of litigation. "Andrew Johnson, *Pl.*, Hance (Hans) Peterson, *Def.* There being a Difference depending between them, the Gov^r & Council advised them to shake hands, and to forgive One another; and Ordered that they should Enter in bonds for fifty pounds apiece for their good abearance; w^{ch} accordingly they did. *It was also Ordered that the Records of Court concerning that Business should be burnt.*" This simple, naked record of how the differences between Jan Jansen and Hans Petersen were settled is one of the most impressive examples of practical ethics applied to jurisprudence that was ever known.

The founders of Philadelphia would not let the first year of its existence slip away before they had made some provision for education, in accordance with the terms of the charter and the spirit and desire of the people. Accordingly we read that at a meeting of the Council held in Philadelphia y^e 26th of 10th month,—the day after Christmas,—1683, "the Gov^r and Prov^{ll} Council having taken into their Serious Consideration the great Necessity there is of a School Master for y^e Instruction & Sober Education of Youth in the towne of Philadelphia, Sent for Enock flower, an Inhabitant of said Towne, who for twenty Year

past hath been exercised in that care and Employ^{mt} in England, to whom having Communicated their Minds, he Embraced it upon these following Terms: to Learn to read English 4s by the Quarter, to Learn to read and write 6s by y^e Quarter, to learn to read, Write and Cast acc^{ts} 8s by y^e Quarter; for Boarding a Schollar, that is to say, dyet, Washing, Lodging & Scolling, Tenn pounds for one whole year." This was not a high scale of charges, but it is to be hoped that the spelling of the above record was not copied from Enock Flower's own prospectus.

CHAPTER X.

RAPID GROWTH OF THE PROVINCE AND CITY — "ASYLUM FOR THE OPPRESSED OF ALL NATIONS"—MOVEMENTS OF WILLIAM PENN, 1684-1699.

WHEN Isaac Norris the second, then Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, sent an order to England, in 1751, for a bell for the State-House of Pennsylvania, he directed the following words to be inscribed around it, "well shaped, in large letters": "By order of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, for the State House in the City of Philadelphia, 1752," and underneath: "Proclaim Liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Levit. xxv. 10.) This was that old "Independence Bell," which, recast to remedy a flaw, did proclaim liberty throughout the land in announcing, on July 4, 1776, that the Declaration of Independence was signed. Mr. Norris was not prophesying, however, when he ordered the inscription and text. He was simply announcing what he and his fellow-citizens understood to be Penn's policy and that of his successors in the government of the province from the hour of its foundation,—entire freedom of conscience and liberty of worship to all (Christian) sects, and an asylum for the oppressed of all nations. The general knowledge throughout Europe that Penn had adopted such a policy as the groundwork of his Constitution, and the general confidence that he had both the ability and the will to maintain it in his province, was one chief cause of the rapid influx of persons and families of all nationalities to the shores of the Delaware. They came for ease from many cares, for relief from great and petty tyrannies; they came to settle and make themselves homes, rather than to trade and get money. Thus the province had from the first a heterogeneous population, and was saved from falling into the grooves of a dead and dull uniformity such as would have been its fate if it had been settled exclusively by English Quakers. Upon an indisputably strong and established warp of simple and ingenuous Swedish peasants and farmers, who constituted the body of the original settlers, and who have left a decided and durable impress upon the character of the people of

Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, was woven a parti-colored woof of many nationalities, sects, opinions, and habits, toned down, yet not reduced to absolute sameness, by the predominant drab of the English Society of Friends. Welsh, Irish, Scotch-Irish, Germans, Switzers, French, Dutch and Belgians, Quakers, Pietists, Mennonites, Tunkers, Presbyterians, Huguenots, Calvinists, with runaways of no religion whatever, and Englishmen of the Established Church, were all to be found among the permanent settlers of the province prior to or just after the end of the seventeenth century, and though it took these races and faiths full fifty years to coalesce, and though in some parts of Pennsylvania society still lies, as it were, in distinct strata, there can be no doubt that the province owed much of its immediate prosperity and its energetic early growth to the variety of the people of different habits and opinions who composed its first settlers. Among the earliest political measures taken by Penn, the first law in fact of his first Legislature at Upland, was one establishing a general plan of naturalization for all "foreigners," among whom he curiously classed the Swedes and Dutch, who were on the spot so long before him.

This act was understood and appreciated in connection with the ordinance establishing freedom of conscience. As early as Sept. 10, 1683, we find Penn naturalizing eight persons of French names,—Capt. Gabriel Rappe, Mr. Andrew Learrin, Andrew Inbert, Peter Meinardeau Uslee, Lees Cosard, Nich. Ribouleau, Jacob Raquier, and Louis Boumat,—who were either Walloons or French Huguenots. But the proprietary had opened the way for a still larger immigration, taking advantage of the disturbed condition of Europe and the horrible persecutions to which "reformers" in every sect, Catholic and Protestant, were then subjected. Louis XIV. was even then preparing for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which was consummated two years later (1685), costing his kingdom half a million of its most peaceable, industrious, and skillful inhabitants. The Catholics and Protestants equally persecuted the non-resisting sects of the Anabaptists, and in England and Wales the Quakers knew no rest from the pursuit of the sheriff and the constable. But while the English and Welsh Quakers had to dread the costs of the præmunire, and were fined, whipped, cropped, branded, and imprisoned for the crime of worshipping God in their own way, the still more innocent sects of the Continent, the descendants of the Waldenses, the pacific Quietists of Switzerland, Holland, and the German Episcopal sees, who had seceded from the ranks and protested against the terrible madness of the Anabaptists of Munster, were dealt with in a much more summary fashion. They were hung, they were broken on the wheel, they were disemboweled, they were burnt at the stake, men, women, and children, with their tongues riveted to their jaws to prevent them from testifying aloud in

the crisis and agony of their martyrdom. The great book of the Mennonites after the Bible, their "golden legend," gives the names of the persons and reports minutely the deaths of over a thousand of these innocent sufferers for opinion's sake, these victims of man's inhumanity to man.¹

Penn and his co-religionists knew of these distresses of the defenseless brethren, both by hearsay and experience. The Quakers had made some converts in Holland and the Palatinate, and they maintained a correspondence with many of the fugitive and hidden congregations of Tunkers and Mennonites in those sections. In 1677, after Penn had secured an interest in the Jersey plantations, and when he was probably already looking to the colonization of Pennsylvania, he crossed the Channel, in company with George Fox, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and others, to Brill, in Holland, and made an extensive proselyting tour in Holland and Germany. There were Quaker congregations in Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Leyden, and elsewhere; their preachers were protected by the reigning prince of the Palatine Electorate, and at Kreisheim (Cresheim), near Worms, a good many Mennonites had become Quakers. The "new brood of fanatical spirits," as they were called, were hunted and persecuted as much as those less recent in their origin. Indeed, there was but little difference between the Quakers and the Tunkers and the disciples of Simon Menno, so that Barclay said that he was compelled to regard Fox "as the unconscious exponent of the doctrine, practice, and discipline of the ancient and stricter party of the Dutch Mennonites." The two sects agreed respecting all the salient traits of Christian life and duty. "Both laid the greatest stress on inward piety and a godly, humble life, considered all strife and warfare as unchristian, scrupulously abstained from

making oath, declared against a paid ministry, exercised through their meetings a strict discipline over their members, favored silent prayer, were opposed to infant baptism, and looked upon the established churches as unhallowed vessels of the divine wrath."²

It was to these people that Penn and his fellow-apostles directed their mission. They had found some sort of toleration at places in the Netherlands, where they were treated much more liberally than in Switzerland and Germany. True, there were severe laws against them on the statute books, but these were not rigidly enforced, and though the mob pelted and abused them sometimes, it was done rather in sport than anger, and perhaps because the Quakers brought it on themselves, for in spite of their non-resistance they had a pertinacious fashion of going into "steeple-houses"

² See article on Penn's Travels, by Prof. Seidensticker, in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. ii. No. 3. The Mennonites bear the same relation to the wild John of Leyden and the Anabaptists of Munster, his followers, that the disciples of George Fox bear to the English Puritans. But while the mild asceticism of the Quakers led them to formalism and a quiet sort of practical self-denial and economy, the tendencies of the German sectaries, under the influence of a deeper sensibility, took the direction of mysticism. The testimony of the "inner spirit" bore a different fruit according to the race in whose bosom it shone. Fox was the natural predecessor of the shrewd and worldly wise "plain" farmer and merchant who built up Philadelphia; but the followers of Menno, the believers in the inspiration of Tauler, drifted in an equally natural way to the communities of the Tunkers and the monasteries of Beissel and others. The difference is still strongly marked, as any one may see who compares the proceedings of a Tunker, Mennonite, or Amish meeting in Pennsylvania or Ohio with the conduct of a Quaker meeting in Philadelphia. The Mennonites claim, through their own historians, to be lineally and theologically descended from the Waldenses; their enemies have reproached them with being an outgrowth of the Anabaptists of Munster, who carried Luther's doctrines to the extreme of excess and tried to promulgate them with fire and sword, outrage and debauchery. Doubtless both sides are true; the Mennonites are in some measure descended from the Waldenses through the Walloons; they are also in a great measure an offshoot from the Anabaptists. The radical difference between them was in their understanding of what is meant by "Christ's kingdom on earth," and how to bring it about. The followers of John of Leyden, Thomas Munzer, Bernhard Rothman, and Jean Matthis preached the sword and torch doctrine to the down-trodden peasantry of Europe, whose sufferings made them only too willing to listen and believe. On the other hand, Menno Simon preached nothing but prayer, humility, and non-resistance. John of Leyden was torn to pieces with red-hot pincers, his bones set aloft in an iron cage, and his sect died with him; but the Mennonites, next to the Jews, are the most widely distributed religious denomination. Menno Simon, founder of this sect, was native of Witmarsum, in Friesland, born in 1492, educated for the priesthood, and in 1536 abandoned the Catholic Church and began to preach to a congregation of his own, calling themselves the *Doopsgezinde*, or Re baptizers. He taught the inefficacy of infant baptism or any other baptism without repentance, contended for the complete severance of Church and State, and absolute religious liberty. His followers were enjoined not to take the sword and not to resist; they swore not at all; practiced feet-washing and love-feasts; assumed plain dress and simple manners; and punished derelict brethren by putting them under the ban of avoidance and non-intercourse. No one could deny the purity of their lives, their thrift, frugality, and homely virtues. It is strange that so harmless a people should have been so bitterly persecuted; Menno Simon was hunted like a wild beast. One of their historians says of the sect that "As the true pilgrims upon earth, going from place to place in the hope to find quiet and rest, appear the Mennonites." Within the last ten years we have witnessed the migration of many congregations of these people all the way from the banks of the Volga to Kansas and Minnesota rather than violate their tenet against bearing arms.—*Cf.* papers in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* by Dr. De Hoop Scheffer, of the College at Amsterdam, Prof. Oswald Seidensticker, Mr. S. W. Pennypacker, etc.

¹ "*Der Blutige Schau-platz oder Martyrer Spiegel*" ("The Bloody Spectacle, or Martyrs' Mirror"), an immense folio of fifteen hundred pages, in which the sufferings of the Mennonites and Tunkers are chronicled, is one of the scarcest and greatest books ever printed in this country. It was originally published in Europe in Dutch, passing through many editions, each larger than the preceding one, from the earliest, *Het offer des Heeren*, in 1562, to the handsome folios of 1685, with over one hundred copper-plates by Jan Luyken. In 1745, when the French and Indian war troubles began to agitate the people of Pennsylvania, the elders among the Tunker and Mennonite sects feared lest their young folks should be led astray. To fortify them in their principles as "the defenseless people," it was resolved to have a German translation made and printed of the Martyr's Mirror. The work was intrusted to the celibate community of Tunker mystics, who had their monastery at Ephrata, in Lancaster County, under the management of their founder and *Vorsther*, Conrad Beissel, or *Vater Friedsam*, as he was called in his retreat. The translation was made, and the work supervised by the accomplished Peter Müller, the prior of the convent and its leading spirit. The paper was made at Rittenhouse's mill, and the book was printed on a hand-press belonging to the convent, where also the binding was done. The work required the labor of fifteen brothers for three years, and it is by long odds the most remarkable book among early American publications. At the time of the battle of Germantown, cartridge-paper having given out, two wagon-loads of the unbound sheets of the Martyrs' Mirror were seized and made into cartridges for the use of Washington's army.—*Cf.* article by S. W. Pennypacker in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. v. No. 3, 276; "Pennsylvania Dutch and other Essays," Philadelphia, 1872; Rupp's "Christian Denominations," etc.

with their hats on and "testifying" where they had no business to open their lips. Still the separatists did not have an easy time of it, and they looked towards America long before Penn came here. The Labadists under Sluyter and Denkers came to Maryland and founded a community on the Bohemia Manor about 1680. A colony of twenty-five Mennonites had still earlier (in 1662) settled at Horekills, on the lower Delaware, under the leadership of Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy, of Zierik Zee, but they were plundered and driven out two years later by Sir Robert Carr, who took all their property, "even to a nail."¹ These Mennonites and other separatist sects were therefore as well acquainted with the promises held out by America as Penn could be. There were, moreover, other affinities and attractions which brought the German and Dutch Reformers into close connection with the Quakers. They were not only both of them in the ranks of a revolt against theology and orthodoxy and scholasticism, but they had also a common meeting-ground in the concordance of their faith in the supernatural and their doctrine of the inner life. The first Quakers had learned from Jacob Böhme and Tauler a great deal of what they preached to English plowboys and tradesmen, while the Philadelphia associations of Pordage and Jane Leadley found acceptance with the German mystics. German Quakers, indeed, defended themselves in the courts upon the ground that they discovered in the sermons of Fox and the apologies of Barclay the very doctrines they had been taught to reverence in the writings of Johann Tauler and Thomas à Kempis. The Quakers found much to admire and to imitate in the teachings of the Pietist Jacob Spener, of Jean de Labadie, and the learned Anna Maria Schurman. Indeed, part of Penn's mission in Germany was to see Elizabeth, granddaughter of King James I. of England, who was then Abbess of Herford, in Westphalia, a convert of Spener's, and the protector of him, Schurman, and the Labadists. She had corresponded with Penn and Fox, and they were eager to obtain her protection for the Quakers, and to convert her to their faith.

Fox and his associates held a great meeting of Dutch Quakers in Amsterdam, and then Penn went forward to visit his Stuart princess in her abbey of Herwerden. She was a singular character, daughter of Frederick V., Palatine of the Rhine, who is known in Bohemian annals as the "Winter King," because after reigning a part of the year as elected king of Bohemia, he was defeated in the battle of Prague, and lost not only his new kingdom, but his ancient principality and castle of Heidelberg. Elizabeth had a serious, not to say masculine turn of mind. She took to mathematics, and established a correspondence with Descartes, the philosopher. She was offered the hand

of the king of Poland if she would become a Catholic, but spurned the offer, and finally, while misfortune darkened around her house and family, she gave herself up to pious contemplation in Herwerden. Penn and his sermons made a powerful impression on the princess, but she still did not join his society. He and Barclay then went on to Frankfort, where they were well received by various sectaries. Their teachings and plans must have strongly prepossessed the leading men in these societies, for in the very year in which Penn sailed for his new province a German company, known as the Frankfort Company, and from which Frankfort Village takes its name, was formed. Of the eight original stockholders of this company in 1682 nearly all were mystics or Mennonites, or Quaker converts made by Penn during his visit in 1677. Jacob Van de Walle was the gentleman at whose house Penn met the Pietist Johanna Eleonora von Merlau, his first convert, both of them being attendants of Spener's *collegia pietatis*; Dr. J. J. Schütz, another stockholder, was also one of the Pietists, and a friend of Fräulein von Merlau; J. W. Weberfeldt was a disciple of Böhme; Dr. Von Maesticht was Penn's Duisburg friend; Dr. Von Wylich, one of Spener's college, and the two members from Lubeck seem to have been Quakers.² Pastorius, a member of the reorganized Frankfort Company in 1686, says in his autographic memoir (which is still in manuscript), "Upon my return to Frankfort in 1682 I was glad to enjoy the company of my former acquaintances and Christian friends, assembled together in a house called the Saalhof, . . . who sometimes made mention of William Penn, of Pennsylvania, and showed me letters from Benjamin Furly, also a printed relation concerning said province; finally, the whole secret could not be withheld from me that they had purchased twenty-five thousand acres of land in this remote part of the world. Some of them entirely resolved to transport themselves, families and all. This begat such a desire in my soul to continue in their society, and with them to lead a quiet, godly, and honest life in a howling wilderness, that by several letters I requested of my father his consent," etc. We have gone into these particulars with something like detail because justice to the memory of William Penn requires it to be shown conclusively that he himself gave the first impulse to the large and important immigration into Pennsylvania from Germany. Pastorius founded the first settlement at Germantown, and Pastorius would not have turned his eyes towards America but for Penn's powerful influence upon his converts and sympathizers in Germany. From this source has Pennsylvania derived many of her best citizens, not simply that honest rural population who build big barns, fatten large pigs, and sell incomparable butter, while eating four meals a day with great regularity, but the men

¹ Pennypacker, Settlement of Germantown, in *Penna. Magazine*, vol. iv. No. 1.

² Seidensticker, Penn's Travels, *Penna. Magazine*, vol. ii. No. 3.

of force and intelligence likewise, the people who rule the State by the combined weight of intellect and integrity of purpose. Pastorius was one of the best scholars of his day; Rittenhuysen built the first paper-mill in the colonies, and his son was one of the greatest astronomers who ever lived; Saur's Bible was printed in German thirty-nine years before any English edition of the sacred volume had been issued on this continent, and of the merits of the great "Martyrs' Mirror" of Ephrata we have already spoken. The Speaker of the first House of Representatives under the Federal Constitution (Frederick A. Muhlenberg) was of German descent, and so have been seven of the Governors of Pennsylvania. Indeed, there are few Pennsylvanians whose families have lived in the State for three generations who cannot trace back some of their ancestors to immigrants from the borders of the Rhine. William Penn brought these settlers here almost as directly as he brought over his own English Quakers.

The first impulse to the wave of German immigration was received at Crefeld, a town on the Rhine, close to the Netherland country. Crefeld had an humble population of weavers and craftsmen, among them Quakers and Mennonites who had endured many persecutions. Penn visited and comforted these lowly people in 1677 during his visit to Germany, and they never forgot his ministrations. When the news of his scheme for settling the newly acquired province reached them, they at once prepared to send some of their number to recruit his forces. On March 10, 1682,¹ Penn conveyed to Jacob Telner and Jan Streypers, merchants, the first of Crefeld, the second of a near-by village, and to Dirck Sipman, also of Crefeld, deeds for five thousand acres of land to each, to be laid out in Pennsylvania. They were thus in the class of "first purchasers," entitled to city lots, which indeed they received. Telner knew what he was buying, because he had already been in America. In November, 1682, Pastorius heard of the Frankfort Company; he took an active part in its concerns, went to London as its agent, and there, in May and June, 1683, bought a tract of fifteen thousand acres for it, afterwards increasing the quantity of land to twenty-five thousand acres. The eight original purchasers were Van de Walle, Dr. J. J. Schütz, J. W. Ueberfeldt, Daniel Bahagel, Caspar Merian, George Strauss, Abraham Hosevoet, and Jan Laurens, the latter an intimate friend of Telner's. When the company was reorganized in November, 1686, the stockholders were Pastorius, Johanna von Merlau, now the wife of Dr. J. W. Peterson, Dr. Garhard von Maestricht, Dr. Thomas von Wylich, Johannes Lebrun, Balthasar Jawert, and Dr. Johannes Kemler, nearly all of them Pietists and followers of Spener. Pastorius was the only one of these members who came

to America; nor, indeed, does the Frankfort Company seem to have contributed any of the first immigrants to Pennsylvania from Germany. Pastorius, however, went out before the Crefeld colony, on their behalf, in part, as much as for the Frankfort Company, and he is entitled to the credit of being the founder of Germantown, or, as he preferred to call it, *Germanopolis*.

This remarkable man, Francis Daniel Pastorius, was born in Somerhausen, Germany, Sept. 26, 1651, and died Sept. 27, 1719. He came of a good family, of official standing, and he himself was well educated at the University of Strasburg, the high school of Basle, and the law-school of Jena. He was well acquainted with the classical languages, and such modern tongues as French, Dutch, English, and Italian. He began the practice of law in Frankfort, then traveled for two years in Holland, England, France, Switzerland, and his own country, returning to Frankfort just in time to hear of Penn's new-born province, and put himself at the head of the German movement towards it. He sailed from London for Pennsylvania on June 10, 1683, and reached Philadelphia August 20th. In 1688 he married, becoming the father of two sons. His learning, social position, and administrative ability easily made him conspicuous in Germantown. He wrote much, and had much to do in promoting the cause of education, being himself a school-teacher as well as poet, historian, and humorist.

On June 11, 1683, Penn sold one thousand acres of land each to Govert Remke, Lenart Arets, and Jacob Isaacs van Bebber, a baker, all of Crefeld. These joined forces with Telner, Streypers, and Sipman, and arranged to settle a colony in Pennsylvania, the condition of their purchase from Penn being, indeed, that they should settle a certain number of families on their land within a specified time. A colony of thirteen families, thirty-three persons in all, was got together, including Van Bebber, Streypers, Arets, three Op den Graafs, with Thomas Kunders, Reynier Tyson, Jan Seimans, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Johannes Bleikers, Jan Lucken, and Abraham Tunes, nearly all connected with one another or with the purchasers of the tract. They went to Rotterdam, and after some delays sailed from London in the ship "Concord" on July 24, 1683, in company with Penn's friend, James Claypoole, his family, and the settlers he was taking out. The greater part of the purchasers as well as of the settlers were Mennonites, "religious good people," as Richard Townshend, the Quaker preacher, who came over in the "Welcome," denominates them. Several of them were weavers by trade.

The pioneers had a pleasant voyage. "The blessing of the Lord did attend us," says Claypoole; and Johannes Bleikers had one more in his family when they reached Philadelphia on October 6th than there were when the ship sailed. October 12th Pastorius

¹ The date has been challenged, but Mr. Pennypacker, in his paper on the settlement of Germantown, *Penn. Mag.*, vol. iv. No. 1, furnishes conclusive evidence to establish it.

secured a warrant for six thousand acres of land, of which five thousand three hundred and twenty acres were laid off by Thomas Fairman into fourteen lots. These lots were drawn for by the adventurers on October 25th, the scene of the division being the cave occupied by Pastorius. The settlers were reinforced by Julian Hartsfelder, who had been sheriff under Andross and received from him a patent for land. They at once began to dig cellars and erect their huts for the winter, naturally having to endure many hardships and privations. In the words of Pastorius, "it could not be described, nor would it be believed by coming generations in what want and need and with what Christian contentment and persistent industry this German township started." Some other immigrants arrived, including Telner, who remained on the spot for thirteen years, the central figure of the emigration. He was a merchant in extensive business in Amsterdam, and his widespread mercantile connections gave him great facilities in promoting the work of colonization. Mennonite as he was, we find him going on a proselyting tour in New England with a Quaker preacher. His chief estate in Pennsylvania was on the Skippack, and was long called "Telner's township." Peter Schumacher, of Kriesheim, founder of a leading family, came over and settled in Germantown in 1685; the Kassels in 1686, in which year also a Quaker meeting-house was built, used both by the Friends and the Mennonites. Pastorius had before this constructed a house for himself on the city lot drawn by him, but he could not afford anything but oiled paper for his windows, and over his door he placed the inscription: "*Purva domus, amica bonis, procul este profani,*"—the reading of which tickled Penn's sense of humor. Streppers seems to have boasted of the fact that he had two pair of leather breeches, two leather doublets, stockings, and a new hat. In 1684, Cornelis Bom, one of Telner's first party, kept a notion-shop, and increased his gains by peddling among the Indians. He paid neither rent, taxes, nor excise, and owned a negro whom he had bought. His pigs and poultry multiplied rapidly; he owned horse and cow, and reported himself and wife to be "in good spirits." Bom's daughter married Anthony Morris, and from her are descended the distinguished Pennsylvania family bearing that name. William Rittinghuysen, who came over in 1687, was a Mennonite preacher, but his family had long followed paper-making, and in 1690 William erected on the Wissahickon that paper-mill which supplied paper to William Bradford, the earliest printer in the Middle Colonies.

Dirck Keyser came over and settled in Germantown in 1688, a descendant of that Leonard Keyser, said to be one of the Waldenses, who was burned to death as a Mennonite at Scharding in 1527. In 1688 also we find Pastorius, the Op den Graaffs (now Updegraffs), and Gerhardt Hendricks sending to the Friends' meeting-house the first public protest ever

made on this continent against the holding of slaves, or, as they uncompromisingly styled it, "the traffick of men's body." They compare negro slavery to slavery under Turkish pirates, and cannot see that one is better than the other. "There is a saying that we shall doe to all men licke as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent, or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? *Here is liberty of Conscience, wch^{ch} is right and reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of y^e body, except of evil doers, wch^{ch} is another case. . . .* In Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed w^{ch} are of a black Colour." This memorial is said to be in the handwriting of Pastorius. At the date when it was written New England was doing a handsome business in the Guinea trade, the slave depots being located chiefly at Newport, where the gangs and "coffles" for the Southern market were made up, and Dr. Samuel Hopkins, the earliest New Englander to protest formally and earnestly against this "traffick of men's body," was not born until thirty-nine years later. All honor therefore to these honest first settlers of Germantown, who asked categorically "Have these negers not as much right to fight for their freedom as you have to keep them slaves?" and asked further to be informed what right Christians have to maintain slavery, "to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, and satisfie likewise our good friends and acquaintances in our natif country, to whom it is a terrour or fairfull thing that men should be handeld so in Pensilvania." The Quakers were embarrassed by the memorial and its blunt style of interrogatory. It was submitted to the Monthly Meeting at Dublin township, "inspected," and found so "weighty" that it was passed on to the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, which "recommended" it to the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, which adjudged it "not to be so proper for this meeting to give a Positive Judgment in the case, It having so General a Relation to many other Parts, and, therefore, at present they forbore it." So the matter slept.

The German town grew, sent out offshoots, and its representatives in the Assembly,—Pastorius and Abraham Opden Graeff,—was incorporated as a borough in 1691, with Pastorius for bailiff, Telner and others burgesses, etc., and had power to hold a court and market, lay fines, and enact ordinances. The people were called together once a year and had the laws read to them, but the little town had great trouble in finding officers willing to serve. As Löher said, "they would do nothing but work and pray, and their mild conscience made them opposed to the swearing of oaths and courts, and would not suffer them to use harsh weapons against thieves and trespassers." Work, however, they would, and did with great industry and great success. Their fine linen was highly esteemed, and so many of them were spinners and

weavers that Pastorius, in devising a town seal, selected a trefoil of clover, one leaf bearing a vine, one a stalk of flax, the third a weaver's spool, with the motto, "*Vinum, Linum, et Texturum.*" Was ever a happier community known in the world's history? Names of new settlers are noticeable every year,—Jan Jansen, next printer after Bradford, whose imprint is now worth its weight in gold, Kuster, Rutter, De la Plaine, Pettinger, etc. In 1694 there came to Germantown an old man and his wife. He was blind and poor, and his name was Cornelis Plockhoy, the founder and last survivor of the Mennonite colony broken up thirty years before at the Horekills by Sir Robert Carr. The good people of Germantown took pity on him. They gave him a few rods of ground for habitation and garden, built him a house, planted a tree before it, and collected a free-will offering for the support of the aged wanderers, who had found a home at last. What a sweet peace seems to pervade these simple annals of the earliest German settlements in Pennsylvania. No wonder the pastoral pipe of John G. Whittier gave forth music of its own accord in the presence of such a natural idyl. Alas, however, for the little span of time during which such dreams retain their brightness. In 1701, before even the school-house took its place in the quiet community, Germantown was building a prison, and repairing the stocks with a new and stronger framework.

The Welsh, some of whom came over in the class of first purchasers, began before Penn's return to England to come more collectively, and to establish separate plantations of their own. They landed chiefly at Chester in the beginning, and established themselves at Merion and Radnor and Haverford. Their names still abound, not only in the sections west of Schuylkill but also in many parts of Philadelphia and Bucks Counties. John ap Bevan, a pillar of Haverford Meeting in 1683, Davies, David, Edwards, Ellis (also a settler in Haverford in 1683), Evan, Evans, Harry, Hayes, Hent, Howell (of Castlebigt, Pembrokeshire, came over in 1682), Hugh, Humphrey, all early settlers at Radnor, Haverford, or Merion. So with the Jameses, Jarmans, Merediths, Jenkinases, Lewises, Lloyds (of whom Thomas, the first comer, was Penn's Deputy Governor, keeper of the seals, and chief justice), Miles, Morgan, Morris, Powell, Price, Pugh, Rutherick, Rees, Richard, Sharpus, etc. The Welsh were among the earliest purchasers of large tracts of land from Penn, and they have given permanent names to many localities. They settled all the high ground between Darby Creek and the Schuylkill, and their natural clannishness made them desire to seat themselves close to one another. This was the origin of the "barony" called the "Welsh tract," containing forty thousand acres, surveyed by Holme, under instructions from Penn dated at Pennsbury, 13th of March, 1684. Not far behind the Welsh came the Scotch-Irish, whose chief

immigration, however, does not fall within the period now being described.

Penn, as has been seen, was transacting business at Pennsbury in March, 1684. He had been long parted from his family, and his affairs in England were not in a good condition. He had done much for his province and its chief city on the spot—the site along the Delaware which was barely inhabited in 1682—now contained three hundred houses, and the province had a population of seven thousand. He now thought it good for him to return for a season to England, especially as there was the place in which he might more safely hope to effect a settlement of the vexatious boundary disputes with Lord Baltimore, whose agents had invaded the lower counties, built a fort within five miles of New Castle, and were collecting taxes and rents and dispossessing tenants in that section. Calvert himself had gone to England in March, and Penn wrote to the Duke of York that he meant to follow him as fast as he could. Accordingly he prepared to leave the province, reorganizing the church discipline of his co-religionaries, and looking after the fiscal system of his civil government in a practical and able way. To the Friends in the province he said, in a circular letter addressed to them, that God had a work for them to do, and he wished them to be faithful to the measure of grace received. "Have a care of cumber," he entreated them, "and the love and care of the world. It is the temptation that lieth nearest to those who are redeemed from looseness, or not addicted to it." He wanted them to be watchful over themselves, helpful to one another, circumspect and zealous. The eye of the Lord was upon them, the eye of the world also, to see "how we live, how we rule, and how we obey; and joy would it be to some to see us halt, hear evil tidings of our proceedings, as it would be a heavy and an unspeakable grief to those that wish well to our Zion." The Lord had brought them there, he said, had tried them with liberty and with power; precious opportunities were in their hands, and they should not lose these through perversity, but sanctify God in their heart, so that no enchantment might prevail against Jacob nor divination against Israel; "but your tents shall be goodly and your dwellings glorious, which is the daily humble supplication of my soul to God and your God, and to my Father and your Father, who are, with unfeigned love in that lasting relation, your tender, faithful friend and brother."

The ketch "Endeavor," just arrived from England with letters and dispatches, was got ready to carry the Governor back again. He commissioned the Provincial Council to act in his stead while he was away, intrusting the great seal to Thomas Lloyd, the president. Nicholas More, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner, and John Eckly were made provincial judges for two years; Markham was secretary of Council, and James Harrison was steward of the house and manor of Pennsbury. He em-

barked at and sailed from Philadelphia Aug. 12, 1684, sending from on board the vessel ere she sailed a final letter of parting to Lloyd, Claypoole, Simcock, Christopher Taylor, and James Harrison, in which he expresses the deepest affection for those faithful friends, and sends them his prayers and blessings. They had many responsibilities upon their shoulders, and he hoped they would do their duty. The letter concluded with a fervent prayer for Philadelphia, "the virgin settlement of the province, named before thou wert born." Penn arrived in England on the 3d of October, and did not again see his virgin city and his beloved province until 1699. The causes that detained him, the cares that consumed him during that long divorce, have been elsewhere detailed.

Penn had given a great deal of attention and time to the proper and symmetrical division of his territories. His sense of the value of real estate was strong, and his grasp of property was firm, as the great number of manors and lots reserved for himself and family proves. The manor of Springettsbury lay between Vine Street and Pegg's Run, from Delaware to Schuylkill, widening at Ridge road, and contained eighteen hundred and thirty acres. It was clipped and cut down by grants and sales, however, until, in the final partition of Penn's estates in 1787, only one-tenth part of the original tract remained. Nicholas More, president of the Free Society of Traders, and one of Penn's judges, was the first purchaser who had a manor granted to him. This was a tract of 9815 acres on a branch of the Poquessing Creek, granted in November, 1682. It was called the manor and township of Moreland, and lay partly in Bucks County. Mountjoy, another manor, was laid out in 1683 for Penn's daughter Letitia. It contained 7800 acres, and extended from the Welsh tract to the Schuylkill. It was afterwards included in Upper Merion township. Opposite Mountjoy, on the east side of the Schuylkill, was the manor of Williamstadt, granted to William Penn, Jr., who sold it, during his brief and debauched sojourn in the province, to Isaac Norris. It became the township of Norriton. Springfield Manor, laid out for Gulielma Maria Penn, was northeast of Germantown; Gilbert's Manor, one of Penn's reservations, was on east side of Schuylkill, over against the present town of Phoenixville; above Mountjoy was William Lowther's manor of Bilton, while Penn had, besides, Highlands and Pennsbury Manors, in Bucks, and Rockland Manor, in New Castle County, between Naaman's and Brandywine Creeks.¹

The township of Byberry was in the northeast of Philadelphia County, bounded by Poquessing Creek. This was settled by the Waltons before Penn came over, some of the "Welcome's" passengers locating in it likewise. West and northwest of Byberry was Moreland;

below it, fronting on the Delaware and cut in two by Pennepack Creek, was Dublin township, the lands in which were taken up by Fairman, Waddy, Lehman (Penn's private secretary), and in general by a body of English Quakers, who also occupied Oxford township, just below it on the Delaware. The Northern Liberties lay north of Springettsbury Manor, including Hartsfelder's tract, north of the Cohoquinogue, and Shackamaxon, extending clear across the peninsula from Schuylkill to Delaware. Bristol township adjoined Bucks County, having Tacony Creek on the east and Germantown south and west of it. The lands in this township were taken up by such men as Samuel Carpenter, Richard Townshend, William Frampton, John Ashman, Thomas Rutter, John Day, John Songhurst, Samuel Benezet, Griffith Jones, etc. The Western Liberties, afterwards part of Blockley township, lay south of Merion, extending from Schuylkill to the county line. Kingsessing was a township lying in the parallelogram formed by Bow Creek, Karakung Creek, the Delaware, and Schuylkill. West of Germantown, east of Schuylkill, was Roxborough township, settled by Claypoole, Turner, Lane, etc. Some of the intervening tracts lying in and between these manors and townships were taken up by Capt. Markham, Jasper Farmer, Philip Ford, Benjamin Chambers, Jacob Pelles, Samuel Buckley, Sir Matthias Vincent, Adrian Vrouzen, Benjamin Furlong, etc.

Purchasers of river-front lots had the idea that they would acquire with them riparian rights, or else that Penn meant to reserve all the river-front and the levee between Front Street and the Delaware for the common use of the inhabitants of the city. Penn, however, had simply reserved them for himself, and, as the city began to grow up, he leased these lots, for wharf and warehouse purposes, at very good figures. Samuel Carpenter paid twenty shillings rent for two hundred and fifty feet on the river, a quay to be built there, and the lease not to fall in until the expiration of fifty-one years, the tenant to pave a thirty-foot roadway for all passengers, keep the wharf and bank in repair, and build two stairways from the top of the bank to the river's brink. Robert Turner got a similar patent for a wharf between High and Mulberry Streets, while the Free Society of Traders secured the river front south of Dock Creek. Many more bank and wharf grants were made, some of them leading to a great deal of complaint, fault-finding, petitioning, and litigation.

Philip Ford, in May, 1682, made up for Holme's use a list of first purchasers and the acres they had taken, the total sales amounting to 565,500 acres. This list Holme was to use in apportioning the city lots, a task of no little difficulty. Holme, however, numbered the lots on his plat and divided them among the purchasers, the choice of localities being bestowed in proportion to the size of tracts bought. The purchasers of 1000 acres or more were given lots on Front and High Streets. Of these there were 81

¹ Westcott's History of Philadelphia, chap. xxvii.

lots apportioned, some of them, however, to five, six, seven, and eight parties, who had "pooled" their purses so as to get a body of land of 1000 acres and the advantage in choice of town lots. The Delaware back lots, numbering 193, were apportioned to purchasers of less than 1000 acres; the front lots on Schuylkill, which were apportioned in the same way, numbered 84, and the back lots 150.¹

The proceedings of Council and Assembly between 1684 and 1699, while they might fill several pages in a volume of annals, may be summed up in a few paragraphs in a history such as this. The transactions were, as a rule, not very important, and the major part of the record, outside of the regular routine of appointments, etc., is taken up with the quarrels of public officers among themselves and the complaints of the people against Penn and the government generally. A French ship with irregular papers was seized, condemned, and sold by order of Council under the English navigation laws. There must have been a great many vessels on the coast and in the bays at this time which could not give a good account of themselves, and complaints of piracy are loud and frequent, the colonial governments being sometimes accused of undue leniency in their dealings with the freebooters. Governor Fletcher, of New York, who was also Governor of Pennsylvania during the suspension of Penn's authority in May, 1693, was on friendly terms with Kidd and others, and Nichols, one of his Council, was commonly charged with being agent of the sea-rovers. Governor Markham's alleged son-in-law, James Brown, was denied his seat in the Assembly, and put in prison for sailing in a pirate's vessel. The people of Lewes openly dealt with Kidd, exchanging their provisions for his fine goods. Teach, called Blackbeard, was often about the Delaware, and it was charged that he and the Governor of North Carolina and other officials of that State were altogether too intimate.

The Council provided in 1685 for a ferry-boat, large enough for horses and cattle, across the Schuylkill at High Street, proof enough of the town's rapid growth. Another evidence is to be found in the provisions for a night-watch, and in a letter from Penn, written in July, 1685, showing that he was very observant of affairs in the city he had founded, and was well informed of matters there. He had heard much complaint, he said, about the number of drinking-houses and of loose conduct in the "caves." He required that ordinaries should be reduced in numbers without respect of persons and no matter what objections

arose, and that only respectable landlords, and such as are most tender of God's glory and the reputation of the province, should be allowed to continue in business. As for the caves, they should be purged. They were his property; he had let persons occupy them for limited times (three years) while building, that they might not be houseless, but their time was up, they should be cleared, and the caves held for the use of other deserving persons immigrating under similar circumstances. "Whatever ye do," adds Penn, "let virtue be cherisht." The tavern-keepers were summoned before the Council and compelled to give security to keep good order. There were seven of these at this time, one of whom was ordered to "seek some other way for a livelihood." The cave-dwellers also received notice to get themselves house-room and vacate these cheap premises. These caves are matters of curious interest to the antiquarian. It is not unlikely, as has been shown on a previous page, that some of these excavations, if not the most of them, had been made by Indians for their winter-quarters. The falling in of any part of a river-bank, in consequence of freshets or changes in the current of the stream, would expose the extensive burrowings of muskrats and other animals, and suggest their enlargement to the savages for their own use. For defense or concealment in case of raids by hostile tribes nothing more serviceable could be devised. The Swedes dwelt in such caves in some instances at least, and in 1682 probably one-third the new settlers on the site of Philadelphia wintered in them, of course enlarging them and making them more comfortable. In 1685 these caves seem to have become low resorts, taverns, and the like. One of them at least was occupied by Joseph Knight, the publican whom the Council had refused to allow to continue his traffic. The grand jury presented him and the whole cave system, and the excavations were gradually filled up by throwing down upon them the superincumbent bank.

Penn's noticeable tact and skill as a peace-maker and composer of personal difficulties were sadly missed after his departure for England. The Assembly and Council got into a serious squabble in consequence of a difference about the prerogatives and dignity of the two bodies. Chief Justice Nicholas More, though an able and probably upright man, was dictatorial and arbitrary as well as quarrelsome. He was not a Quaker, but he used very plain language sometimes, and was free-spoken. Him the Assembly formally impeached before Council on June 15, 1685, upon the ground of various malpractices and misdemeanors, chiefly technical, or growing out of his blunt manners. More was himself a member of the Assembly from Philadelphia City and County,² and that body invited him by vote to retire from the

¹ We give on the fac-simile of "Holme's Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia" a complete list of the lots and the names and original residences of the purchasers to whom they were apportioned. Such lists are full of material for the antiquarian and the genealogist. The uncertainties and contradictory opinions and views in regard to the time and manner of these apportionments are fully and ably discussed by Mr. Lawrence Lewis in his "Original Land Titles in Philadelphia." Some of the obscurities of the matter, however, seem to defy research and baffle conjecture.

² The delegation consisted of Nicholas More, Joseph Growden, Barnaby Wilcox, Lawrence Cock, Gunner Rambo, and Thomas Paschall.

sessions while his case was under consideration. His court clerk, Patrick Robinson, was ordered to fetch the records of the court and refused, so the sheriff took him in charge. More was also sent for to come to the Assembly, but he replied that the House had voted him out and it would have to vote him in again. He was forthwith expelled, and Clerk Robinson declared a public enemy of the province and the privileges of the General Assembly. He was finally compelled to go to the bar of the House, where he declared that there were no records of the court save such as he kept in Latin abbreviations, a short-hand of his own, which no one but himself, not even an "angel from heaven," could read. Further pressed, he threw himself full length on the floor, and became utterly obstreperous and unmanageable, whereupon it was resolved to ask the Provincial Council to make him ineligible to hold office thereafter. This sort of thing was hardly decorous in any sort of legislature, and must have been particularly offensive in view of the fact that the Assembly held its sessions in the "Bank" meeting-house. A Quaker meeting-house is ever the abode of silence, only broken by inspiration, and such scenes as these with Robinson must have been very offensive to the strict Friends. But the Council was slow to follow the lead of the House. More was twice summoned to appear before the Council, but would not, and was suspended from his judicial functions until he made answer to the articles of impeachment. Robinson's language was declared to be indecent and unallowable, but the Council declined to remove him from office until convicted of what was alleged against him. This was proper enough, but did not suit the Assembly, which appointed a committee to wait on Council and prosecute the impeachment. These gentlemen, Abraham Man and John Blunston, demanded to know if the Council had not forgotten themselves in not bringing Judge More to trial, whereupon the Council suggested that the committee had forgotten themselves in coming before it without a petition, and they were dismissed after a sharp reprimand. Penn was much vexed at these petty brawls. "For the love of God, me, and the poor country," he wrote to Lloyd, "be not so *governmentish*, so noisy and open in your dissatisfaction."

Penn at this time, besides his grave concerns at court, was busy looking after the home interests of his province on one side and its external interests on the other, now shipping wine, beer, seeds, and trees to Pennsylvania, anon publishing in London accounts and descriptions of the province and excerpts of letters received from its happy settlers. The proprietary was never fatigued even by the most minute details in any matter in which he desired to succeed, and his letters

show that he anticipated and thought about every thing. His supervision was needed, for Council, Assembly, and Governor seem to have been equally incompetent to do anything besides quarrel and disagree in regard to privilege. In fact, underneath these trivial bickerings a great struggle was going on between the representatives of the freemen of the province and the sponsors for Penn's personal interests and his proprietary prerogative. This contest lasted long, and Penn's friends in the end, without serving his political interests materially, contrived to deal his personal interests a cruel blow, by exciting the people of the province to hostile feelings against him, and provoking them to withhold rents and purchases, and reduce his income in every possible way. Penn himself wrote to Lloyd, in 1686, that the ill fame the province had gained on account of its bickerings had lost it fifteen thousand immigrants, who would have gone



THE BANK MEETING-HOUSE.

thither had its affairs appeared more settled, but as it was they went to North Carolina instead.

In 1687, James Claypoole became a member of Council for Philadelphia County, and its representatives in Assembly were Humphrey Murray, William Salway, John Bevan, Lacy Cock, Francis Daniel Pastorius, and Joseph Paul; John Eckley, Thomas Ellis, John Goodson, William Southerby, Barnabas Wilcox, Joshua Cart, and John Shelten receiving commissions as justices of the peace. The growth of the city is illustrated by the greater pains taken to buoy out the harbor and ship-channel and by the increased desire of the public to have improved roads. The road from Moyamensing to Philadelphia had already been complained of; now, in Council, a cart-road was ordered to be laid out between Philadelphia and Plymouth township, and the Radnor people wanted the fences from their township to the Schuylkill to be removed where they obstructed the road commonly used. A board of road-viewers was appointed at once to lay

out public roads from the Ferry to Radnor, and another to Darby township. The Assembly, which met in May, also passed a resolution to the effect that "the President and Council be requested to take care that necessary public roads be everywhere set forth and duly maintained, but more especially in the county of Philadelphia, that travelling for man and beast be made easie, safe, and certain." Already Penn had found it necessary to protect, by the appointment of a woodsman, the woodland and timber on his reservations from the wholesale depredations of timber-getters and squatters, and he now instructed Markham to have the offenders prosecuted, in order to prevent the town from being surrounded with thickets of brush and undergrowth that would afford

tween the two Houses, but curiously inspect the proceedings of both. They were further in Penn's name to disavow all laws passed since his absence, and to call a new Assembly to repass, modify, and alter the laws. When this commission was received, in February, 1688, both More and Claypoole were dead. Their places were supplied by Arthur Cook and John Simcock, and the new elections ordered gave Samuel Richardson the appointment of member of Council for three years, while Thomas Hooten, Thomas Fitzwalter, Lasse Cock, James Fox, Griffith Owen, and William Southersby were chosen members of Assembly. The contests for privilege between Council and Assembly were at once renewed; the Assembly swore its members to divulge no proceedings, and practically made its sessions

secret; the Council asserted its ancient prerogatives; in short, the quarrel was interminable except by what would be practically revolution, for on one side was a written charter and a system of iron-bound laws, on the other the popular determination, growing stronger every day, to secure for the freemen of the province and their representatives a larger share in the major concerns of government and legislation. The commission, in fact, would not work upon



GREAT SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1712, OVERSE AND REVERSE.
(Reduced one-half.)

a harbor to vermin and tramps. The first regular jail seems to have been built this year, though, in 1683, William Clayton had constructed a "cage" for offenders. Lacy Cock built a log jail on Second Street, near Market. After it was built, however, it did not suit, and a house belonging to the recalcitrant clerk, Patrick Robinson, was rented instead. The new prison was built in the middle of Market Street, near Second. In 1702 this and the yard attached to it were presented by the grand jury as nuisances. This part of the wide area of Market Street was a grassy common, used by the town butcher for pasturing his sheep before they were slaughtered. Their carcasses, after the animals were slaughtered, were displayed for sale in the same place on a movable stall.

In February, 1687, Penn took the executive power away from the Council and intrusted it to a commission of five persons,—Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas More, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckly, any three to have power to act. He sent over many instructions to this board, among others to compel the Council to their charter attendance or dissolve them without further ado and choose others, "for I will no more endure their most slothful and dishonorable attendance." The commissioners were enjoined to keep up the dignity of their station, in Council and out, and not to permit any disorders either in Council or Assembly, and not to allow any parleys or conferences be-

trial, and before the year was out Penn sent over a Governor for the province, an old officer under the Commonwealth and Cromwell, and son-in-law of that Gen. Lambert who at one time was Monk's rival,—by name John Blackwell.

Governor Blackwell had a troublesome career in office. For a peaceable, non-resistant people, the Pennsylvania settlers had as many domestic difficulties on their hands as ever any happy family had. As soon as Blackwell was inducted he was brought in collision with Thomas Lloyd, who would not give up the great seal of the province, and declined to affix it to any commissions or documents of which he did not approve. As the misunderstanding grew deeper, the old issue of prerogative came up again, and it was declared that Blackwell was not Governor, for the reason that, under the charter, Penn could not create a Governor, but only appoint a Deputy Governor. An effort was made to expel from the Council a member who had insisted upon this view of the case; it failed, the Governor dissolved the Council, and at the next session the people re-elected John Richardson, the offending member, whom, however, Blackwell refused to permit to take his seat. From this the quarrel went on until we find Lloyd and Blackwell removing and reappointing officers, and the public officers declining to submit their records to the Council and the courts. Lloyd was elected member of

Council from Bucks County, and Blackwell refused to let him take his seat, which brought on a violent controversy. The general discussion of privilege and prerogative in connection with these differences led Bradford, the printer, to print for general use an edition of the "Form of Government and the Great Law," so that everybody might see for himself the right and the wrong of the matters in dispute. The expense of the publication, it is said, was borne by Joseph Growdon, a member of Council. It was considered a dangerous and incendiary act, and Bradford was summoned before the Council and closely interrogated, but he would not admit that he had printed the document, though he was the only person in the province who could have done it. There was a Council quarrel over this thing too, some men quoting Penn as favoring publicity for the acts of Assembly, another proclaiming his dread of the press, because the charter, in fact, made him a sort of independent prince. The result was the Council broke up in confusion, and for some time could not get a quorum together. The Assembly, meeting May 10th, was suddenly adjourned for the same reason, the popular party having discovered that by a negative, non-resistance policy of this sort the Governor's plans and purposes were paralyzed. There were no meetings of either Council or Assembly from the latter part of May till the last of August. Then Blackwell sprung upon the Council a great rumor of terrible things in store for the province: the Indians and Papists had leagued together; the Northern Indians were coming down the Susquehanna, and the lower counties were already mustering to resist the invasion of an army of nine thousand men on their way from Maryland to destroy Philadelphia. Blackwell wanted instant authority to levy a force for defense, but the Quakers took things rather more quietly. They did not want an army, and they did not believe the rumors. Clark said if any such scheme of invasion had ever been entertained it was now dead. Peter Alrichs said there was nothing to be scared about. John Simcock did not see "but what we are as safe, keeping peaceable, as those who have made all this strife." Griffith Jones said there was no cause of danger if they kept quiet. In fact, the Council not only objected to a levy, but they laughed at Blackwell's apprehensions. Markham said that all such talk had no effect but to scare the women and children. The Governor found he could do nothing, and adjourned the Council.

Next came news that James II. was dethroned and William of Orange king of England. The Council was called together, and the honest Quakers, not feeling sure which king they were under, determined neither to celebrate nor wear mourning, but to wait events, the Council amusing themselves in the mean time by keeping up their old feuds. Shrewsbury's letter announcing the new king's intention to make immediate war on the French king was laid before Council Oct. 1, 1689, and was accompanied with the usual warn-

ing about defensive measures and the need for commercial vessels to sail in company and under the protection of convoys. William and Mary were at once formally proclaimed in the province, and a fresh discussion arose in regard to the proper defensive measures and the necessity for an armed militia. The Quakers were utterly opposed to any sort of military preparations. If they armed themselves, it was urged, the Indians would at once rise. "As we are," said sensible Simcock, "we are in no danger but from bears and wolves. We are well and in peace and quiet. Let us keep ourselves so. I know naught but a peaceable spirit and that will do well." Griffith Jones, moreover, showed how much the thing would cost and how it would increase taxation. Finally, after long discussions, the Quakers withdrew from active opposition, and the preparations for defense were left to the discretion of the Governor. William Penn himself was now in deep difficulties and partly a fugitive in hiding. He was afraid to act openly any longer as the Governor of the province. Accordingly he made another change, and when Governor Blackwell called the Council together on Jan. 1, 1690, it was to inform them that he had been relieved of his office. He seemed glad to be free. "'Tis a good day," he said; "I have given and doe unfeignedly give God thanks for it (w^{ch} are not only words), for, to say no worse, I was very unequally yoked." Penn, in relieving Blackwell, sent his commission to the Council, authorizing them to select three persons from whom he would choose a Governor; until his choice was made the one having the highest number of votes was to act, for which end another commission was sent over, signed and sealed in blank. In sending his instructions to the Council along with these commissions, Penn wrote: "Whatever you do, I desire, beseech, and charge you all to avoyd factions and parties, Whisperings and reportings, and all animosities, that, putting your Common Shoulder to y^e Publick Work, you may have the Reward of Good Men and Patriots, and so I bid you heartily farewell."

No better work was done at this period than the establishment of the first public school in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, founded in 1689 under Penn's directions to Thomas Lloyd. This grammar school was put in charge of George Keith, a well-known Quaker preacher of Scotch descent, who had accompanied Penn and Fox to Germany in 1677, and was later to cause a great religious controversy in the province by becoming the leader of a society of Friends who dissented from some of the tenets and practices of the Orthodox. His assistant was Benjamin Makin, who became principal when Keith abandoned pedagogy for polemics. Keith's salary was £50 per annum, with dwelling-house and school-house provided, and the profits of the school besides for one year. If he thought fit to stay longer and teach the children of the poor without charge, his salary was to be doubled for two years. The school was

afterwards chartered by enterprising citizens such as Samuel Carpenter, Anthony Morris, Edward Shippen, James Fox, David Lloyd, William Southby, and John Jones, and adopted a characteristic seal, with an open book containing the Greek motto "*Φύλετε ἀλλήλους*" and the inscription, "Good Instruction is better than Riches." The building stood on Fourth Street, below Chestnut, and this old Philadelphia High School had a high reputation for a great many years, numbering among its teachers, besides Keith and Makin, such men as D. J. Dove, Robert Proud, the historian, William Wanney, Jeremiah Todd, and Charles Thomson, the secretary of the Continental Congress.

The Council, acting upon Penn's instructions and commission, on Jan. 2, 1690, elected Thomas Lloyd president and *de facto* Deputy Governor. Lloyd was also chosen justice of the peace for Philadelphia, along with John Eckly, Robert Turner, William Salway, Barnaby Wilcox, Francis Rawle, John Holme, and Lasse Cock. The Provincial Councilors elected for Philadelphia, May 31st, were Griffith Owen and Thomas Duckett, for the remaining term of John Eckly; Assemblymen, William Salway, Humphrey Murray, Thomas Fitzwalter, Charles Pickering, Paul Sanders, and Abraham Op de Graaff. The old French war, accompanied as it was with many atrocities by Indians near the border, gave the Philadelphians great concern about this time, but the Friends still continued to maintain their pacific and non-resisting attitude. In internal administration they were not so successful. To personal feuds were now added local jealousies. The lower Delaware counties were envious of the growth of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester. The traditions and manners of the different sections had little similarity. Finally the bad feeling grew so strong as to lead to secession. The Delaware counties (or "territories," as they were called) held a separate Council, elected their own judges, and finally compelled Penn, in 1691, much against his will, to divide the government, which he did by continuing Lloyd as Deputy Governor of the province, and appointing Markham Deputy Governor of the territories. George Keith also had at this time begun to agitate in behalf of his schism. He was a man of learning, but fierce, contentious, turbulent, and vindictive. A good preacher, his language was rude, coarse, and malignant, and he had every trait of the agitator in his character. Keith was an extremist. He held that Quakers could not consistently or lawfully take any part in the administration of civil government, therefore, in other words, that a Quaker community was impossible, and that Penn's "holy experiment" would not be conducted without departing from Penn's religious faith, and that it was contrary to Quaker principles to be concerned in the apprehension of criminals. He took advantage of a hue and cry raised for the capture of a certain Babbitt and his associates, who had stolen a boat and gone down the river upon a plundering and piratical

expedition, to lecture the magistracy severely for their reprehensible and un-Friendlike conduct. Keith set up a separate meeting in Philadelphia, whereupon he was dismissed by his society and finally presented by the grand jury, together with Thomas Budd, for defamation and trying to blacken the character of Samuel Jennings, a provincial judge. They were tried, convicted, and fined £5 each. Keith went to England, joined the Established Church, was ordained minister by the Bishop of London, and presently returned to Philadelphia a full-fledged Episcopalian divine, in surplice and cassock. His simple-minded followers could not recognize him in such a disguise, and the community ceased to be disturbed on his account. Finding his influence gone, he went to England again and secured a church living in Surrey, from which he wrote with much bitterness against the society to which he had formerly belonged. Keith's apostasy had the effect to drive a better man than he was out of the province. William Bradford had been arraigned before the Council for printing one of Keith's virulent tracts, and was treated with so much severity that he left Philadelphia and set up his forms and presses in New York.

The French and Indian hostilities on the frontier, the apathy and non-resistance of the Quakers, and the ambiguous position of Penn, lurking in concealment with an indictment hanging over his head, were made the pretexes for taking the government of Penn's province away from him. His intimate relations with the dethroned king, and the fact that his province, as well as the Delaware Hundreds, had been James' private property, and were still governed to some extent by "the Duke of York's laws," probably had much to do with prompting this extreme measure. Governor Benjamin Fletcher, of New York, was made "Captain-General" of Pennsylvania on Oct. 24, 1692, by royal patent. He came to Philadelphia April 26, 1693, had his letters patent read in the market-place, and offered the test oaths to the members of the Council. Thomas Lloyd refused to take them, but Markham, Andrew Robeson, William Turner, William Salway, and Lasse Cock all subscribed. Fletcher made Markham his Lieutenant-Governor, to preside over Council in the captain-general's absence in New York. He reunited the Delaware Hundreds to the province, but did not succeed in harmonizing affairs in his new government. The Council and he fell out about the election of representatives to the Assembly. When the Legislature met, Fletcher demanded men and money to aid New York in carrying on the war with the French and Indians. The Assembly refused to comply unless the vote of supplies was preceded by a redress of grievances. Fletcher tried to reason with them. "I would have you consider," he said in his speech to the Assembly, "the walls about your gardens and orchards, your doors and locks of your houses, mastiff dogs, and such other things as you make use of to defend your goods and property

against thieves and robbers, are the same courses that their majesties take for their forts, garrisons, and soldiers, etc., to secure their kingdom and provinces, and you as well as the rest of their subjects." But the Quakers were not to be convinced by any such arguments. Fletcher had reduced the number of Assemblymen, and when the Legislature met on May 16th, Philadelphia was represented by four persons,—Samuel Carpenter, Samuel Richardson, John White, and James Fox. The first thing before the General Assembly was a proposition to raise money by taxation,—the first tax levied in Pennsylvania,—and an act was passed levying a penny a pound on property for the support of government. The sum thus raised amounted to seven hundred and sixty pounds sixteen shillings, of which Philadelphia contributed three hundred and fourteen pounds eleven shillings, or forty-one per cent. of the whole. Thus far Fletcher succeeded, only to fail, however, when he attempted to secure the passage of a law providing for organizing the militia. The Assembly did pass an act providing for the education of children, and also one for the establishment of a post-office. A good deal of practical local improvement was made by the Council under Markham's influence, for he was an active, energetic man, and knew the town, the people, and their wants better than any other person could do. Among these regulations, without consultation with the Assembly, were several orders in regard to the Schuylkill ferry, where one man had attempted to set up a monopoly; and one for the establishment and conduct of the market, which was now removed from Delaware Front Street, corner of High, to Second Street where it crosses High. A place was to be staked out, bell-house erected, etc. There were to be two markets a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays; all sorts of provisions brought to Philadelphia for sale—"flesh, fish, tame fowl, butter, eggs, cheese, herbs, fruits, and roots, etc."—were to be sold in this market-place, under penalty of forfeiture if offered elsewhere. The market was to open at the sound of the bell, which was to be rung in summer between six and seven o'clock A.M., in winter between eight o'clock and nine; sales made before hours (except to Governor and Lieutenant-Governor) to be forfeited. All were forbidden to buy or price these provisions on their way to market, and hucksters could not buy until the market had been open two hours. The clerk of the market received half of all forfeitures, together with sixpence per head on all slaughtered cattle, two pence for each sheep, calf, and lamb, three pence for each pig, but no charge made on what the country people bring to market ready killed. He was also to be paid a penny each for "sealing" weights and measures.

In the winter of 1693, Penn was acquitted by the king of all charges against him and restored to favor, his government being confirmed to him anew by letters patent granted in August, 1694. Penn would probably have returned to his province immediately

after his exoneration, but his wife was ill, and died in February, 1694. This great affliction and the disordered state of his finances detained him in England several years longer. After his government was restored to him, his old friend and deputy, Thomas Lloyd, having died, Penn once more appointed his cousin, William Markham, to be Deputy Governor, with John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter for assistants. These commissions reached Markham on March 25, 1695.

In the mean time Governor Fletcher, with his deputy (this same Markham), had been encountering the old difficulties with Council and Assembly during 1694-95. The dread of French and Indians still prevailed, but it was not sufficient to induce the Quakers of the province to favor a military *régime*. Indeed, Tammany and his bands of Delawares had given the best proof of their pacific intentions by coming into Philadelphia and entreating the Governor and Council to interfere to prevent the Five Nations from forcing them into the fight with the French and Hurons. They did not want to have anything to do with the war, but to live, as they had been living, in concord and quiet with their neighbors the Friends. There is no evidence that the league of amity, implied or written, had ever been seriously broken. The Indians would sometimes be drunk and disorderly, and sometimes would steal a pig or a calf, but that was all. As Tammany said in this conference with Fletcher and Markham, "We and the Christians of this river have always had a free roadway to one another, and though sometimes a tree has fallen across the road, yet we have still removed it again and kept the path clear, and we design to continue the old friendship that has been between us and you." Fletcher promised to protect the Delawares from the Senecas and Onondagas, and told them it was to their interest to remain quiet and at peace. When the Legislature met (May 22, 1694), Fletcher, who had just returned from Albany, tried his best to get a vote of men and money, or either, for defensive purposes. He even suggested that they could quiet their scruples by raising money simply to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but this round-about way did not commend itself to Quaker simplicity and straightforwardness. A tax of a penny per pound was laid to compensate Thomas Lloyd and William Markham for their past services, the surplus to constitute a fund to be disbursed by Governor and Council, but an account of the way it went was to be submitted to the next General Assembly. Further than this the Assembly would not go. Fletcher wanted the money to be presented to the king, to be appropriated as he chose for the aid of New York and the defense of Albany. He objected likewise to the Assembly naming tax-collectors in the act, but the Assembly asserted its undoubted right to control the disposition of money raised by taxation, and thereupon the Governor dissolved it.

In June, 1695, after Markham was well settled in his place as Penn's Deputy Governor, there were again wild rumors of French designs upon the colonies and of squadrons already at sea to assail them, and this was so far credited that a watch and lookout station was maintained for several months at Cape Henlopen. In the latter part of this same month Markham informed the Council that Governor Fletcher had made a requisition upon him for ninety-one men and officers, or the funds for maintaining that number for the defense of New York. This matter was pressed by Fletcher, but the Council decided that it was too weighty a business to be transacted without consulting the General Assembly, which would not meet before the second week of September. Markham suggested an earlier day for meeting, but the Council thought the securing of the crops a more important business than any proposition that the ex-captain-general had to lay before them. When the Assembly did meet in September, it at once revealed the cause of the continual discontents which had vexed the province, and gave Deputy Governor Markham the opportunity to prove that he was an honest man. It voted a tax of a penny per pound and six shillings per capita (from which probably £1500 would have been realized), proposing out of the receipts from the levy to pay Markham £300, contribute £250 towards the maintenance of government, and assign the surplusage to the payment of debts of the government. But the members accompanied this bill with another, a new act of settlement, in which the Assembly secured to itself the privileges which they had sought to obtain from Penn in vain. It was, as has justly been remarked,¹ a species of "log-rolling." It had long been practiced with success by Parliament upon the impetuous monarchs of England, and in these modern times has been reduced to a science by nearly all legislative bodies. Markham, however, refused the bait. He declined to give his assent to both bills; the Assembly refused to divorce them, and the Deputy Governor, in imitation of Fletcher's summary method, at once dissolved them in the very teeth of the charter he was refusing to supersede. Had they not been dissolved it is possible the General Assembly might have acted upon a petition in Markham's hands, which set forth some of the chief grievances of the citizens of Philadelphia in that day. They entreated that the persons put in office should be men "of good repute and Christian conversation, without respect to any profession or persuasion in religion;" that officers' fees be made public, and put up in every office for general inspection; "that they be now many ordinaries and tipping houses in this town of Philidelfia Kept by several as are not well qualified for such undertakings, tending to debauchery and corrupting of youth." Wherefore it is begged that none but sober, honest, conscientious persons be allowed to keep such houses;

that all the laws of the province be diligently enforced as the charter meant them to be; that some place, as stocks, or cage, be provided for the incarceration of "drunkards or other violators of the good laws of England and this province," when taken up by the watch or constables, so as to escape the need of sending them to prison for such misdemeanors, thus adding to the public expenses; "also that sum cours may bee taken that these Indians may bee brought to more sobriety, and not to go reeling and bauling on the streets, especially by night, to the disturbance of the peace of this town;" that the town crier be required to publish sales by auction of every sort of produce to the extent of each street, so as every inhabitant may have the benefit of such sales or the knowledge that they are to come off; "and also that they may bee a check put to hors racing, which begets swearing, blaspheming God's holy name, drawing youth to vanaty, making such noises and public hooting and uncivil riding on the streets; also that dancing, fiddling, gameing, and what else may tend to debauch the inhabitanc and to blemish Christianity and dishonour the holy name of God, may be curbed and restrained, both at fairs and all other times." This memorial was signed by many leading citizens, such as Edward Shippen, Robert Ewer, R. Ward, Howell Griffith, Humphrey Murray, Casper Hoodt, William Carter, Isaac Norris, Thomas Fitzwalter, Evan Griffith, Joseph White, Thomas Wharton, James Fox, etc.

After Markham's first failure to walk in Fletcher's footsteps, he appears to have dispensed with both Council and Assembly for an entire year, governing the province as suited himself, with the aid of some few letters from Penn, made more infrequent by the war with France. On the 25th of September, 1696, however, he summoned a new Council, Philadelphia being represented in it by Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, David Lloyd, and Patrick Robinson, the latter being secretary. The home government, through a letter from Queen Mary (the king being on the continent), it appeared, complained of the province for violating the laws regulating trade and plantations (probably in dealing with the West Indies). The Council advised the Governor to send out writs of election and convene a new Assembly on the 26th of October. He complied, and Philadelphia elected Samuel Carpenter, Samuel Richardson, James Fox, and Nicholas Walm to be her representatives. As soon as the Assembly met a contest began with the Governor. Markham urged that the queen's letter should be attended to, asking for supplies for defense, and also called their attention to William Penn's pledge that, when he regained his government, the interests of England should not be neglected. The Assembly replied with a remonstrance against the Governor's speech, and a petition for the restoration of the provincial charter as it was before the government was committed to Governor Fletcher's trust. That Governor was still asking for money and relief, and Markham entreated

¹ Westcott's History of Philadelphia, chapter xi.

that a tax might be levied, and, if consciences needed to be quieted in the matter, the money could be appropriated for the purchase of food and raiment for those nations of Indians that had lately suffered so much by the French. This proposition became the basis of a compromise, the Assembly agreeing to vote a tax of one penny per pound, provided the Governor convened a new Assembly, with a full number of representatives according to the old charter, to meet March 10, 1697, to serve in Provincial Council and Assembly, according to charter, until the lord proprietary's pleasure could be known about the matter; if he disapproved, the act was to be void. Markham yielded, his Council drew up the supply bill and a new charter or frame of government, and both bills became laws.

Markham's new Constitution, adopted Nov. 7, 1696, was couched upon the proposition that "the former frame of government, modeled by act of settlement and charter of liberties, is not deemed in all respects suitably accommodated to our present circumstances." The Council was to consist of two representatives from each county, the Assembly of four; elections to take place on the 10th of March each year, and the General Assembly to meet on the 10th of May each year. The Markham charter goes into details in regard to the oaths or affirmations of officials of all classes, jurors, witnesses, etc.; it sets the pay of Councilmen and members of Assembly, and is on the whole a clearer and more satisfactory frame of government than the one which it superseded, while not varying in many substantive features from that instrument. The Assembly secured at least one-half what the framers of the province had so long been fighting for, to wit: "That the representatives of the freemen, when met in Assembly, *shall have power to prepare and propose to the Governor and Council all such bills as they or the major part of them shall at any time see needful to be passed into law within the said province and territories.*" This was a great victory for the popular cause. Another equally important point gained was a clause declaring the General Assembly indissoluble for the time for which its members were elected, and giving it power to sit upon its own adjournments and committees, and to continue its sessions in order to propose and prepare bills, redress grievances, and impeach criminals.

The imperial business on which Markham had called the Council together in 1696 was charges made to the Lords of Trade that the Philadelphians had not only harbored Avery, the pirate, but had systematically encouraged the extensive smuggling operations conducted by the Scotch and the Dutch. After waiting in vain to hear from Markham, the Lords summoned Penn and laid the charges before him. The proprietary immediately (Sept. 5, 1697) wrote a sharp letter to Markham and the Council in regard to these charges, and also in regard to an anonymous letter he had received from Philadelphia, in which

that town is set forth as a modern Sodom, "overrun with wickedness;" "sins so very scandalous, openly committed in defiance of law and virtue, facts so foul that I am forbid by common modesty to relate them." A committee of Council was appointed to investigate the charges, by whom the piracy matter was explained, the contraband trade denied, and as for looseness and vice, they were admitted to have increased with the city's growth, but the magistracy ought not to be impeached for that, since they did their duty. However, it was admitted that public-houses were too numerous, and that vicious habits were increased on that account. A proclamation was issued covering the substance of the report and enjoining greater diligence upon magistrates in the suppression of vice. The lookout at Cape Henlopen was again stationed, and Markham, hearing of a French privateer on the coast, equipped and sent an armed vessel to take her. The British government took an effectual way to prevent the Philadelphians from renewing their connection with either pirates or smugglers by strengthening the power of the Admiralty Court. The judge of this court, Quarry, with Attorney-General Randolph, and an informer named Snead, gave Markham and his government no end of trouble and annoyance. Quarry and Randolph were particularly hostile to the Society of Friends, and wished to induce the English government to take Penn's charter away from him. They believed, or affected to do so, that Markham was actually in league with the pirates. Their accusations were the more serious from the fact that Capt. Kidd's crew had just been disbanded in New York and many of them had come to the Delaware. The judges of the Provincial Court came in collision with Quarry and were forced to resign. Randolph aggravated Markham to such a degree that finally the Deputy Governor seized the crown's attorney, sent him to prison and had him locked up.

We reproduce on the following page, from John Blair Linn's learned and satisfactory treatise on "The Duke of York's Laws," fac-similes of the autographs of Governors, Deputy Governors, presidents of Council, assistants in the government, and Speakers of Assembly from 1682 to the time of Penn's return and resumption of authority in his province. These signatures have a force and character of their own such as would seem to become the autographs of leading men. They include William Penn, proprietary and Governor, 1681-93, 1695-1718. William Markham, Deputy Governor of the province, 1681-82, 1695-99; of lower counties, 1691-93; Lieutenant-Governor of province, 1693-95. Thomas Lloyd, president of Council, 1684-88, 1690-91; president of governmental commission, 1688 (February to December); Deputy Governor of province, 1691-93. John Blackwell, Deputy Governor, 1688-90. John Goodson, Samuel Carpenter, assistants in government, 1695-96. Speakers of Assembly: Thomas Wynne, 1683; Nicholas More, 1684 (it is not certain that More was Speaker of the first Assembly of 1682);

Arthur Cooke, 1689; Joseph Growdon, 1690-93; William Clarke, 1692; David Lloyd, 1694; Edward Shippen, 1695; John Simcocke, 1696; John Blunston,

1697, 1699, 1700; Phineas Pemberton, 1698. All these are reproduced from authentic documents in the archives of the State.

Wm. Penn

Wm. Markham

The Hon^d

John Blackwell

Beaufletcher

John Goodson Edward Shippen

Sam: fensler

Shewynne

more

Arthur Cooke

Jos. Growdon

Wm. Clarke

David Lloyd

John Simcocke

John Blunston

Phineas Pemberton

There is not much more to say about the history of this period. The Colonial Records furnish a barren tale of new roads petitioned for and laid out; fires, and precautions taken against them and preparations to meet them; tax-bills, etc. William Penn sailed from Cowes on Sept. 9, 1699, for his province. He had arranged his English affairs; he brought his second wife and his daughter and infants with him; probably he expected this time at least to remain in

the province for good and all. He reached Philadelphia December 3d, and took lodgings with Edward Shippen. The city of his love was quiet, sad, gloomy. It was just beginning to react after having been frightfully ravaged by an epidemic of yellow fever, attended with great mortality, and the people who survived were sober and quiet enough to suit the tastes of the most exacting Quaker.

CHAPTER XI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PRIMITIVE
SETTLERS.

"So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round;
And here were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossom'd many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests, ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery."

COLORIDGE.

It was the boast of the Emperor Augustus, in regard to Rome, that "*Marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritium accepisset.*" When Penn came to Philadelphia with his colony of first purchasers he found a forest, with thickets and swamps, lying between two rivers, the sole population some scanty bands of savages, with here and there a hut or cabin, with a few acres about it of cleared land, marking the habitation of some pioneer of the white race. When the Lord Proprietary returned to Philadelphia on his second visit, in 1699, he found a province of ten thousand people and a city of seven hundred houses,¹ well laid off with streets, squares, wharves, market, churches, prison, etc., well governed, having an established foreign and domestic trade, and some substantial foundations laid for manufactures. No wonder Penn looked at his work with hearty enjoyment, as he wrote, in one of his last letters to the colony, "It was no small satisfaction to me that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect, and wanting nothing to make themselves happy but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves."²

The political history of this country, prospering and growing up in a flourishing way, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty, would not be complete if we did not pause here, at the beginning of a new century, and when the banks of the Delaware had been more or less occupied by Europeans for nearly two generations, to give something like a picture of the social and domestic life of the early settlers, the pioneers among those hardy pale-faces before whose advance the natives of the soil melted away and disappeared.

Gabriel Thomas, "A Historical Description of Pennsylvania," etc., 1697-98, says "two thousand houses, all inhabited," an obvious exaggeration. There were less than three thousand houses in 1749. The authority for the number of houses is Dr. James Mease's "Picture of Philadelphia," 1811. He gives the returns as follows: 1683, houses, 80; 1700, houses, 700; 1749, houses, 2076; 1769, houses, 4474, etc. The estimates of 1700 and 1749, however, were simply for Philadelphia proper. If we suppose that Thomas estimated, as later calculators did, so as to include Northern Liberties, Wicaco (Southwark), Passayunk, and Moyamensing, the seven hundred would (on the basis of later proportions) be only thirty-nine per cent. of the whole, and adding Kensington (Shackamaxon) we should easily have from eighteen hundred to two thousand houses.

² Penn's expository letter to Edward Shippen and "Old Friends," 29th June, 1710.

There is no distinct, positive evidence of permanent Indian villages anywhere upon the ground within the present limits of Philadelphia since the first white man explored the Delaware. The presence of the commonly found Indian relics at several places, as, for instance, at or near the mouth of the Pennepacka Creek, would indicate that villages had stood there at some period or other, but perhaps not within the time since white settlers began to come thither. The Minquas and the Delaware Indians, hunters and fishers, had still their permanent homes, with corn-fields and patches for beans, squashes, and melons. Their stockades were always hard by more or less of cleared land, as was the case with the Nanticoke villages in the Delaware peninsula, the Susquehannas at the mouth of Octorara Creek, and the Senecas and associated tribes dwelling between the Mohawk and the Allegheny Rivers. But the Delawares who occupied the site of Philadelphia, and the other tribes who visited them there must have been, from the necessity of the case, forest Indians, fishers, hunters, and trappers of the beaver, the otter, and the muskrat. No fact is better established than that the ground on which Philadelphia now stands was closely occupied when the white men first saw it, and until Penn's colonists came in, with a continuous growth of the primeval forests, except where swamp and marsh and the daily flow of the tide prevented the trees from growing. Capt. Cornelis Hendrickson, of Munnickhuyzen, in his report of August, 1616, to the States General of Holland, says of the country explored by him along the Delaware, "He hath found the said country full of trees, to wit, oak, hickories, and pines, which trees were in some places covered with vines. He hath seen in said country bucks and does, turkeys and partridges," inhabitants of the great woods. The Swedes and the Dutch both of them found it easier work to plant on the sandy plains and clear up the scrub pine thickets of the lower Delaware counties, or to dyke and reclaim the rich alluvial flats (valleys they called them) on the Brandywine and other kindred streams, than to attempt to cut down the enormous forest-trees that towered above the firm lands of Coaquannock. Capt. Markham, when he first reached Pennsylvania and the site of Philadelphia, reported back to his employer that "it is a very fine country, if it were not so overgrown with woods." But these woods had one advantage which the settlers ought to have appreciated. As is the case with the forest parts of Kentucky to-day, the deep, rich soil encouraged such an enormous girth and altitude of trees that there was little or no undergrowth, except where the swamps prevailed or the beavers had constructed their dams and felled a part of the trees. Hence the woods afforded the best sort of pasturage of good, sweet herbage, on which all sorts of stock thrive wonderfully. Traveling was not difficult in this sort of forest, and Capt. Markham notes that "We have very good horses and the men ride madly on them. They think

nothing of riding eighty miles a day, and when they get to their journey's end, turn their horses into the field. They never shoe them." Penn, also, in a letter already quoted from, speaks with alarm of the indiscriminate destruction of the forests around Philadelphia as tending to choke the country with undergrowth and thickets, destroy pasturage, and encourage all sorts of vermin to multiply. And Acrelius¹ says that "when the Christians first came to the country the grass was up to the flanks of animals, and was good for pasture and hay-making; but as soon as the country had been settled the grass has died out from the roots, so that scarcely anything but black earth is left in the forests. Back in the country, where the people have not yet settled, the same grass is found, and is called wild-rye."

In these deep but not impenetrable forests, these broad park-like expanses, with their profound shade from lofty trees and clambering vines, a few, but not many, Indians had their lodges or huts. The hunting and fishing were good; the deer came to the borders of all the small streams, and the surface of the waters was populous with dense flocks of wild-fowl, while their depths teemed with fishes of every size, from the sturgeon to the smallest pan-fish. The great oaks groves were favorite resorts of the wild pigeons, and there seems to have been a regular "pigeon-roost," or breeding-place for the gregarious bird (if we may accept the ordinary interpretation of such Indian names) at Moyamensing.² In the spring and early summer months, just after the Indians of the interior had planted their corn and beans, the Delaware and Schuylkill were filled with incalculably large shoals of the migratory fish, pressing towards fresh water in order to deposit their spawn, and pursued by schools of the predatory sea-fish. At these seasons the shores of the rivers were thronged with Indians and their lodges, while their canoes darted gayly over the surface, men, women, and children spearing or netting fish, and cleaning and drying them. The sturgeon, the porpoise, now and then the salmon, were all caught, with innumerable shad, herring, alewives and bream, pike and perch. In the autumn again the Indians were drawn to the river-shore by the wild fowl which flew low near the waters. This was in the interval after the corn harvesting and the beginning of the winter hunting. Besides this, the site of Philadelphia seems to have grown to be a familiar spot for councils and general conferences of the tribes. The Delawares, whether Heckewelder and the earlier students of Indian customs and traditions be right or not in conceiving this tribe to have been conquered and made "women" of by the fierce Iroquois, were on friendly terms with nearly all the other tribes.

They, and perhaps the land which it was conceded they owned, were in some sort of fashion under a "taboo." Probably the fact of their controlling the fish and oyster grounds of the Hudson and the Delaware, and the Susquehanna also in part, had a good deal to do with this. At any rate, at the time the whites came to the Delaware, and for many years afterwards, Shackamaxon, Wicaco, and other places within the area of the present city of Philadelphia were "neutral ground," where representatives of all the tribes on fresh water and east of the Alleghanies, between the Potomac, the Hudson, and the lakes,—the Iroquois, the Nanticokes, the Susquehannocks, and the Shawanees,—were accustomed to kindle their council fires, smoke the pipe of deliberation, exchange the wampum belts of explanation and treaty, and drive hard bargains with one another for peltries, provision, and supplies of various kinds. The trails made by the savages in going to and from this point of union were deep and broad at the time of the Dutch and Swedes, and were as far as convenient made available by the Europeans. But the Indian trails lay in directions best suited for their own convenience in going from their lodges to the rivers; whereas the white men's roads were between their own settlements. The Senecas and Oneida Indians used the waterways, descending the Susquehanna and Delaware in their light birches, and then, excepting a few portages, traversing the whole distance from their castles to Shackamaxon along the network of streams which make their way down from the great watershed of Western New York.

The first white settlers upon the site of Philadelphia, as has already been shown in the preceding chapters, and the only white settlers previous to the coming of Penn who made any distinct and durable impress upon the country, were the Swedes. Their first, second, and third colonies, which arrived out in 1638 and 1640, and the fifth colony also, which came between those of Printz and Risingh, contained a good many Dutch, and were indeed partly recruited and fitted out in the Netherlands, with Dutch capital and under Dutch management. The first expedition was commanded by Minuet, a Dutchman, and Sparling and Blommaert, the leading spirits in its management, were Dutchmen. So with the expedition of Hollandaer.³

It is also the fact that the Dutch sent parties frequently to the Zuydt River to settle and plant, as well as to trade with the Indians, and that Stuyvesant, after the recapture of Fort Casimir, the overthrow of Risingh's government and the subjugation of New Sweden, sent many of his people to the south side of Delaware to settle the country. For all that the Swedes were the first permanent colonists. The

¹ History of New Sweden, chap. viii.

² "Moyamensing signifies an unclean place, a dung-heap. At one time great flocks of pigeons had their roost in the forest and made the place unclean for the Indians, from whom it received its name"—Acrelius.

³ See Prof. Odhner's *Founding of New Sweden, Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. ii., where much new light is thrown on the obscure annals of these early settlements.

Dutch were adventurers, fond of trading and navigation. As a rule they did not bring their families to the Delaware with them, and they could easily reach their own countrymen in New York after English rule had been established by Lovelace, and the trade in furs and peltries was no longer profitable so low down on the Delaware. The Swedes and Finns, on the other hand, had no such migratory propensity. They were like trees, and grew in the soil to which they had been transplanted, as if they had never known any other. As a rule they had not emigrated from their native country from choice, but were transplanted by force. One reason, indeed, why the Dutch partners had been invited to co-operate with the Swedish West India Company was that emigrants and volunteers to the new country were so hard to procure. When the project of the Swedish colony was first thrown out by Usselinckx, and adroitly fostered by his able and ingenious pen in the various contributions to the *Argonautica Gustaviana*, the leading people in Scandinavia were full of the scheme and subscribed eagerly. The colony was to be a refuge for liberty and Protestantism; no slavery, no tyranny were to be tolerated there, and the widows and orphans made desolate by the Thirty Years' war were to find there new homes and cheap and certain means of livelihood. But this fever died out long before 1637.

The Swedish and Finnish peasants had very strong local attachments. They did not wish to abandon their native soil, in spite of the scanty livelihood it insured them. The "*Kalmar Nyckel*" and the "*Gripen*" were delayed a long time in getting their passengers for the first voyage under Minuet. It is not certainly known that of this party with Minuet, more than one person—Lieut. Moens Kling—was a Swede. Anders Svensson Bonde, Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, Per Andersson, Anders Larsson Daalbo, Sven Larsson, Sven Gunnarsson, his son, Sven Svenson, Lars Svensson Käckin, Moens Andersson, Iven Thorsson, and Mårten Göttersson were all of them certainly in New Sweden in 1640,¹ but it cannot be shown whether they came over with Minuet or with his successor, Hollandaer. As Prof. Odhner shows by the record, "the people entertained a repugnance to the long sea-voyage to the remote and heathen land. It is affirmed in the letters of the administration to the Governors of the provinces of Elfsborg and Värmland, that no one spontaneously offered to accompany Capt. Van Vliet (who was originally appointed to command the ship that bore Hollandaer's party, but was superseded before sailing by Capt. Powel Jansen). The government ordered these officers, therefore, to lay hands on such married soldiers as had either evaded service or committed some other offense, and transport them, with their wives and children, to

New Sweden, with the promise to bring them home again within two years,—to do this, however, 'justly and discreetly,' that no riot might ensue." In 1640 again the Governor of the province of Örebro was ordered to prevail upon the unsettled Finns to betake themselves, with their wives and children, to New Sweden. Lieut. Moens Kling, who was now back in Sweden, was sent to recruit for emigrants in the mining regions of Westmanland and Dalarne. He was also particularly instructed to enlist the "roaming Finns," who were tramps, or squatters living rent free in the forests. Next year, when Printz had received his commission, he was sent to hunt up the same class of persons, the Governors of Dal and Värmland receiving orders to capture and imprison, provided they could not give security or would not go to America, the "forest-destroying Finns," who, as described in a royal mandate, "against our edict and proclamation, destroy the forests by setting tracts of wood on fire, in order to sow in the ashes, and who maliciously fell trees." A trooper in the Province of Skaraborg, who had broken into the cloister garden of the royal monastery at Varnhem, in Westergothland, and committed the heinous crime of cutting down six apple-trees and two cherry-trees, was given the option of emigrating or being hung. The "*Charitas*," which sailed in 1641 for New Sweden, had four criminals in a total of thirty-two passengers, the greater number of the remainder being indentured servants and low persons. In fact, Lieut.-Col. Printz was himself a disgraced man, having been court-martialed and dismissed from the army for the dishonorable and cowardly capitulation of Chemnitz, of which he was commandant, so that his appointment to the colony of New Sweden was in some sort a punishment and a banishment.

But this very reluctance of the Swedes to emigrate made them the best of immigrants. They stayed in the place to which they had been removed, and became permanent fixtures in the new soil just as they had wished to be left in the old. They were quiet, orderly, decent, with no injurious vices, and in that kindly soil and climate the natural fruitfulness of their families was greatly increased. Acrelius, noticing this prolificness, says quaintly, "Joseph Cobson, in Chester, twenty years ago, had the blessing to have his wife have twins, his cow two calves, and his ewe two lambs, all on one night in the month of March. All continued to live." And he gives several other instances of the sort. Be this as it may, the Swedes remained on the spot through all the changes of administration as if *adscripti glebe*, and they multiplied so rapidly that when Carl Christopherson Springer wrote his letter (already quoted from) to Postmaster Thelin at Stockholm, in 1683, only forty-five years after the first immigration, he was able to furnish "a roll of all the (Swedish) men, women and children which are found and still live in New Sweden, now called Pennsylvania, on the Dela-

¹ *Rulle der Voleker*, in Royal Archives of Sweden, quoted by translator of Prof. Odhner's article in *Penns. Magazine*.

ware River," to the number of one hundred and eighty-eight families, nine hundred and forty-two persons. This does not include the Swedes on the other side of the Delaware, many families residing on the east bank being included in the list of "Tid-able" (taxable) persons returned to the Duke of York's Court at Upland, in November, 1677.¹

¹ It is perhaps expedient to give these lists, commencing with the one forwarded by Springer to Thelin. The names which are italicized in this list are such as likewise occur in the Upland list:

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Number in family.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Number in family.</i>
Hindrick Andersson.....	5	<i>Mårten Knutson.....</i>	6
Johan Andersson.....	9	<i>Ole Knutson.....</i>	6
Johan Andersson.....	7	<i>Hans Kyn's (widow).....</i>	5
Joran Andersen.....	5	<i>Jonas Kyn.....</i>	8
<i>John Aron.....</i>	6	<i>Matts Kyn.....</i>	3
Joran Bagman.....	3	<i>Nils Larsson.....</i>	5
<i>Anders Bengtson.....</i>	2	<i>Longer Persson Long.....</i>	6
<i>Bengt Bengtson.....</i>	2	<i>Hindrick Larsson.....</i>	6
<i>Anders Bonde.....</i>	11	<i>Lars Larsson.....</i>	7
Johan Bonde.....	1	<i>Lars Larsson.....</i>	1
<i>Seen Bonde.....</i>	5	<i>Anders Lock.....</i>	1
<i>Lars Bure.....</i>	5	<i>Moens Lock.....</i>	1
William Cullb.....	6	<i>Antong Long.....</i>	3
<i>Christian Classen.....</i>	7	<i>Robert Longhorn.....</i>	4
Jacob Classon.....	6	<i>Hans Lucasson.....</i>	1
Jacob Clemson.....	9	<i>Peter Lucasson.....</i>	1
<i>Eric Cock.....</i>	9	<i>Johan Månsson.....</i>	5
Gabriel Cock.....	7	<i>Peter Månsson.....</i>	10
<i>Johan Cock.....</i>	7	<i>Mårten Mårtensson, Jr.....</i>	10
<i>Capt. Lasse Cock.....</i>	11	<i>Mårten Mårtensson, Sr.....</i>	3
<i>Moens Cock.....</i>	8	<i>Mats Martenson.....</i>	4
Otto Ernst Cock.....	5	<i>John Mattson.....</i>	11
Hindrick Collman.....	1	<i>Nils Mattson.....</i>	3
Conrad Constantine.....	6	<i>Christopher Meyer.....</i>	7
Johan von Cullen.....	5	<i>Paul Mink.....</i>	7
<i>Ole Dalbo.....</i>	7	<i>Eric Molica.....</i>	8
Peter Dahlo.....	9	<i>Anders Nilsson.....</i>	3
Hindrick Danielsson.....	5	<i>Jonas Nilsson.....</i>	4
Thomas Dennis.....	6	<i>Michael Nilsson.....</i>	5
Anders Drethrickson.....	7	<i>Hans Olsson.....</i>	5
<i>Ole Drethrickson.....</i>	7	<i>Johan Ommeresson.....</i>	5
Stephan Ekhorn.....	5	<i>Lorentz Osterson.....</i>	2
Eric Ericson.....	1	<i>Hindrick Parchen.....</i>	4
Goran Ericson.....	1	<i>Bengt Paulsson.....</i>	6
Matts Ericson.....	1	<i>Gustaf Paulsson.....</i>	5
Hindrick Fuke.....	5	<i>Ole Paulsson.....</i>	9
<i>Casper Fisk.....</i>	10	<i>Peter Paulson.....</i>	5
Matthias de Foff.....	6	<i>Hans Peterson.....</i>	3
Anders Frende.....	4	<i>Reiner Peterson.....</i>	2
Nils Frende's (widow).....	7	<i>Anders Rambo.....</i>	6
Ole Fransson.....	7	<i>Jonas Rambo.....</i>	6
Eric Gastenberg.....	3	<i>Jan Rambo, Sr.....</i>	2
Nils Gastenberg.....	3	<i>Peter Rambo, Jr.....</i>	6
Eric Gustrasson.....	2	<i>Mats Repott.....</i>	3
Gusta Gustafsson.....	6	<i>Nils Repott.....</i>	5
Gustaf Gustafsson.....	8	<i>Ole Resse.....</i>	5
Hans Gustafsson.....	7	<i>Anders Robertson.....</i>	3
Jonas Gustafsson.....	3	<i>Paul Sahlang.....</i>	3
Mans (Mous) Gustafsson.....	2	<i>Isaac Savoy.....</i>	7
Johan Grantrum.....	3	<i>Johan Schrage.....</i>	6
Lars Halling.....	1	<i>John Seate.....</i>	4
Moens Hallton.....	9	<i>Bror Seneca.....</i>	5
Israel Helm.....	5	<i>Jonas Scagge's (widow).....</i>	6
Johan Hinderson, Jr.....	3	<i>Johan Skrika.....</i>	1
<i>Anders Hindrickson.....</i>	4	<i>Matts Skrika.....</i>	3
<i>Jacob Hindrickson.....</i>	5	<i>Anders Skrika.....</i>	3
<i>Johan Hindrickson.....</i>	5	<i>Carl Springer.....</i>	5
<i>Matts Holsten.....</i>	4	<i>Moens Staake.....</i>	1
<i>Anders Homman.....</i>	9	<i>Christian Stalcop.....</i>	3
<i>Anders Hoppmann.....</i>	9	<i>Peter Stalcop.....</i>	6
<i>Frederick Hoppmann.....</i>	7	<i>Israel Stark.....</i>	6
<i>Johan Hoppmann.....</i>	7	<i>Matts Stark.....</i>	1
Nicolas Hoppmann.....	5	<i>Adam Stedham.....</i>	3
Hindrick Iwarsson.....	9	<i>Jonas Stillman.....</i>	8
<i>Hindrick Jacob.....</i>	3	<i>Jonas Stillman.....</i>	5
Matts Jacob.....	1	<i>Lucas Stedham.....</i>	7
<i>Hindrick Jacobson.....</i>	4	<i>Lyoof Stedham.....</i>	9
<i>Peter Jecum.....</i>	9	<i>Anders Stedham.....</i>	8
<i>Diedrick Johansson.....</i>	6	<i>Jonas Stillman.....</i>	5
Lars Johansson.....	6	<i>Jonas Stillman.....</i>	4
Simon Johansson.....	10	<i>Peter Stillman.....</i>	4
Anders Jonson.....	4	<i>Olte Stoeby.....</i>	3
<i>Jon Jonson.....</i>	2		
<i>Moens Jonson.....</i>	6		
Nils Jonson.....	6		
Thomas Jonson.....	3		
Christiern Jonansson.....	1		
<i>Hans Jonansson.....</i>	11		
<i>Jonas Jonansson.....</i>	5		
Stephen Jöransson.....	5		
Lasse Kump.....	6		
Frederick Kung.....	6		

The Swedes on the Delaware have sometimes been reproached as a lazy people because they did not clear the forests at a rapid rate, nor build themselves fine houses. But this is not the character which Penn gives them, nor that to which their performances entitle them. Penn says, "They are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Number in family.</i>	<i>Carl Xthoper Springer.</i>
Gunnar Svenson.....	5	Hindrick Jacobson.
Johan Svenson.....	9	Jacob Clemsson.
William Talley.....	7	Olof Rosse.
Elias Tay.....	7	Hindrick Andersson.
<i>Christiern Thomas' (widow).....</i>	4	Hindrick Iwarsson.
Ole Thorsson.....	4	Simon Johanssen.
Hindrick Tossa.....	5	Paul Mink.
Johan Tossa.....	4	Olof Paulsson.
Lars Tossa.....	1	Olof Petersson.
Matts Tossa.....	1	Mårten Mårtensson, Jr.
Corneilus Van der Weer.....	7	Eric Mollica.
Jacob Van der Weer.....	7	Nils Mattson.
Jacob Van der Weer.....	3	Antony Long.
William Van der Weer.....	1	Israel Helm.
Jesper Wallraven.....	7	Anders Homan.
Jonas Wallraven.....	1	Ole Dedricksson.
Anders Weinom.....	1	Hans Petersson.
Anders Wihler.....	4	Hindrick Collman.
		Jonas Gustafsson.
		Moens Hallton.
		Hans Olsson.
		Anders Seneca.
		Bror Seneca.
		Esik Anderson.
		Matts de Voss.
		Johan Hindricksson.
		Anders Weinom.
		Stephan Jöransson.
		Olof Kinkov.
		Anders Dedricksson.
		Anders Mink.

II.

List of those still living who were born in Sweden:

Peter Rambo, 1 Fifty-four years in *Anders Bonde,* 1 New Sweden. *Anders Bengtson.*
Seen Seneca.
Michael Nilsson.
Moens Staake.
Mårten Mårtensson, Sr.

Names of Taxables not included in above List.

Ole Neelson and 2 sons.....	3	Harmen Ennis.....	1
Hans Moens.....	2	Pelle Ericsson.....	1
Eric Poulsen.....	1	Benck Saling.....	1
Hans Jurian.....	1	Andries Saling.....	1
Ole Swansen and son.....	1	Jan Bertelsen.....	1
Justa Daniels and serv.....	2	Hendrick Holman.....	1
Hendrick Jacobs (upon y ^e Island).....	1	Bertell Laersen.....	1
Anders Swen and father.....	2	Hendrick Tade.....	1
Ole Swansen and son.....	2	Andries Bertelsen.....	1
Swen Lom.....	1	Jan Bertelsen.....	1
Ole Stille.....	1	Jan Cornelissen and son.....	2
Dunck Williams.....	1	Lace Mortens.....	1
Tho. Jacobs.....	1	Antony Matson.....	1
Matthias Claese.....	1	Claes Schram.....	1
Jan Claasen and 2 sons.....	3	Robert Waide.....	1
Frank Walcker.....	1	Neole Laerson and sons.....	2
Peter Matson.....	1	Will Orlian.....	1
Jan Nielson.....	1	Knoet Mortensen.....	1
Jan Schooten.....	1	Ole Coeckoe.....	1
Jan Justa and 2 sons.....	3	Caroll Jansen.....	1
Peter Andreas and son.....	2	Rich. Frederix.....	1
Lace Dalbo.....	1	Jurian Hertsveder.....	1
Rich ^d Puckett.....	1	June Justase.....	1
Mr. Jones y ^e hatter.....	1	Hans Hofman and 2 sons.....	3
		Poull Corvorn.....	1

"Hereditary surnames," says Mr. Edward Armstrong (quoting M. A. Lower, on English Surnames), "are said to have been unknown in Sweden before the fourteenth century. A much later date must be assigned as the period when they became permanent, for surnames were not in every case established among the Swedes in Pennsylvania until some time after the arrival of Penn, when intermarriage, and the more rigid usage of the English, compelled them to adhere to the last combination; as for example with respect to the name of *Ola Paul-son*, the 'son' became permanently affixed to the name, and ceased to distinguish the degree of relationship." This, however, is not singular with the Scandinavian people, Mr. Armstrong should have observed. It has prevailed in all countries down to a late period, and especially among the English races, where the corruption of surnames is still going on. No bad spelling can do more harm than bad pronouncing, nor is it worse to turn Lorenz, Lacer, Larso into Lasse (just as common people nowadays pronounce arsenal as if it were spelt assenal) than to corrupt Esterling into Stradling, Majorbanks into Marchbanks, Pierce into Purse, Taliaferro into Toliver, Enrough into Doughty, etc. The Swedish system, however, is a little complicated, and made much more so by the loose spelling of contemporary chroniclers and clerks. Some instances of the transmutations of names may help the reader to enlighten himself about these

in the culture or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired to have enough, not a superfluity." He speaks also of their respect to authority, adding, "As they are a people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few men more sober and industrious." In speaking of their lack of diversified husbandry, Penn forgot that their leading crop was tobacco, which, being without slaves almost entirely, they had to cultivate with their own hands. Their intelligence must have been at least equal to their loyalty, for they were more than fully represented, on the basis of comparative population, in all the early assemblies, councils, and magistrates' courts, under Lovelace and Penn, and they were the only interpreters Penn could get in his intercourse with the Indians. They were not devoid, moreover, of what would nowadays be esteemed remarkable industrial enterprise. There can be no doubt that the Swedes—probably those "wandering Finns" from the Swedish iron ore regions—discovered and worked the ore banks of Cecil and Harford Counties, Md., long before George Talbot's manor of Susquehanna was patented or Principio Furnace thought of. The mill afterwards used by Talbot and to which all his tenants were compelled to bring their corn to be ground was originally started by the Swedes to drive a rude bellows blast of their own.

The Swedes, as emigrants from an exceedingly well

lists. Eric Goranson is Eric, son of Goran (Jöran), and Goran (Jöran) Ericsson is Goran, son of Eric, a grandson of Goran. Peter Petersen is Peter, son of Peter; Swensen was originally Swen. Nilson, or Neelson, may be found transposed to Jones, as in the case of the son of Jonas Nilson, styled Mouns (Moens, Mäns), Andrew, and Neils Jones. Sometimes the puzzle is made worse by an *alias*,—e.g., Jans Justasse (*alias* Illack), and Pelle Laerson (*alias* Put Pelle). Changes in orthography have helped materially to confound names. Bengtsten becomes Banskson and Benson; Boen, Bonde, becomes Bond and Boon; Swensen becomes Swanson and Swann; Cock becomes Cook and Cox; Juccum, or Jookum, becomes Yocum; Kyn, or Kieu, becomes Keen; Mortense, Martens. The descendants of Lasse Cock, son of Oele Cock, may be called either Allison or Willson. Many older Scandinavian names have been still more violently changed in their orthography in the course of the trituration of centuries, or in their passage to another language more or less affiliated. Thus it is hard to detect, reading as we run, that Ulfsteit is simply the Danish form of the Norwegian Vulfstán; that in English, Harald hinn Harfagra is Harold Fairfax; Rollo, Rolf, and Ralph are the same. In the lists given above, Huling, or Halling, becomes Fulling; Göstafrson becomes Justis, Justice, or Justison; Kyn, Keen; Colu, Colen; Van Colen, Collins; Hassellus, Issilis; Coleberg, Cotesburg; Deidrickson, Derrickson; Cock, Kock, etc.; Hendrickson, Henderson; Marten, Morton; Iwarson, Iverson and Ivison; Jonasson, Jones; Hoppman, Hoffman; Whiler, Wheeler; Nilson, or Neelson, Neilson, or Nelson; Fisk is sometimes Fish; Bure, Buren or Burns; Collman, Coleman; Broor, Brewer; Anders, Andrews; Matt, Matthews; De Voss, Vose; Marte, Martin; Staake, Stark and Stack; Rosse, Rosser; Vander Weer, Vandiver; Pehrsson, Pierson and Pearson; Paulsaen, Poulson; Paul, Powell; Olle, Will, William; Sahlung, Saling; Rasse, Raese, Raisin; Brita, Bridget; Gostaf, Gustavus; Knute, Knott; Lucasson, Lucas; Incoren, Inkhorn; Ommereson, Emerson; Grautrum, Grantham; Claassen, Clawson; Calb, Cobb; Oelssen, Wilson, etc. Lars and Laers become Lear; Laerson, Lawson; Goron, Jöran, Jurien, and Julian; Bengst is Benedict, or Benjamin, or Bennett; Halling is Hewling; Senecka is Simeickson; Voorhees, Ferris.

watered country, cut up in every direction by bays, sounds, rivers, lakes, and fiords, naturally followed the water-courses in the new country. They found a homelike something in the network of streams back of Tinnecum Island and thence to the Schuylkill, and in the rivers and meadows about Christiana Creek and the Brandywine. They clung to these localities tenaciously, and the only thing in Penn's government which roused their resentment and threatened to shake their loyalty was the attempted interference with their titles to these lands and the actual reduction of their holdings by the proprietary and his agents. It is a fact that some of their tenures were very uncertain and precarious in the eyes of plain and definite English law, and probably the Quakers took advantage of this to acquire escheat titles to many very desirable pieces of land which the Swedes fancied to be indisputably their own. The purchasers of New Sweden from the Indians had vested the title to the entire tract bought in the Swedish crown, and this right of property was recognized and exercised by the crown. Two land grants from Queen Christina are on record in Upland Court, one to Lieut. Swen Schute, and Printz several times solicited a grant to himself, which finally he obtained, giving the property to his daughter Armgart, Pappagoya's wife. The other land-holders secured their tracts in accordance with the fifth article of the queen's instructions to "the noble and well-born John Printz." In this article, after describing the bounds of the territory of New Sweden, and the terms of the contract under which it was acquired from "the wild inhabitants of the country, its rightful lords," it is laid down that this tract or district of country extends in length about thirty German miles, but in breadth and into the interior it is, in and by the contract, conditioned that "her Royal Majesty's subjects and the participants in this Company of navigators may hereafter occupy as much land as they may desire." The land thus bought in a single block and attached to the crown was originally managed by the Swedish West India Company. The revenue and public expenses were paid out of an excise on tobacco, and it was the interest of the company to have tobacco planted largely. In part this was accomplished by servants indentured to the company, who were sent over and paid regular wages by the month.¹

¹ Mäns Kling, lieutenant and surveyor, received forty riksdaler per month; he commanded on the Schuylkill. Sundry adventurers, seeking experience, received free passage out and maintenance, but no pay. Olof Persson Stille, millwright, received at start fifty daler, and to be paid for whatever work he did for the company. Mats Hansson, gunner at the fort and tobacco-grower, on wages; Anders Hansson, servant of the company, to cultivate tobacco, received twenty riksdaler per year and a coat; he served four years. Carl Jansson, book-keeper, sent with the expedition "for punishment," was afterwards favored by Printz, who gave him charge of the store-house at Tinnecum, paid him ten riksdaler a month wages, and recommended the home government to pardon him. Peter Larsson Cock, father of Lasse Cock, came out originally for punishment (*ein gefangener knecht*, a bond servant), receiving his food and clothing and two dollars at the start. He was free

In part the land was regularly conveyed to settlers who sought to better their fortunes; finally, criminals and malefactors were sent out to some extent at first to labor in chain-gangs upon the roads and public works. The land secured by settlers and servants who had worked out their term of years was granted in fee under power which came directly or indirectly from the crown. The difficulties about title which vexed the Swedes grew out of the changes in the tenure under the Swedish, Dutch, English, and later under Penn's grants, all of them having peculiar features of their own. It is important to understand these differences, which have not been clearly explained by writers on the subject, some of whom have hastily concluded that the land tenure system in Pennsylvania originated with Penn's laws. So far as land is concerned, Penn's "great law" and the subsequent enactments were all founded upon the "Duke of York's laws," the titles under which Penn was particular to quiet and secure.¹

in four years, and became afterwards a judge of Upland Court. These indentured servants were not badly treated either by the Swedes or the Friends. Their usual term of service was four years, and they received a grant of land, generally fifty acres, at the expiration of the term. The system was originally contrived in Maryland in order to increase the labor of the province, and many of the bound servants were persons of good character but without means, who sold their services for four or five years in order to secure a passage across the ocean to the new land of promise. A great many of them went to Pennsylvania during Penn's *régime* and afterwards, both from Great Britain and the continent of Europe. The terms upon which they were hired to the different colonies were nearly the same in every case. The following is about the form commonly used. It may be found in John Gilmary Shea's introduction to Gowan's reprint of Alsop's "Character of the Province of Maryland," London, 1666: "The Forme of Binding a Servant. 'This indenture, made the ____ day of ____, in the ____ year of our Sovereigne Lord King Charles &c between ____ of the one party and ____ of the other party, Witnesseth that the said ____ doth hereby covenant, promise and grant to and with the said ____ his Executors and Assigns, to serve him from the day of the date hereof, untill his first and next arrivall in ____ and after for and during the terme of ____ yeares, in such service and employment as the said ____ or his assignes shall there employ him, according to the custome of the country in the like kind. In consideration whereof, the said ____ doth promise and grant, to and with the said ____ to pay for his passage and to find him with Meat, Drinke, Apparell and Lodging, with other necessities during the said terme; and at the end of the said terme, to give him one whole yeares provision of Corne and fifty acres of Land, according to the order of the country. In witnesse whereof, the said ____ hath hereunto put his hand and seale the day and yeere above written.

"Sealed and delivered }
in the presence of }



¹ Penn, in fact, borrowed many other things from the duke's laws, particularly the much admired provision for "peacemakers," or arbitrators, to prevent litigation, which provision, by the way, became a dead letter within ten years after its enactment, and was dropped in Lieutenant-Governor Markham's Act of Settlement in 1686. This was much more actively enforced in the duke's laws, which provide that "all actions of Debt or Trespass under the value of five pounds between Neighbours shall be put to Arbitration of two indifferent persons of the Neighbourhood, to be nominated by the Constable of the place; And if either or both parties shall refuse (upon any pretence) their Arbitration, Then the next Justice of the peace, upon notice thereof by the Constable, shall choose three other indifferent persons, who are to meet at the Dissenter's charge from the first Arbitration, and both Plaintiff and Defendant are to be concluded by the award of the persons so chosen by the justice."

The Swedes, both under Minuet's and later instructions, were allowed to take up as much land as they could cultivate, avoiding land already improved and that reserved for the purposes of the Swedish West India Company. This land, so taken up, was to remain to the possessors and their descendants "as allodial and hereditary property," including all appurtenances and privileges, as "fruit of the surface, minerals, springs, rivers, woods, forests, fish, chase, even of birds, the establishments upon water, wind-mills, and every advantage which they shall find established or may establish." The only conditions were allegiance to the Swedish crown and a payment of three florins per annum *per family*.² This form of quit-rent per family gave something of a communal aspect to the Swedish tenures, and it was probably the case that but few tracts were definitely bounded and surveyed in the earlier days of the settlement. Governor Printz received no special instructions in regard to land grants further than to encourage agriculture and to use his discretion in all matters, guided by the laws, customs, and usages of Sweden. We may suppose he followed the colonial system which was already in operation. Governor Risingh's instructions from the Swedish General College of Commerce required him to give the same title and possession to those who purchased land from the savages as to those who bought from the company, with all allodial privileges and franchises, "but no one to enter into possession but by consent of the government, so that no one be deprived improperly of what he already possesses." The Swedish tenure, therefore, was by grant from the crown, through the Governor, the quit-rent being commuted into a capitation tax, payable annually by heads of families, the only limits to tracts granted being that they do not trespass on other holdings and are cultivated. After the conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch the Swedes were ordered to come in, take the oath of allegiance, and have their land titles renewed. The Dutch were very liberal in their grants, especially under D'Hinoyossa, but the tenure of lands was entirely changed, and a quit-rent was now required to be paid of 12 stivers per morgen, equal to 3.6 cents per acre.³ This was a high rent, in comparison with that which the Swedes had been paying, and with the rents charged by the English. Besides, the land had to be surveyed, and the cost of survey, record, and deeds for a tract of 200 or 300 acres was 500 or 600 pounds of tobacco. Many Swedes were unwilling, some perhaps unable, to pay these fees and rents; some abandoned their lands entirely, some sold, and

² See grant to Henry Hockhammer, etc., Hazard's Annals, i. 53.

³ Writers have caused confusion in this matter by computing the silver at 2 cents, and the guilder at 40 cents. The actual value of the stiver, as settled by the Upland court at this time, was $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of a penny, the guilder thus being worth 6 pence. In sterling values, therefore, the rent of an acre would have been 3.6 cents. In Pennsylvania currency, which perhaps was the standard used in the Upland calculations, the rent would be 2.21 cents per acre.

many paid no heed to the mandate, thus in fact converting themselves into squatters.

After the English took possession new oaths of allegiance and new confirmations of title were required. Andross and Lovelace made patents very freely, doing all they could to promote and extend the settlements, but the Duke of York's laws exacted a quit-rent of one bushel of wheat per one hundred acres. Wheat, as we find by the Upland record, was taken for taxes (and of course for rent likewise) at the rate of "five guilders per scipple,"—five guilders per *scheepel* or bushel, thirty pence sterling, or sixty cents, or thirty pence Pennsylvania currency, equal to forty-four and one-fifth cents,—a rent, therefore, of three-fifths or two-fifths of a cent per acre. Under Penn the regular quit-rents were a penny per acre, the conveyancing costing fourteen to eighteen shillings per plat, and the surveying and registering as much more, say thirty shillings, or seven dollars and fifty cents, initial payment, and two dollars annual payment per one hundred acres. This was in addition to the local tax for county and court expenses, amounting to thirty-five or forty guilders per tydable,—four dollars and fifty cents per family or per freeman,—and an occasional "war tax" of a penny in the pound on a valuation which, in 1694, reached £182,000 currency. There is no wonder that the Swedes, who had under their own rules paid only a nominal rent, should have shrunk in fright at these heavy charges, and either gave up their land or neglected to take out deeds for it, and thus lost possession of it entirely under Penn's severe law of 1707. As Acrelius says, in his general statement of these changes of tenure, "Under the Swedish government no deeds were given for the land; at least there are no signs of any, excepting those which were given as briefs by Queen Christina.¹ The Hollanders, indeed, made out quite a mass of deeds in 1656, but most of them were upon building lots at Sandhook. Meanwhile, no rents were imposed. The land was uncleared, the inhabitants lazy, so that the income was scarcely more than was necessary for their sustenance. But when the English administration came, all were summoned to take out new deeds for their land in New York. . . . A part took the deeds; but others did not trouble themselves about them, but only agreed with the Indians for a piece of land for which they gave a gun, a kettle, a fur coat, or the like, and they sold them again to others for the same, for the land was superabundant, the inhabitants few, and the government not strict. . . . Many who took deeds upon large tracts of land were in great distress about their rents, which, however, were very light if people cultivated the lands, but heavy enough when they made no use of them; and they therefore trans-

ferred the greater part of them to others, which their descendants now lament."²

Acrelius is not just to his fellow-countrymen in calling them idle. They were timid, and they lacked enterprise to enable them to grapple with the possibilities of the situation. They were simple peasants of a primitive race and a secluded country, thrown in among people of the two most energetic commercial and mercantile nations the world has ever seen. They were among strangers, who spoke strange tongues and had ways such as the Swedes could not understand. It is no wonder that they should have shrunk back, bewildered, and contented themselves with small farms in retired neighborhoods. But these small farms, after the Swedes settled down upon them, were well and laboriously tilled, and, small though they were, we have the acknowledgment of the Swedes themselves that they yielded a comfortable support, with a goodly surplus each year besides to those large and rapidly increasing families which attracted William Penn's attention and commanded his admiration.

The husbandry of the Swedes was homely, but it was thorough. The soil which they chiefly tilled was light and kindly. In the bottoms, swamps, and marshes along the streams, which the Swedes knew quite as well as the Dutch how to dyke and convert into meadows,—the Brandywine meadows are to this day famous as examples of reclaimed lands,—the soil was deep, rich, and very productive. The earlier Swedes did not sow the cultivated grasses on these meadows, they simply dyked them and mowed the natural grass, planting corn and tobacco, and sowing wheat wherever it was dry enough. Acrelius speaks of the high price which these lands brought in his time—"six hundred dollars copper coin [sixty dollars] per acre"—when thoroughly ditched and reclaimed, though constantly liable to inundations from the tunneling of the muskrat and the crayfish. The Upland soils were excellently adapted to corn, wheat, and tobacco when they had been cleared. The forest growth on these soils comprised the several varieties of American oak familiar in the Middle States, the black-walnut, chestnut, hickory, poplar (tulip-tree), sassafras, cedar, maple, the gums, locust, dogwood, wild cherry, persimmon, button-wood, spice-wood, pine, alder, hazel, etc. The forests gave the Swedes much trouble, and undoubtedly had an influence upon the modes of cultivation employed. The cost of labor made it difficult to clear the thick woods.³

² Acrelius, *Hist. New Sweden*, pp. 106-7. Penna. Hist. Society's edition, 1874.

¹ No deeds are found because the Dutch destroyed the Swedish local records, and they and the English required all deeds in the hands of Swedes to be surrendered in exchange for new deeds under the new government's seal.

³ Wages are always interesting to study, for their averages are evidences which cannot be contradicted of the condition of a people. The earlier servants in the employment of the Swedish company received, as a rule, twenty copper dollars (two dollars of our money) for outfit and twenty *riksdaler* wages per annum (equal to twelve dollars). The wages of freemen, however, were more than double this, and these wages moreover included board and lodgings. With wheat, at an average, fifty cents per bushel, a freeman's wages were equal to about sixty dollars a year at

Hence the common expedient was resorted to of removing bushes and undergrowth only and girdling the larger trees, which were left to stand leafless and dead till they rotted and fell, when the logs were after a time "niggered up," or cut into lengths, rolled into piles, and burnt. It was difficult to plow between and among so many trunks and stumps, and this led the Swedes, in order further to economize labor, to resort to a system of husbandry which still, in a great measure, regulates the pitching and rotation of crops in the Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia peninsula. The ground was cleared in the winter, and then, unless tobacco was grown, the "new ground," as it was called, was planted in corn in the spring. The process, which is known as "listing," was to throw two furrows or four furrows together, by plowing up and down the field instead of around it, leaving a series of ridges with an unplowed space between. The soil of the ridges was pulverized with the harrow and then stepped off into hills about four feet apart, the corn-planter dropping his five grains in each hill, scooping the hill out, dropping and covering with a heavy hoe,—a simple operation which experts dispatched with two motions of the implement. At the last working of the corn, when it had grown stout and waist or breast high, the "middle" of the lists were plowed out and the fresh earth thrown about the roots of the vigorous plant. This "listing" process was found excellently well suited to the low, flat lands of the peninsula, as, besides saving labor, it afforded a sort of easy drainage, the bottom of every furrow being a small ditch, and this enabled the

farmers to plant their corn much earlier than they otherwise could have done. When the corn had gone through the "tasseling" and "silking" processes and the ear was fully developed, the "blades" were pulled and the "tops" cut for fodder. In September the ground was lightly plowed with small shovel-plows (as yet the "cultivator" was not) and sowed in wheat, the stalks being broken down after frost with the hoe or by running rollers over them. Wheat thus sowed on ridges was so well protected by the drainage from frost and "winter-killing" that many farmers in the peninsula still throw their wheat-ground into cornrows even where they use drills to sow it. Where wheat was not sowed on the corn-ground, and oats was not sowed in the spring, the stalk-field was summer-fallowed, being plowed in May, July, and again before seeding. The wheat was cut with sickles, bound in sheaves, and thrown into "dozens," each shock being expected to yield a bushel. Rye, wheat, and oats were thrashed with flails, and the former, sowed in November, was a favorite crop with the Swedes, the straw being sometimes shipped to Europe. Buckwheat was often sowed on the rye, wheat, or oats stubble, the grain being used to feed stock. Flax and oats were sowed in the spring, either on the corn-ground or stubble-fields. Potatoes were planted on the bare ground and covered with the listing-plow. Sweet potatoes, however, were planted in hills after the ground had been deeply furrowed. Turnips were not much sown, except on new ground, and tobacco, in Acrelius' time, was only planted on such tracts or in the gardens.

The implements were few and rude, as were also the apparatus of the farm animals. The plows often had wooden mould-boards, and were not capable of working deeply; the harrows were of the primitive triangular shape, and the oxen or horses working them were attached by means of double links to the apex of the V. The ox-yokes had bows made of bent hickory-wood, the horses' traces were of twisted deerhide, and the collars of plaited corn-husks. The rest of the harness was home-made, of the same serviceable deer-skins, and the farmers and their lads, all fond of riding on horseback, were content with a bear- or a deer-skin girt about the horse, with a rawhide surcingle in lieu of a saddle, imitating the Indians in dispensing with stirrups. Beans, pumpkins, squashes, and melons were commonly planted in the hills with the corn. Much cabbage was produced, but the variety of other vegetables was limited to onions, peas, beets, parsnips, turnips, radishes, peppers, lettuce, pepper-grass and scurvy-grass, with a few herbs, such as chamomile, sage, thyme, rue, sweet marjoram, lavender, savory, etc., to supply the domestic pharmacy, or afford seasoning for the sausages, liver-puddings, head-cheese, etc., which were made at "hog-killing."

Penn, in his letter to the Free Society of Traders, speaks rather disparagingly of the orchards of the

present values, besides keep. The Upland records show that just prior to Penn's occupancy wages had sensibly bettered. In March, 1780, Thomas Kerby and Robbert Drawton, servants, sued Gilbert Wheeler for wages. Kerby wanted pay for seventy days, between October 7th and January 7th, "so much as is usual to be given per day, w^{ch} is fower (4) guilders pr diem w^{ch} costs." The court allowed Kerby and Drawton each fifty stivers (two and a half guilders) per day, the latter to be paid "in Corne or other good pay in y^e River." The four guilders was probably the "usual" rate of summer wages, the award of the court represented fall and winter wages. "Corne in y^e river"—that is, delivered where it could be shipped—was valued at three guilders per scipple (or bushel). The winter wages therefore were equivalent to thirty cents a day in modern money, but in purchasing power, rating corn at the average present price of fifty cents per bushel, amounted to forty-one and sixty-six hundredths cents per day, summer rates being actual forty-eight cents, with a purchasing power of sixty-two cents. March 12, 1678, Israel Helm bough^d of Robbert Hutchinson, attorney for Ralph Hutchinson, "assignee of Daniel Juniper, of Aconac," "a Certaine man Servant named William Bromfield, for y^e terme & space of four Jears [years] servitude now next Ensuing. . . . The above named Servant, William Bromfield, being in Cort, did promise to serve the s^d m^r Israel helm faithfully & truly the aboves^d terme of four Jears. The worp^d Cort (upon y^e Request of both parties concerned) Did order that w^{ch} is abovesaid to be so recorded." The price paid by Helm was "twelve hundred Guilders." This was equal to three hundred guilders per annum, and it shows how valuable labor was and how prosperous agriculture must have been at that day on the Delaware. Helm paid (and other court entries show he simply paid the average price for such labor) one hundred and forty-four dollars in money (the present exchangeable value of which in corn is one hundred and ninety-two dollars) for four years' services of a man whom he had to board, lodge, clothe, care for when sick, and provide with an outfit when free. At twenty years' purchase this would be nearly one thousand dollars for a servant for life. Farming must have been very profitable to enable such prices to be paid.

Swedes, as if they declined to profit by the peculiar adaptedness of their soils to fruit culture. Yet they must have been the first to naturalize the apple, the cherry, and the peach on the Delaware, and we must give them the credit of having anticipated the cherry and apple orchards of Eastern Pennsylvania and Cumberland Valley, and the grand peach-tree rows for which the streets of Germantown became famous. It was a Dutchman, settled among the earlier Swedes,¹ who produced the best cooking apple, and one of the best sort for eating—the Vandevere—that is grown in the Middle States, and it was descendants of Delaware Swedes² who earliest cultivated the peach by wholesale, and made it an article of commerce. The peach-tree probably came to Delaware from Maryland, having traveled along the coast from the early Spanish settlements in Florida, but it has nowhere become so completely naturalized, so healthy, so productive of large, succulent, delicious fruit as in the country which the Swedes first reclaimed from the wilderness. In the time of Acrelius the peach was supposed to be indigenous, and was cultivated so extensively as to be relied upon as a standard food for swine.

Domestic animals increased very rapidly among the Swedes. They imported their own milch kine and oxen in the first instance, but they found horses and swine running at large and wild, many having escaped into the "backwoods" from the Maryland planters.³ These horses had a good touch of the true Barb blood in them, as descendants of Virginia thoroughbred sires, and they were probably crossed with pony stock from Sweden. It seems likely that it is to this cross and the wild, half-starved existence they have led for two hundred years, living on salt grass and asparagus and fish, bedding in the sand and defying storm and mosquitoes, that we owe the incomparable breed of "beach" or Chingoteague ponies, fast, wiry, true as steel, untiring, sound, with hoofs as hard as iron and spirits that never flag. Acrelius noticed them acutely. He would not have been a parson if he had not had a keen eye for a horse. He says, "The horses are real ponies, and are seldom found over sixteen hands high. He who has a good riding horse never employs him for draught, which is also the less necessary, as journeys are for the most part made on horseback. It must be the result of this, more than of any particular breed in the horse, that the country excels in fast horses, so that horse-races are often made for very high stakes. A good horse will go more than a Swedish mile (six and three-quarter English miles) in an hour, and is not to be bought for less than six hundred dollars copper coinage" (sixty dol-

lars). The cattle, says Acrelius, are middling, yielding, when fresh and when on good pasture, a gallon of milk a day. The upland meadows abounded in red and white clover, says this close observer, but only the first Swedish settlers had stabling for their stocks, except in cases of exceptionally good husbandry. Horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs ran out all the time, being inclosed at night, and sometimes sheltered in severe weather. They were, however, fed with grain, such as oats, corn, and buckwheat, in addition to fodder, in winter, the food of milch cows being bran or other ground mill-stuff. Acrelius says, in his dry, humorous way, "the man-servant takes care of the foddering of the cattle, whilst the housewife and women-folks roast themselves by the kitchen fire, doubting whether any one can do that better than themselves."

The excellent Swedish pastor was a connoisseur in drinks as well as horse-flesh, and he has catalogued the beverages used by the Swedes with the accuracy and minuteness of detail of a manager of a rustic fair. After enumerating the imported wines, of which Madeira was the favorite of course, he describes, like an expert, the composition of sangaree, mulled wine, cherry and currant wine, and how cider, cider royal, cider-wine, and mulled cider are prepared. Our reverend observer makes the following commentary upon the text of rum: "This is made at the sugar-plantations in the West India Islands. It is in quality like French brandy, but has no unpleasant odor. It makes up a large part of the English and French commerce with the West India Islands. The strongest comes from Jamaica, is called Jamaica spirits, and is the favorite article for punch. Next in quality to this is the rum from Barbadoes, then that from Antiguas, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher's, etc. The heaviest consumption is in harvest-time, when the laborers most frequently take a sup, and then immediately a drink of water, from which the body performs its work more easily and perspires better than when rye whiskey or malt liquors are used." Rum, he tells us, was drunk raw, or as egg-nog ("egg-dram"), or in the form of cherry bounce or billberry bounce; "punch," our learned author says, "is made of fresh spring-water, sugar, lemon-juice, and Jamaica spirits. Instead of lemons, a West India fruit called limes, or its juice, which is imported in flasks, is used. Punch is always drunk cold; but sometimes a slice of bread is toasted and placed in it warm to moderate the cold in winter-time, or it is heated with a red-hot iron. Punch is mostly used just before dinner, and is called 'a meridian.'" ⁴ The other preparations in which rum was an ingredient included *Måmm* (mum), made of water, sugar, and rum ("is the most common drink in the interior of the country, and has set up many a tavern-keeper"); "Manatham," small beer, rum, and

¹ Philip Van der Weer's brick house at Traders' Hook, on the Brandywine, was built before 1655.

² The Reynolds.

³ Bacon's Laws of Maryland (1635-1751) are full of statutes relating to wild horses and their depredations, and to ear-marks and inclosures for all kinds of stock.

⁴ Not because it aided "navigation," but because our Swedes dined at twelve o'clock.

sugar; "tiff" or "flipp," same as foregoing, with the addition of a slice of toasted and buttered bread; hot rum punch, rum and water warmed up, with sugar and allspice,—"customary at funerals;" mulled rum, hot, with eggs and allspice; *Hätt-Pål*, warmed beer with rum added; "Sampson," warmed cider with rum added; grog; "sling" or "long sup," half-and-half sweetened rum and water; milk punch; mint-water; egg-punch, etc. "Sillibub" is made like the Swedish "Oelost," of milk-warm milk, wine, and water,—a cooling beverage in summer-time; "still-liquor" was the country name for peach or apple brandy; whiskey, our author says, "is used far up in the interior of the country, where rum is very dear on account of the transportation." The people in the town drink beer and small beer; in the country, spruce, persimmon-beer, and mead. Besides this there are numerous liquors. Tea was commonly used, but often brandy was put in it; coffee was coming into use as a breakfast beverage, the berries imported from Martinique, San Domingo, and Surinam, and chocolate also was not neglected.

In spite of all these liquids the early Swedes did not neglect solids. Their meals were four a day,—breakfast, dinner, "four o'clock piece," and supper, the latter sometimes dispensed with. There was no great variety of dishes, but such as were served were substantial; ham, beef tongue, roast beef, fowls, "with cabbage set round about," was one bill of fare; roast mutton or veal, with potatoes or turnips, another; a third might be a pasty of deer, turkey, chickens, partidges, or lamb; a fourth, beef-steak, veal cutlets, mutton-chops, or turkey, goose or fowls, with potatoes set around, "stewed green peas, Turkish beans, or some other beans;" apple, peach, cherry, or cranberry pie "form another course. When cheese and butter are added, one has an ordinary meal." For breakfast, tea or coffee, with chipped beef in summer, milk-toast and buckwheat-cakes in winter, the "four o'clock piece" being like the breakfast. Chocolate was commonly taken with supper. The Swedes used very little soup and very little fish, either fresh or cured. "The arrangement of meals among country people is usually this: for breakfast, in summer, cold milk and bread, rice, milk-pudding, cheese, butter, and cold meat. In winter, mush and milk, milk-porridge, hominy, and milk; supper the same. For noon, in summer, '*säppa*' (the French *bouillon*, meat-broth, with bread-crumbs added, either drunk or eaten with spoons out of common tin cups), fresh meat, dried beef, and bacon, with cabbage, apples, potatoes, Turkish beans, large beans, all kinds of roots, mashed turnips, pumpkins, cashaws, and squashes. One or more of these are distributed around the dish; also boiled or baked pudding, dumplings, bacon and eggs, pies of apples, cherries, peaches, etc."¹

¹ The pudding, says Acrelius in a note, was boiled in a bag; it was called a fine pudding when fruit was added; baked pudding was the

The land was so settled in the time of Acrelius that each had his separate ground, and mostly fenced in. "So far as possible the people took up their abodes on navigable streams, so that the farms stretched from the water in small strips up into the land." The Swedes used boats a great deal. They always went to church in boats if the ice permitted, and they had a great quarrel with Chambers, to whom Penn had given the monopoly of the Schuylkill Ferry, because he would not let their boats cross without paying toll. The houses were solid; in Acrelius' time mostly built of brick or stone, but earlier of logs, often squared oak logs, not often more than a story and a half high. The roofs were covered with oak or cedar shingles; the walls plastered and white-washed once a year. The windows were large, often with hinged frames, but very small panes of glass when any at all was used, and all the chimneys smoked. In some houses straw carpets were to be found, but the furniture was always simple and primitive, made of country woods, with now and then a mahogany piece. The clothing was plain, domestic linen being worn in summer, and domestic woolens, kerseys, and linseys in winter, with some calicoes and cottons of imported stocks. The domestic cloth was good in quality, but badly dyed. For finer occasions plush and satin were sometimes worn. Our good parson, by whose observations we have been profiting, notes the progress luxury had been making among the Swedes. He says, "The times within fifty years are as changed as night is from day. . . . Formerly the church people could come some Swedish miles on foot to church; now the young, as well as the old, must be upon horseback. Then many a good and honest man rode upon a piece of bear-skin; now scarcely any saddle is valued unless it has a saddle-cloth with galloon and fringe. Then servants and girls were seen in church barefooted; now young people will be like persons of quality in their dress; servants are seen with *perruques du crains* and the like, girls with hooped skirts, fine stuff-shoes, and other finery. Then respectable families lived in low log houses, where the chimney was made of sticks covered with clay; now they erect painted houses of stone and brick in the country. Then they used ale and brandy, now wine and punch. Then they lived upon grits and mush, now upon tea, coffee, and chocolate."

Stray hints of the simple manners of these primitive times, and of the honesty, ingenuousness, and quaint religious faith of the people crop out now and then in the accounts which Acrelius gives of the churches and his predecessors in their pulpits. When the "upper settlers" and "lower settlers" quarreled

young people's pancake; dumplings and puddings were called "Quakers' food." Apple-pie was used all the year,—"the evening meal of children. House-pie, in country places, is made of apples neither peeled nor freed from their cores, and its crust is not broken if a wagon-wheel goes over it."

about the place for their new church, and Wicaco carried the day, the lower settlers were placated with a flat-boat, maintained at the expense of the congregation, to ferry them over the Schuylkill. The church wardens kept the keys of the boat. This was the beginning of the church "Gloria Dei," so venerable in the eyes of Philadelphians. The pastor's pay was sixty pounds, the sexton's eight pounds. If a man came drunk to church he was fined forty shillings and made to do public penance. The penalty for "making sport of God's word or sacraments" was five pounds fine, and penance. For "untimely singing," five shillings fine. If one refused to submit to this sort of discipline he was excluded from the society and his body could not be buried in the churchyard. The pastor and wardens looked carefully after betrothals and marriages. The whole congregation were catechized and also examined upon the contents of the sermon. There were also "spiritual examinations" made once a year in families. Each church had its glebe, the income from which was the pastor's, who also received a considerable sum from funerals, marriages, etc. The church bell was swung in a tree. Among the fixtures of the parsonage was a negro woman belonging to the congregation and included in the inventory of glebe property. When she grew old, "contrary," and "useless," she was sold for seven shillings. When the Christina Church was restored there was a great feast and a general revival of interest in the ancient Swedish ways. Matins were held at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost; garlanded lights and side lights of pine wood for Christmas service, and bridal pairs came to the services in the church with crowns and garlands, their hair dressed after the old-time Swedish custom. Among the new regulations of Pastor Hesselius was one to prevent people from driving across the churchyard, another forbidding them to sing as if they were calling their cows. People with harsh voices were ordered to stand mute or "sing softly." The Christina Church owned town-lots in Wilmington, and used to hire out its "pall-cloth" for five shillings each funeral. The charge for burying a grown person was twelve shillings, children half-price.

The Swedish pastors were generally learned and accomplished men, who exerted themselves successfully in directing the minds of their congregations to the necessity of education. The original settlers were ignorant people, few of whom could write their names. Even Lasse Cock, agent for Penn and Markham for twenty years, could not at first do better than sign his "mark" to writings. The pastors, however, always made a brave stand for education, and were the means of preventing the Swedish tongue in America from sinking into oblivion. They also maintained as many of the old observances and religious ceremonies as possible, such as baptism soon after birth, an actual instead of formal sponsorship on the part of the god-

parents, the old service of the churthing of women, a general attendance upon the service and sacrament of the altar, and a return to the ancient forms of betrothal and marriage. "The old speak of the joy," says Acrelius, "with which their bridal parties formerly came to church and sat during the whole service before the altar." Burials were solemn occasions, but had their feasts as well. The corpse was borne to the grave on a bier, the pall-bearers, chosen from those of the same sex and age of the deceased, walking close alongside and holding up the corners of the pall.

A few of the log cabins occupied by the primitive Swedes were standing within a few years. Watson, in his Annals, describes one of the better class in Swanson's house, near Wicaco. John Hill Martin, in his History of Chester, recalls two or three of these ancient houses. They were very rude affairs, with seldom more than a living-room with a loft over it, doors so low that one had to enter stooping, windows small square holes cut in the logs, protected by isinglass or oiled paper, or thin stretched bladders, often with nothing but a sliding board shutter. The chimney was in the corner, of sticks and clay, or sandstone blocks, generally built outside the house. The first Swede settlers imitated the Indians by dressing in skins and wearing moccasins. The women's jackets and petticoats and the bedclothes were of the same materials. The furs were by and by superseded by leather breeches and jerkins, while the women spun, wove, or knit their own woolen wear, as well as the linen for summer. The women, old and married, wore hoods in winter, linen caps in summer, but the unmarried girls went uncovered except in the hot sun, dressing their abundant yellow hair in long, broad plaits.

The proof of the industry of the early Swedes is to be sought in their works. They were a scattered, ignorant race, with no capital, few tools, and no occupations but those of husbandry and hunting. They were only a thousand strong when Penn came over, yet they had extended their settlements over a tract nearly two hundred miles long and seven or eight miles deep, building three churches and five or six block-houses and forts, clearing up forests and draining swamps to convert them into meadow land. They had discovered and worked the iron deposits of Maryland in two or three places. They had built about a hundred houses, fenced in much of their land, and made all their own clothes, importing nothing but the merest trifles, besides arms and ammunition, hymn-books, and catechisms. They had built grist-mills and saw-mills, having at least four of the latter in operation before Penn's arrival.¹ According to Ferris, however, the frame of the house in which Governor Lovelace entertained George Fox in 1672 was made entirely of hewn timbers, none of the stuff being

¹ Bishop, History of Manufactures, i. 110.

sawed, the mortar and cement being made of oyster-shell lime; the house itself was built of brick. Governor Printz found a wind-mill at Christiana in 1643, but he says it never would work. On the other side of the river there were horse-mills. One at South Amboy in 1685, it was estimated, would clear the owner £100 a year, the toll for grinding a "Scotch bell" (six bushels) of Indian corn being two shillings sterling, equal to one bushel in every four and a half. But probably more than half the early settlers had to do as a primitive denizen in Burlington reports himself as doing, pounding Indian corn one day for the next. In 1680, two years before Penn, Thomas Olive had finished his water-mill at Rancocas Creek, and Robert Stacey his at Trenton. Printz's mill on Cobb's Creek was built in 1643, and Campanius reports it as doing admirable work. Joost Andriansen & Co. built a grist-mill at New Castle in 1662. In 1671 there was a proposition made by New Castle to erect a distillery for grain, but the court negatived it, except the grain be "unfit to grind and bould," because the process of distilling consumed such "an immense amount of grain."

Hallam is right in saying that "No chapter in the history of national manners would illustrate so well, if duly executed, the progress of social life as that dedicated to domestic architecture." After the saw-mill the brick-kiln follows naturally and rapidly. Hazard produces a petition to New Amstel court, in 1656, from Jacobus Crabbe, referring to a plantation "near the corner where bricks and stones are made and baked." The Dutch introduced brick-making on the Delaware, the Swedes being used to wooden houses in their own country. The court-house at Upland, in which Penn's first Assembly was held, was of brick.

The Swedes not only made tea of the sassafras, but they made both beer and brandy from the persimmon, and small beer from Indian corn. Kalm says that the brewing and distilling were conducted by the women. The Dutch had several breweries in the settlement about 1662. Coffee was too high to be much used in the seventeenth century. Penn's books show that it cost eighteen shillings and sixpence per pound in New York, and that would buy nearly a barrel of rum. Tea fetched from twenty-two to fifty shillings, currency, a pound.

Governor Printz was expressly instructed to encourage all sorts of domestic manufactures and the propagation of sheep. There were eighty of these animals in New Sweden in 1663, and the people made enough woolen and linen cloth to supplement their furs and give them bed and table linen. They also tanned their own leather, and made their own boots and shoes, when they wore any. Hemp was as much spun and wove almost as flax. The Swedes who had the land owned large herds of cattle, forty and sixty head in a herd. The Dutch commissaries enjoined to search closely for all sorts of mineral wealth on the

South River, and those who discovered valuable metal of any kind were allowed the sole use of it for ten years. The Dutch discovered and worked iron in the Kittatinny Mountains, and, as has already been shown, the Swedes opened iron ore pits in Cecil County, Md. Charles Pickering found the copper with which he debased the Spanish reals and the Massachusetts pine-tree shillings on land of his own in Chester County.

When William Penn arrived in the Delaware in 1682, on October 27th, there were probably 3500 white people in the province and territories and on the eastern bank of the Delaware from Trenton to Salem. A few wigwags and not over twenty houses were to be found within the entire limits of what is now Philadelphia County. There were small towns at Hore-kills, New Castle, Christiana, Upland, Burlington, and Trenton, and a Swedish hamlet or two at Tinicum and near Wicaco. Before the end of his first year in the province eighty houses had been built in the new city of Philadelphia, various industrial pursuits had been inaugurated, and a fair and paying trade was opened with the Indians. When Penn left the province in 1684 his government was fully established, his chief town laid out, his province divided into six counties and twenty-two townships. He had sold 600,000 acres of land for £20,000 cash and annual quit-rents of £500. The population exceeded 7000 souls, of whom 2500 resided in Philadelphia, which had already 300 houses built, and had established a considerable trade with the West Indies, South America, England, and the Mediterranean. When Penn returned again in 1699, the population of the province exceeded 20,000, and Philadelphia and its liberties had nigh 5000 people. It was a very strange population moreover. Not gathered together by the force of material and temporary inducements, not drawn on by community of interests nor the desire of betterments instinctive in the human heart, with no homogeneity of race, religion, custom, and habit, one common principle attracted them to the spot, and that was the desire of religious liberty, the intense longing to escape from under the baneful, withering shadow of politico-religious persecution to which the chief tenet of their faith, non-resistance and submission to the civil authority, prevented them from offering any opposition. They desired to flee because their religious opinions bound them not to fight. They were not of the church militant, like the Puritans and Huguenots and Anabaptists, and so it became them to join the church migratory and seek in uninhabited wilds the freedom of conscience denied them among the communities of men. They were radicals and revolutionists in the highest degree, for they upheld, and died on the scaffold and at the stake sooner than cease to maintain, the right of the people to think for themselves, and think their own thoughts instead of what their self-constituted rulers and teachers commanded them to think. But they did not resist authority: when the statute and their con-

sciences were at variance they calmly obeyed the latter and took the consequences. They knew themselves to be abused and shamefully misused, but they believed in the final supremacy of moral and intellectual forces over despotic forces. They believed with Wiclif that "Dominion belongs to grace," and they waited hopefully for the coming of the period of intellectual freedom which should justify their action before men and prove the correctness of their faith in human progress. But all this trust in themselves and the future did not contribute materially to lighten the burden of persecution in the present, and they sought with anxiety for a place which would give them rest from the weariness of man's injustice. They became pilgrims, and gathered their little congregation together wherever a faint lifting in the black cloud of persecution could be discerned. Thus it was that they drifted into Holland and the lower Rhine provinces of Germany, and became wanderers everywhere, seeking an asylum for conscience' sake,—a lodge in some wilderness, where "rumor of oppression and deceit might never reach," and where they might await in comparative peace the better time that was coming. The great King Gustavus Adolphus perhaps meant to offer them such an asylum in America, but his message was sent in the hurry of war and it was not audible in the din of battles. When, however, this offer was renewed and repeated in the plain language of the Quakers by William Penn, it was both heard and understood, and the persecuted peoples made haste to accept the generous asylum and avail themselves of the liberal offer. They did so in a spirit of perfect faith that is creditable both to their own ingenuousness and to the character which Penn had established among his contemporaries for uprightness and fair and square dealing. It is pathetic to read, in the records of the Swiss Mennonites, how, after they had decided to emigrate, "they returned to the Palatinate to seek their wives and children, who are scattered everywhere in Switzerland, in Alsace, and in the Palatinate, and they know not where they are to be found."

Thus the movement into Pennsylvania began, a strange gathering of a strange people, much suffering, capable of much enduring. Of the Germans themselves one of their own preachers¹ wrote: "They were naturally very rugged people, who could endure much hardships; they wore long and unshaven beards, disordered clothing, great shoes, which were heavily hammered with iron and large nails; they had lived in the mountains of Switzerland, far from cities and towns, with little intercourse with other men; their speech is rude and uncouth, and they have difficulty in understanding any one who does not speak just their way; they are very zealous to serve God with prayer and reading and in other ways, and very innocent in all their doings as lambs and

doves." The Quakers, too, bore proof in their looks of the double annealing of fanaticism and persecution. They wore strange garbs, had unworldly manners and customs, and many of them had cropped ears and slit noses, and were gaunt and hollow-eyed from long confinement in jails and prison-houses. The influence of George Fox's suit of leather clothes was still felt among them. They were chiefly of the plebeian classes, the true English democracy, yeomen, tinkers, tradesmen, mechanics, retail shopmen of the cities and towns; scarcely one of the gentry and very few of the university people and educated classes. From Wales, however, the Thomases, Rees, and Griffiths came, with red, freckled faces, shaggy beards, and pedigrees dating back to Adam. Persecution had destroyed their hitherto unconquerable devotion to their own mountains, but they took their pedigrees with them in emigrating, and settling on a tract of hills and quaking mosses, where the soil recommended itself much less to them than the face of the country, they sought to feel at home by giving to the new localities names which recalled the places from which they had banished themselves.

Such were the emigrants who sailed—mostly from London and Bristol—to help build up Penn's asylum in the wilderness. The voyage was tedious, and could seldom be made in less than two months. The vessels in which they sailed were ill appointed and crowded. Yet at least fifteen thousand persons, men, women, and children, took this voyage between 1681 and 1700. The average passage-money was, allowing for children, about seventy shillings per head, so the emigrants expended £50,000 in this one way. Their purchases of land cost them £25,000 more; the average purchases were about £6 for each head of family; quit-rents one shilling sixpence. The general cost of emigration is set forth in a pamphlet of 1682, republished by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and attributed to Penn, and he must have directed the publication, though it is anonymous. In this pamphlet it is suggested that a man with £100 in pieces-of-eight may pay his own way and his family's by judicious speculation. The "advance in money"—i.e., the difference between specie value in London and on the Delaware—is thirty per cent., on goods the advance is fifty per cent., and this pamphlet supposes that these advances will pay the cost of emigration. The figures are too liberal; however, they give us an idea of what the expenses were which a family had to incur. They are as follows:

	£ s. d.
For five persons—man and wife, two servants, and a child of ten—passage-money	22 10 0
For a ton of goods—freight (each taking out a chest without charge for freight)	2 0 0
Ship's surgeon, 2s. 6d. per head	12 6
Four gallons of brandy, 24 lbs. sugar	1 0 0
Clothes for servants (6 shirts, 2 waistcoats, a summer and winter suit, hat, 2 pair shoes, underclothing, etc.)	12 0 0
Cost of building a house	15 0 0
Stock for farm	24 10 0
Year's provisions for family	16 17 6
Total	£96 00 00

¹ Laurens Hendricks, of Nimeguen.

This, it will be observed, on a favorable, one-sided showing, is £20 per capita for man, woman, child, and servant, outside of the cost of land. If we allow £10 additional for cost of land, transportation, and other extras, leaving out clothes for the family, we shall have £30 a head as the cost of immigration and one year's keep until the land begins to produce crops. It thus appears that the early immigrants into Pennsylvania must have expended at least £450,000 in getting there in the cheapest way. The actual cost was probably more than double that amount. In a letter written by Edward Jones, "Chirurgion," from "Skookill River," Aug. 26, 1682, to John ap Thomas, founder of the first Welsh settlement, we have some particulars of a voyage across the ocean at that time. Thomas and sixteen others had bought a five-thousand-acre tract of Penn. The rest sailed from Liverpool, but Thomas was ill, and not able to come. Hence the letter, which is published in a memoir of "John ap Thomas and his friends," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. iv. The voyage took eleven weeks. "And in all this time we wanted neither meat, drink, or water, though several hogsheds of water ran out. Our ordinary allowance of beer was three pints a day for each whole head and a quart of water, 3 biskedd (biscuits) a day & sometimes more. We laid in about half hundred of biskedd, one barrell of beere, one hogshed of water, the quantity for each whole head, & 3 barrells of beefe for the whole number—40—and we had one to come ashore. A great many could eat little or no beefe, though it was good. Butter and cheese eats well upon ye sea. Y^e remainder of our cheese & butter is little or no worster; butter & cheese is at 6d. per pound here, if not more. We have oat-meale to spare, but it is well y^e we have it, for here is little or no corn till they begin to sow their corn, they have plenty of it. . . . Y^e name of town lots is called now Wicoco; here is a Crowd of people striving for y^e Country land, for y^e town lot is not divided, & therefore we are forced to take up y^e Country lots. We had much adoe to get a grant of it, but it Cost us 4 or 5 days attendance, besides some score of miles we travelled before we brought it to pass. I hope it will please thee and the rest y^e are concerned, for it hath most rare timber. I have not seen the like in all these parts." Mr. Jones also states that the rate for surveying one hundred acres was twenty shillings—half as much as the price of the land. At this rate, Jones, Thomas and company had to pay £50 for surveying their tract of five thousand acres.

It will be noticed that the face of the country pleased Dr. Jones, and he is satisfied with the land selected by him. All the early immigrants and colonists were pleased with the new land, and enthusiastic in regard to its beauty and its promise of productivity. Penn is not more so than the least prosperous of his followers. Indeed it is a lovely country to-day, and in its wild, virgin beauty must have had a rare charm and attraction for the ocean-

weary first settlers. They all write about it in the same warm strain. Thus, for instance, let us quote from the letter written in 1680 to his brother by Mahlon Stacey, who built the first mill on the site of the city of Trenton. Stacey was a man of good education and family. He had traveled much in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where he made a great fortune and became a leading citizen, his children intermarrying with the best people in the two colonies. The letter, which we quote from Gen. Davis' "History of Bucks County," says that "it is a country that produces all things for the sustenance of man in a plentiful manner. . . . I have traveled through most of the settled places, and some that are not, and find the country very apt to answer the expectations of the diligent. I have seen orchards laden with fruit to admiration, planted by the Swedes, their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight, and most delicious to the taste and lovely to behold. I have seen an apple-tree from a pippin kernel yield a barrel of curious cider, and peaches in such plenty that some people took their carts a peach gathering. I could not but smile at the sight of it. They are a very delicate fruit, and hang almost like our onions that are tied on ropes. I have seen and known this summer forty bushels of bolted wheat harvested from one sown. We have from the time called May to Michaelmas great stores of very good wild fruits, as strawberries, cranberries, and huckleberries, which are much like bilberries in England, but far sweeter; the cranberries much like cherries for color and bigness, which may be kept till fruit comes in again. An excellent sauce is made of them for venison, turkey, and great fowl; they are better to make tarts than either cherries or gooseberries; the Indians bring them to our houses in great plenty. My brother Robert had as many cherries this year as would have loaded several carts. From what I have observed it is my judgment that fruit-trees in this country destroy themselves by the very weight of their fruit. As for venison and fowls, we have great plenty; we have brought home to our houses by the Indians seven or eight fat bucks of a day, and sometimes put by as many, having no occasion for them. My cousin Revels and I, with some of my men, went last Third month into the river to catch herrings, for at that time they came in great shoals into the shallows. We had no net, but, after the Indian fashion, made a round pinfold about two yards over and a foot high, but left a gap for the fish to go in at, and made a bush to lay in the gap to keep the fish in. When that was done we took two long birches and tied their tops together, and went about a stone's cast above our said pinfold; then hauling these birch boughs down the stream, we drove thousands before us, and as many got into our trap as it would hold. Then we began to throw them on shore as fast as three or four of us could bag two or three at a time. After this manner in half an hour we could have filled a

three-bushel sack with as fine herring as ever I saw. . . . As to beef and pork, there is a great plenty of it and cheap; also good sheep. The common grass of the country feeds beef very fat. . . . We have great plenty of most sorts of fishes that ever I saw in England, besides several sorts that are not known there, as rock, catfish, shad, sheephead, and sturgeon; and fowls are as plenty—ducks, geese, turkeys, pheasants, partridges, and many other sorts. Indeed the country, take it as a wilderness, is a brave country, though no place will please all. There is some barren land, and more wood than some would have upon their land; neither will the country produce corn without labor, nor is cattle got without something to buy them, nor bread with idleness, else it would be a brave country indeed. I question not but all would then give it a good word. For my part I like it so well I never had the least thought of returning to England except on account of trade," "I wonder at our Yorkshire people," says Stacey, in another letter of the same date, "that they had rather live in servitude, work hard all the year, and not be threepence better at the year's end, than to stir out of the chimney-corner and transport themselves to a place where, with the like pains, in two or three years they might know better things. I live as well to my content and in as great plenty as ever I did, and in a far more likely way to get an estate."

Judge John Holme, in his so-called poem on "the flourishing State of Pennsylvania," written in 1696, seems to have tried to set the views of Stacey to music. True there is not much tune nor rhythm in the verse, but the Pennsylvania writer of Georgics has a shrewd eye for a catalogue, and he would have shone as an auctioneer. He sings the goodness of the soil, the cheapness of the land, the trees so abundant in variety that scarcely any man can name them all, the fruits and nuts, mulberries, hazelnuts, strawberries, and "plumbs," "which pleaseth those well who to eat them comes," the orchards, cherries so plentiful that the planters bring them to town in boats (these are the Swedes, of course), peaches so plenty the people cannot eat half of them, apples, pears, and quinces,

"And fruit-trees do grow so fast in this ground
That we begin with cider to abound."

The fields and gardens rejoice in the variety as well as the abundance of their products; in the woods are found "wax-berries, eltermis, turmeric, and sarsifrax;" the maple trunks trickle with sugar, and our author tells how to boil it; he gives the names of fish, fesh, and fowls, including whales and sturgeons, and describes the industries of Philadelphia, of which he says, "Strangers do wonder, and some say,—

"What mean these Quakers thus to raise
These stately fabrics to their praise?
Since we well know and understand
When they were in their native land
They were in prison trodden down,
And can they now build such a town?"

The royalists of that day, however, saw the growth of the new city and province with quite another eye, and they were filled with foreboding as they saw, in the language of one of their rhymesters,—

"How Pennsylvania's air agrees with Quakers,
And Carolina's with Associators,
Both e'en too good for madmen and for traitors.
Truth is, the land with saints is so run o'er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there's need of two New Englands more."

Richard Frame was author of another poem on Pennsylvania, "printed and sold by William Bradford, 1692." It is like that of Holme's, mainly descriptive, and prophetic likewise of the coming wealth and greatness of the province. "No doubt," he says,—

"No doubt but you will like this country well.
We that did leave our country thought it strange
That ever we should make so good a change."

This poem was written and printed only seven or eight years after the settlement of Germantown, yet Frame says,—

"The German Town of which I spoke before,
Which is at least in length one Mile and More,
Where lives High German People and Low Dutch,
Whose trade in weaving Linnen cloth is much,
There grows the Flax, as also you may know,
That from the same they do divide the Tow," etc.

Traders, he says, are brotherly; one brings in employment for another, and the linen rags of Germantown have led naturally to the paper-mill near the Wissahickon. Of the Welsh he makes a passing reference, as well as of the many townships laid out and the "multitudes of new plantations."

The Englishman of that day was still untamed. He had a passion, inherited from his Anglo-Saxon forbears, for the woods and streams, for outdoor life and the adventures which attend it. He had not forgotten that he was only a generation or two younger than Robin Hood and Will Scarlet, and he could not be persuaded that the poacher was a criminal. All the emigration advertisements, circulars, and prospectuses sought to profit by this passion in presenting the natural charms of America in the most seductive style. While the Spanish enlisting officers worked by the spell of the magic word "gold!" and the canny Amsterdam merchants talked "beaver" and "barter" and "cent, per cent," the English solicitors for colonists and laborers never ceased to dwell upon the normal attractions of the bright new land, the adventures it offered, and the easy freedom to be enjoyed there. Thus in advocating his West Jersey settlements John Fenwick wrote in this way: "If there be any terrestrial happiness to be had by any People, especially of any inferior rank, it must certainly be here. Here any one may furnish himself with Land, and live Rent free, yea, with such a quantity of Land, that he may weary himself with walking over his Fields of Corn, and all sorts of Grain, and let his Stock amount to some hundreds; he needs not fear their want of Pasture in the Summer or

Fodder in the Winter, the Woods affording sufficient supply, where you have Grass as high as a Man's Knees, nay, as his Waste, interlaced with Pea-Vines and other Weeds that Cattell much delight in, as much as a Man can pass through; and these Woods also every Mile and half mile are furnished with fresh Ponds, Brooks, or Rivers, where all sorts of cattell, during the heat of the Day, do quench their thirst and Cool themselves. These Brooks and Rivers being invironed of each side with several sorts of Trees and Grape-Vines, Arbor-like interchanging places, and crossing these Rivers, do shade and shelter them from the scorching beams of the Sun. Such as by their utmost labors can scarcely get a Living may here procure Inheritance of Lands and Possessions, stock themselves with all sorts of Cattle, enjoy the benefit of them while they live and leave them to their Children when they die. Here you need not trouble the Shambles for Meat, nor Bakers and Brewers for Beer and Bread, nor run to a Linen-Draper for a supply, every one making their own Linen and a great part of their Woollen Cloth for their ordinary wearing. And how prodigal (if I may say) hath Nature been to furnish this Country with all sorts of Wild Beast and Fowl, which every one hath an interest in and may Hunt at his pleasure, where, besides the pleasure in Hunting, he may furnish his House with excellent fat Venison, Turkeys, Geese, Heath-hens, Cranes, Swans, Ducks, Pigeons, and the like; and, wearied with that, he may go a Fishing, where the Rivers are so furnished that he may supply himself with Fish before he can leave off the Recreation. Here one may Travel by Land upon the same Continent hundreds of Miles, and pass through Towns and Villages, and never hear the least complaint for want nor hear any ask him for a farthing. Here one may lodge in the Fields and Woods, travel from one end of the Country to another, with as much security as if he were lock'd within his own Chamber; and if one chance to meet with an Indian Town, they shall give him the best Entertainment they have, and upon his desire direct him on his Way. But that which adds happiness to all the rest is the healthfulness of the Place, where many People in twenty years' time never know what Sickness is; where they look upon it as a great Mortality if two or three die out of a Town in a year's time. Besides the sweetness of the Air, the Country itself sends forth such a fragrant smell that it may be perceived at Sea before they can make the Land; No evil Fog or Vapor doth any sooner appear but a North-West or Westerly Wind immediately dissolves it and drives it away. Moreover, you shall scarce see a House but the South side is begirt with Hives of Bees, which increase after an incredible manner; so that if there be any terrestrial Canaan, 'tis surely here, where the land floweth with Milk and Honey."

This is the tenor of all the Maryland invitations to immigration likewise, and Penn follows the model closely. His letter to the Society of Free Traders

in 1683 has already been mentioned, and also his proposals for colonists. In December, 1685, he issued a "Further Account of Pennsylvania," a supplement to the letter of 1683. He says that ninety vessels had sailed with passengers, not one of them meeting with any miscarriage. They had taken out seven thousand two hundred persons. He describes the growth of the city, the laying out of townships, etc. There are at least fifty of these, and he had visited many, finding improvements much advanced. "Houses over their heads and Garden-plots, coverts for their cattle, an increase of stock, and several inclosures in Corn, especially the first comers, and I may say of some poor men was the beginning of an Estate, the difference of laboring for themselves and for others, of an Inheritance and a Rack Lease being never better understood." The soil had produced beyond expectation, yielding corn from thirty to sixty fold; three pecks of wheat sowed an acre; all English root crops thrive; low lands were excellent for rope, hemp, and flax; cattle find abundant food in the woods; English grass seed takes well and yields fattening hay; all sorts of English fruits have taken "mighty well;" good wine may be made from native grapes; the coast and bay abound in whales, the rivers in delicate fish; and provisions were abundant and cheap, in proof of which he gives a price current. Penn concludes by quoting an encouraging letter he had received from Robert Turner.

In 1687, Penn published another pamphlet, containing a letter from Dr. More, "with passages out of several letters from Persons of Good Credit, relating to the State and Improvement of the Province of Pennsylvania." In 1691 again he printed a third pamphlet, containing "Some Letters and an Abstract of Letters from Pennsylvania." Dr. More takes pains to show the plenty and prosperity which surround the people of the province. "Our lands have been grateful to us," he says, "and have begun to reward our Labors by abounding Crops of Corn." There was plenty of good fresh pork in market at two and a half pence per pound, currency; beef, the same; butter, sixpence; wheat, three shillings per bushel; rye at eight groats; corn, two shillings in country money, and some for export. Dr. More had got a fine crop of wheat on his corn ground by simply harrowing it in; his hop garden was very promising. Arnoldus de la Grange had raised one thousand bushels of English grain this year, and Dr. More says, "Every one here is now persuaded of the fertility of the ground and goodness of climate, here being nothing wanting, with industry, that grows in England, and many delicious things not attainable there; and we have this common advantage above England, that all things grow better and with less labour." Penn's steward and gardener are represented as writing to him that the peach-trees are broken down with fruit; all the plants sent out from England are growing; barn, porch, and shed full of

corn; seeds sprout in half the time they require in England; bulbs and flowers grow apace. David Lloyd writes that "Wheat (as good, I think, as any in England) is sold at three shillings and sixpence per Bushel, Country money, and for three shillings ready money (which makes two shillings five pence English sterling), and if God continues his blessing to us, this province will certainly be the granary of America."¹ James Claypoole writes that he has never seen brighter and better corn than in these parts. The whale fishery was considerable; one company would take several hundred barrels of oil, useful, with tobacco, skins, and furs, for commerce and to bring in small money (of which there is a scarcity) for exchange. John Goodson writes to Penn of the country that "it is in a prosperous condition beyond what many of our Friends can imagine;" if Penn and his family were there "surely your Hearts would be greatly comforted to behold this Wilderness Land how it is becoming a fruitful Field and pleasant Garden." Robert James writes to Nathaniel Wilmer: "God prospers his People and their honest Endeavors in the Wilderness, and many have cause to Bless and Praise his holy Arm, who in his Love hath spread a Table large unto us, even beyond the expectation or belief of many, yea, to the admiration of our Neighbouring Colonies. . . . God is amongst his People and the wilderness is his, and he waters and refreshes it with his moistening Dew, whereby the Barren are become pleasant Fields and Gardens of his delight; blessed be his Name, saith my Soul, and Peace and Happiness to all God's People everywhere."

In 1685 a pamphlet called "Good Order Established," and giving an account of Pennsylvania, was published by Thomas Budd, a Quaker, who had held office in West Jersey. Budd was a visionary, mixed up with Keith's heresy, and wanted to get a bank established in Philadelphia. He built largely in that city, and was a close observer. He pays particular attention to the natural advantages of the country in its soil, climate, products, and geographical relations. The days in winter are two hours longer, and in summer two hours shorter than in England, he says, and hence grain and fruits mature more swiftly. He enumerates the wild fowl and fish, the fruits and garden stuff, and thinks that the Delaware marshes, once drained, would be equal to the meadows of the Thames for wheat, peas, barley, hemp, flax, rape, and hops. The French settlers were already growing grapes for wine, and Budd thought that attempts should be made to produce rice, anise seed, licorice, madder, and woad. He has much to say about the development of

manufactures, and he proposes to have a granary built on the Delaware in a fashion which is a curious anticipation of the modern elevator, and he projects a very sensible scheme for co-operative farm-work, on the community plan, the land to be eventually divided after it has been fully cleared and improved, and the families of the commune have grown up.

In 1698 was published Gabriel Thomas' "Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey, in America." This well-known brochure descants in florid and loose terms upon "The richness of the Soil, the sweetness of the Situation, the Wholesomeness of the Air, the Navigable Rivers and others, the prodigious increase of Corn, the flourishing condition of the City of Philadelphia, etc. The strange creatures, as Birds, Beasts, Fishes, and Fowls, with the Several Sorts of Minerals, Purging Waters, and Stones lately discovered. The Natives, Aborigines, and their Language, Religion, Laws, and Customs. The first Planters, Dutch, Swedes, and English, with the number of its Inhabitants; as also a Touch upon George Keith's New Religion, in his second change since he left the Quakers; with a Map of both Counties." The title-page leaves the book but little to say. Gabriel is enthusiastic about pretty much everything. He makes some shrewd remarks, however, as when he says that he has reason to believe Pennsylvania contains coal, "for I have observed the runs of water have the same color as that which proceeds from the coal mines in Wales." He shows the abundance of game by telling how he had bought of the Indians a whole buck (both skin and carcass) for two gills of gunpowder. Land had advanced in twelve years from fifteen or eighteen shillings to eighty pounds per one hundred acres, over a thousand per cent. (in the city), and was fetching round prices in the adjacent country.

Thomas represents Philadelphia as containing two thousand houses in 1697. Mr. Westcott declares this to be a great exaggeration. "In 1700 there were only seven hundred houses, and in 1749 but two thousand and seventy-six."² Mr. Westcott's figures are, of course, the right ones, yet it must be observed that Richard Norris, a sea captain, just come from Philadelphia, writing to Penn under date of Dec. 12, 1690, a letter which Penn himself published in pamphlet form in London,³ states that "The Bank and River-Street is so filled with Houses that it makes an inclosed Street with the Front in many places, which before lay open to the River Delaware. There is within the bounds of the City at least fourteen Hundred Houses, a considerable part of which are very large and fair buildings of Brick; we have likewise wharfs Built out into the River, that a Ship of a Hundred Tun may lay her side to." All the writers quoted above have much to say of the rapid growth and de-

¹ "Country money" was produce in barter, such as furs, tobacco, grain, stock, etc., at rates established by the courts in collecting fees, etc.; "ready money" was Spanish or New England coin, which was at 25 per cent. discount in Old England. See Sumner, "History of American Currency." The differences are set out in "Madame Knight's Journal." According to the above the discount on country money was 31 per cent. and on ready money 20 per cent.

² History of Philadelphia, chapter xlii.

³ See *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. iv. p. 200; see also a note on this subject at the foot of a preceding page.

velopment of Philadelphia, which seems to strike every one as if it were a sort of miracle. Mr. Thomas, in the letter just mentioned, says that they have a plentiful market two days in the week, with all manner of provisions and fruit in great plenty. "Many Houses were Built the last Summer, and I heard many more are agreed for to be built." The city had a good trade with the West Indies in biscuit, flour, beef, and pork. Capt. Morris said he noticed the city's rapid growth each time he returned to it. His cargo to England consisted of "Skins, Beavers, Otters, Minks, Dear, Bear, Fox, and Cats, with other sorts, with Oyle and Whalebone." A great flock of sheep was kept in the town liberties, and a woolen-factory at work, employing several carders and spinners, and turning out "very good Stuff and Serges." "Philadelphia is mightily improved," writes William Rodney the same year, "(for its famous Buildings, Stone, Brick and Timber Houses of very great Value, and good Wharfs for our Shipping) the most of any new settlement in the World for its time." R. Hill (same year) writes to Penn of the pleasure he has received in beholding the improvements in "that Famous City (in our parts) and situation of Philadelphia, from which we in Maryland have lately received great benefit and supply for our Fleet, by being furnished with Bread, Beer, Flower, and other provisions, to great quantities at reasonable Rates and short warning." C. Pickering writes: "Philadelphia will flourish; here are more good Houses Built this Summer (1690) than ever was in one Year yet; things, that is Provision and Corn, are very plentiful; . . . an oil-mill is erecting to make Coal (colza) and Rape-seed oyle," etc. William Bradford tells the Governor that Samuel Carpenter and he are building a paper-mill about a mile from Penn's mills at Schuylkill, and hope to have paper within four months; "the Woollen Manufactories have made a beginning here, and we have got a Publick Flock of Sheep in this Town, and a Sheepheard or two to attend them." Alexander Bardsley writes that the city has received an access of population from New York, among them Jacob Telner (the original patentee of Germantown):

"Mine friends and others are already come, so that if we do not prevent it ourselves by mislving, this is likely to be a good place. Methinks it seems to me as if the Lord had a blessing in store for this place: here is a good government, and the magistrates are careful to keep good order, to suppress Vice and encourage Virtuous Living; and a watch is kept every Night by the Housekeepers, to see that no Looseness nor Drunkenness take place. The People go on with Building very much, since thou went from here many good Houses are Built on the Front, at the least twenty this Year; the Bank (by the River) is taken up, all from the Blue Anchor beyond the penny Pot-House. . . . People seem eager in Building, and House Rent towards the River is high." "Philadelphia thrives to admiration," says another writer quoted in this abstract of letters, "both in way of Trade and also in Building, and is much altered since thou wert here." In John Goodson's letter we are told that "We now begin to have a Trade abroad as well as at home; here be several merchants that Transport several Ship-loads of Bread, Flower, Beef and Pork to Barbadoes and Jamaica; a fine Trade here in the Town, consisting of many Trades-Men, which are eight Merchants, Responsible Men, House-Keepers, twenty-nine Shop-Keepers, great and small, three Brewers that send off many a Ton of good Malt-

Beer, three Maltsters in this Town also, besides many that are in the Country, seven Master Bakers, some of them bake and send away many Thousand Bushels in a Year of Bread and Flour, this is Truth; four Master Butchers, nine Master Carpenters, seven Master Bricklayers, four Brick-Makers with Brick-Kills, nine Master Shoemakers, nine Master Taylors, two Pewterers, one Brasier, one Saddler, one Clock and Watch-Maker, one Potter, three Tallow-Chandlers, two Sope-Makers, three Woolen-Weavers that are entering upon the Woolen Manufactory in the Town, besides several in the country; and five miles off is a Town of Dutch and German People that have set up the Linnen Manufactory, which weave and make many Hundred Yards of pure fine Linnen Cloth in a Year, that in a short time I doubt not but the country will live happily; five Smiths, one Comb-Maker, one Tobacco-Pipe Maker, three Dyers, one Joyner, one Cabinet-Maker, one Rope-Maker that makes Ropes for Shipping, three Master Ship-Carpenters, three Barbers, two Chirurgeons, three Plasterers, several Victualing Houses or Ordinaries. All the fore-mentioned Trades are sufficient House-Keepers, and live gallantly; four Master Coopers that make abundance of cask for these, besides many families of Labouring People and Sawyers that live happily, six Carters that have Teams daily employed to carry and fetch Timber and Bricks, Stones and Lime for Building, which goeth on to Admiration. They Build all with Brick and Stone now, except the very meanest sort of people, which Build framed Houses with Timber and Fethered-Boards without side, and lath'd and plaster'd within, two stories high, very pretty houses; they are like the Buildings at the Park in Southwark. We have Rocks of Lime-Stones, where many Hundreds, yeas Thousands of Bushels of Lime is made in a year for this Town." "My Friends," concludes this pious John Goodson, "have all about twenty-one Meeting-Places established in Pennsylvania, and six meetings fixed around the city, all within six miles."

These contemporary letters seem to disarm the published accounts of Philadelphia's progress of any suspicion of exaggeration. They make it plain that the city was growing very rapidly under the stimulus of an accelerated immigration and a commerce and internal trade which was very profitable and increased every day. The shipping was comparatively large, and the frequent arrivals and departures gave the place a busy, bustling aspect, which even extended itself to Chester, New Castle, Christina, Hore-kills, Salem, Burlington, and other parts on the river. The number of sailors of every nationality, of foreign merchants and traders come to buy and sell, had already led to the introduction of no little of the sorts of vice and debauchery which naturally attach to active seaport towns, greatly scandalizing the quiet Quakers. The letters of Penn and the orders and remonstrances and explanations of Council on this subject bear ample testimony to this debauchery.¹

It was not difficult for merchants who were largely engaged in trade with the New England colonies, the West Indies, and with Europe, and making a profit of nigh upon one hundred per cent. on each venture and its return (English goods, that is to say, exchanged either directly for furs, etc., or indirectly for Pennsylvania flour and bread sent to the West Indies and there bartered for tropical products for the English market) to rebuild their original frame cabins with

¹ See Council proceedings and Penn correspondence, 1689-99. It may be said here, to avoid the necessity of a reference for each sentence of this chapter, that every fact stated in it rests upon contemporary authority, such as those just named and the body of original letters which have been already quoted in connection with this subject. The Pennsylvania Historical Society has done a great work in republishing these originals.

stately piles of brick. Fortunes were swiftly made, and, invested in improvements in and around the city, went a great way. Labor was comparatively high, but materials were cheap. Budd estimates that the

alleys and lanes, several fine squares and courts within this magnificent city. As for the particular names of the several streets contained therein, the principal are as follows, viz.: Walnut Street, Vine Street,



THE OLD SLATE-ROOF HOUSE.

six hundred thousand bricks for his proposed granary could be bought for eight shillings per thousand. "Madam Farmer," who was the first person to burn stone lime in Philadelphia (Budd, in 1685, says no stone lime had then been discovered) offered, in 1686-87, to sell ten thousand bushels of Schuylkill lime at sixpence per bushel at the kiln. The frames of houses, all of hewn timber, cost little beyond the charges for hewing and handling, and sawed lumber was cheap and plentiful. Hence there must have been as much building going on as was required by the increase of population, in addition to the new and larger structures which took the place of more primitive ones as wealth increased. Penn, in his "Further Account of Pennsylvania" (1685), mentions nine streets running from river to river and twenty-one streets crossing them at right angles. Of these he names sixteen streets, "the names," he says, "being mostly taken from the things that grew spontaneously in the county."¹ Gabriel Thomas, describing the city as he saw it in 1697, says, "There are many lanes and alleys, as, first, Hutton's Lane, Morris Lane, Jones' Lane, wherein are very good buildings; Shuter's Alley, Yower's Lane, Walter's Alley, Turner's Lane, Sikes' Alley, and Flowers' Alley. All these alleys and lanes extend from the Front Street to the Second Street. There is another alley in the Second Street called Carter's Alley. There are also, besides these

Chestnut Street, Sassafras Street, taking their names from the abundance of those trees that formerly grew there;² High Street, Broad Street, Delaware Street, Front Street, with several of less note, too tedious to insert here."³

² Rather named to accommodate Penn's whim. "Chestnut Street was at first called Wynne, after Dr. Thomas Wynne, of Wales, who came here in the good ship 'Welcome' with William Penn. The founder had desired his province to be called Sylvania, but, yielding obedience to his monarch's pleasure, he submitted to its being called Pennsylvania. It was indeed a sylvan scene,—earth never saw a fairer,—and so, as a matter of course, the streets of the city, that he doubted not was to be one of the mighty ones of the world, were to be named after the trees of the beautiful forest that then covered almost all of the land."—*Townsend Ward in Penna. Mag.*, vol. iv. p. 409: "Second Street and the Second Street Road and their Associations."

³ In a note to the forty-second chapter of his "History of Philadelphia" Mr. Thompson Westcott says that none of these names of lanes and alleys, except Carter's Alley, is now borne by streets or alleys. "Jones' Lane was the first above High Street, running from Front to Second, adjoining a lot of Griffith Jones. It was afterwards called Jones' Alley, then Pewter Platter Alley, from the sign of a tavern once in it, then Jones' Alley again, and now Church Alley. Carter's Lane, now called Carter's Street, is the first below Chestnut Street. . . . It was named from William Carter, owner of an adjoining lot on Second Street." . . . Hutton's Lane, afterwards Gray's Alley, the second above Walnut Street, now called Gatzmer Street. Thomas Hooton owned an adjoining lot. Turner's Lane, from Robert Turner, the first below Mulberry Street, now Coombe's Alley. Yower's (Ewer's) Lane, above Chestnut Street, now Black Horse Alley. Morris' Alley is supposed to be what is now called Gothic Street. Sikes' Lane is now Ingles' Street, and Shelter's, Flower's, and Waller's Alleys cannot be assigned definite positions. According to Townsend Ward, Col. Clement Biddle lived corner of Gray's Alley and Front Street; on the southeast corner of Second Street and Morris' Alley, where the building of the Chamber of Commerce now is, Samuel Carpenter built, in 1687, the slate-roof house, which stood till 1867. It was much the finest house in the city. William Penn lived there in 1699, James Logan entertained Lord Cornbury there in 1702, and Governor James Hamilton,

¹ Of the streets named, "the situation of Cranberry, Plumb, Hickory, Oak, Beech, Ash, and Poplar Streets is not now to be ascertained."—*Westcott*, chap. xxxi.

There were three fairs a year and two markets every week in Philadelphia in Thomas' time. "They kill above twenty fat bullocks every week in the hottest time of summer, besides many sheep, calves, and hogs. . . . Here is lately built a noble town-house, or guild-hall, also a handsome market-house and a convenient prison."¹ The large and commodious wharves are also mentioned, and timber-yards, and Robert Turner's ship-yard. The stairs to the water's edge at Carpenter's and Tresse's wharves, Carpenter's derrick, granaries, and store-houses, Wilcox's rope-walk, and the large breweries and bake-houses are all spoken of; also the schools, the cook-shops, the paper-mill, the wool-weavers, and the prosperous tradesmen. To cap the climax, Thomas declares that men in Philadelphia are not jealous and old maids do not exist, "for all do commonly marry before they are twenty years of age." Some mansions and warehouses of that day must have been really handsome buildings, judging from the attention they attracted. Of such were the seats of Joseph Growden, in the suburbs, who had a thousand

apple-trees about his place, and Edward Shippen, on Second Street, with its handsome grounds, gardens, and orchards.

The streets have been spoken of already. They were not paved until quite a late period. In 1700, August 15th, during Penn's second visit, it was ordered in Council "y^t the King's Highway or publick Road & the bridges y^{tn} from y^e town of Philadelphia to the falls of Delaware y^t now are, be w^t all expedition sufficientlie cut & cleared from all timber, trees & stumps of trees, Loggs, & from all other nunsances whatsoever y^t Ly cross y^e s^d way, & y^t y^e same, with all passages in & outt of all creeks & Branches, may be made passable, Comodious, safe, and easie for man, horse, cart, waggon, or team, be y^e rescive (respectively) overseers of the highways and Bridges w^{thin} the rescive precincts, townships, and Counties of philadelphia & Bucks, according to Law. And y^t y^e respective Courts of Justice & Justices of y^e peace in y^e s^d Counties, Cause y^e same be duly p^{erformed}, & the Laws in those Cases made & provided to be strictlie put in execu^{tion}, und^{er} y^e rexive penalties y^{tn} contained, & y^t y^e Sec^{ties} take care to send a Copie of this ord^r to y^e Counties of philadelphia & Bucks respectivelie." This means that the streets were all roads, and poor ones at that. It took Isaac Norris' team all day to carry a load from Fair Hill to Philadelphia and back, yet the Germantown road was one of the earliest laid out. The Swedes had no roads. They followed bridle-paths on foot or on horseback, and carried their freight by water. It was in 1686 that the people of Philadelphia began to move for better highways. The Schuylkill ferry monopoly was then exciting public attention, and the Council took the whole matter of thoroughfares into consideration. There was a petition calling attention to the badness of the way from Moyamensing to Philadelphia. It was referred to "y^e County Court, who it's presumed has power to appoynt Roads to Landing Places, to Court and to Markett." In 1686, 19th of Ninth month, the Council appointed R. Turner, J. Barnes, A. Cook, and T. Janney, with the Surveyors of Bucks and Philadelphia Counties, to meet and lay out a more commodious road from Broad Street to the falls of Delaware. This was the Bristol road. The Germantown road was at first an Indian trail to the Swedes' ford on the Schuylkill and to the Susquehanna River at Octorara. On 5th of Second month, 1687, the inhabitants of Plymouth township petitioned for a cart-road to their town. The road from Radnor to the ferry of Schuylkill was adjudged by Council in 1687; a part of it had been closed by fences, showing that it was not previously a public highway. The same had been the case with the road to Bristol, the farmers fencing across it and changing the bed, so that complaint was made to Council that the people in Bucks County were taking their grain to sell or be ground to Burlington instead of Philadelphia. In 1689 we find Robert Turner, Benjamin Chambers, and other peti-

Mrs. Howell, and Mrs. Graydon were successively its occupants, the ladies using it for a boarding-house. Mr. Ward adds that "From the frequent changes in the names of streets in Philadelphia one might suppose we here were afflicted with a perpetual French Revolution, the main features of which, since the disuss of the guillotine, being an entire change in the names of streets. But if it be not owing to French influence, it may be that the movement in favor of women's rights has disturbed us, since, for all the world, our streets are like a parcel of school-girls, who so frequently and so entirely change their names that their own mothers no longer know them. Gothic Street was first Morris' Lane, then Norris' Alley. Gatzmer Street was Hutton's Lane, then Gray's Alley. Inglis Street was Syke's Lane, then Abraham Taylor's Alley. Gold Street was first New Bank Alley, then Bank Alley. Lodge Alley is lost, or it is now considered a continuation of and is called Gothic Street. Carter, as a name, is preserved, notwithstanding a desperate attempt to change it. The alley part is lost, but the fact that Carter had made a bequest to the poor of the city saved the name."

¹ "At the time when Gabriel Thomas wrote, in 1697, there was no town-house, or guild-hall, in Philadelphia, and no market-house, and the prison was a rented house. These buildings were erected in later years."—*Westcott*, chap. xlii. There was, however, a market-place as early as 1683, where butchers, etc., erected movable stalls; these may have become fixtures in the time of Thomas. In 1693 there was a bell for market, which argues a belfry, and the clerk was an important officer, being wood-corder as well as examiner of weights and measures. (*Colonial Records*, vols. i. and ii.) As to prisons, the Council proceedings contain the following:

(1) 16th of 11th Month, 1683, "Ordered, That Wm. Clayton build a Cage, against the next Council day, 7 foot high, 7 foot long & 5 foot broad."

(2) July 26, 1701. "Willm. Clayton, of Chichester, producing an acct. of Eleven pounds eleven Shillings, due to his flather, Wm. Cl., deceased, for building a Cage for Malefactors in the Town of Philadelphia, at the first settling of this Province, Ordr., that the Provl. Treasurer discharge the Said acct."

(3) 31st of March, 1684. "The Petition of Samll Hersent was read, Concerning y^e finishing of y^e Prison. He is referred to y^e Justices of y^e County Court."

(4) In 1694 the county jail was a hired building and the rent was overdue. (Council proceedings, June 4, 1694.)

(5) In July, 1700, Penn in the chair, the subject of enforcing the law about work-houses and prisons was considered in Council. A lot had been already bought on Third Street, and a committee (Edw. Shippen and William Clark) was appointed to "go to y^e inhabitants adjacent to y^e prison, & to see what they & others will advance beforehand (to be deducted out of the next County tax to be laid for building a Court house) towards removing y^e s^d gaol & Brick wall."

(6) In 1703 it was matter of complaint that the courts of Philadelphia had to sit in "an ale-house."

tioners for a road from Philadelphia to Bucks County. This was the beginning of the Oxford or Middle road. The York road, from Cheltenham to Philadelphia, was ordered in August, 1693.¹

The Old York road and the County-line road, running to Moreland, were laid out in 1697, from surveys made by Nicholas Scull, Susquehanna Street being laid out at the same time. The Germans at Germantown might be trusted to have good roads and proper fences. The supervision of these seems to have been the chief business of the courts there from the day of its organization in 1691.²

Besides the main road to Philadelphia the colonists at Germantown built for themselves a church road, a school-house road, a lime-kiln road, a paper-mill road, and several smaller lanes connecting with places in the vicinity. Richard Townshend, one of the "Welcome's" passengers, built a grist-mill on the church road as early as 1683. This supplied Germantown and a large circle of farmers with the best of flour. In 1700 Germantown had a mile of main street, lined on each side with peach-trees in full bearing, and each house had a fine garden. Towns such as this are what have contributed so much to earn for Phila-

delphia the reputation of having more beautiful suburbs than any other large city in America.

Precisely what sort of houses were built by the first settlers in Philadelphia may be known with satisfactory exactness from the contemporary records. In Penn's tract of "Information and Direction to such Persons as are inclined to America" we have a description of such houses, and we may assume that the "Welcome's" passengers erected exactly such structures during their probationary period of cave life or hut life in the wilderness. The dimensions given are almost those of the house of Pastorius: "To build them an House of thirty foot long and eighteen foot broad with a partition near the middle, and another to divide one end of the House into two small Rooms, there must be eight Trees of about sixteen inches square, and cut off to Posts of about fifteen foot long, which the House must stand upon, and four pieces, two of thirty foot long and two of eighteen foot long, for Plates, which must lie upon the top of these Posts, the whole length and breadth of the House, for the Gists (joists) to rest upon. There must be ten Gists of twenty foot long to bear the Loft, and two false Plates of thirty foot long to lie upon the ends of the Gists for the Rafters to be fixed upon, twelve pare of Rafters of about twenty foot to bear the Roof of the House, with several other small pieces, as Wind-beams, Braces, Studs, &c., which are made out of the Waste Timber. For covering the House, Ends and Sides, and for the Loft we use Clabboard, which is Rived feather-edged, of five foot and a half long,³ that, well Drawn, lyes close and smooth: The Lodging Room may be lined with the same, and filled up between, which is very Warm. These houses usually endure ten years without repair." The cost of such a house is given as follows: Carpenter's work (the owner and his servants assisting), £7; a barn of the same dimensions, £5; nails and other things to finish both, £3 10s.; total for house and barn, £15 10s. These houses had dirt floors, clapboard floors for garret. Oldmixon copies these directions verbatim in his description of the houses of the first settlers. The directions, however, are very incomplete; no provisions are made for doors, windows, or chimneys. Of the latter these houses had but one, built outside the gable of the sitting-room, sometimes of stone, sometimes of clay and sticks, sometimes of wood only. The doors could be made of riven stuff, of course, with deer-skin hinges and wooden latch and bar, and the windows could be closed with clapboard shutters. A large fireplace was needed, with a stone hearth; the table could be made of hewn stuff, resting on puncheons driven into the ground, and blocks, stools, and benches would answer for seats. Rude wooden bedsteads or berths could be contrived along the walls, and a few bear-skins, with the bedclothes brought over

¹ The first control of roads was by the courts, which appointed overseers and fence-viewers, the grand jury laying out the roads; in 1692 the control of roads was given to the townships, and this lasted until the adoption of a general road law.

² The apportionment of lots in Germantown was made in the cave of Pastorius, October, 1683. Pastorius then built himself a small cabin in Philadelphia, thirty by fifteen feet. This was the house that had the oiled-paper windows, and the Latin motto that made Penn laugh. In 1685 Germantown was finally laid out, the settlement then comprising twelve families, forty-one persons in all. Then the Germantown was begun with a main street sixty feet wide. This street was marked along the Indian trail spoken of, and it must have run through very thick woods, for it is recorded that as late as 1717 a bear climbed over the fence into James Logan's garden at Stenton, between Philadelphia and Germantown. In 1691, when the Germantown Germans were naturalized, there were sixty-four males and heads of families in the town. Their descendants are many of them still in the neighborhood, but the names have changed materially in spelling: Op de Graeff is Updegraff; Conderits, Conrad; Schumacher, Shoemaker; Rittinghuysen, Rittenhouse; Strepers, Streepser; Souplis, Supplee; Scherker, Yerkes; Tissen, Tyson; Lucken, Lukens; Kleyer, Cleaver; Kurliis, Corlies; Casels, Castle; Kestner, Castner; Backer, Baker, etc. In the same way the names of the original Welsh settlers at Merion and elsewhere have broken down and become modern English surnames. "Ap" for son of has either disappeared or been blended with the succeeding word, so that Ap Humphrey becomes Pumphrey; Ap Howell, Powell; Ap Rees, Price, and Ap Hugh, Pugh. Ap John is converted into John's, Johns, or Jones; Ap Edward, Edwards; Ap William, Williams; Ap Robert, Roberts. Ap Owen becomes Bowen, and Ap Evan, Bevan. The words designating a man by his physical peculiarities, however, have not much changed.—Wynn, Winn, Gwynn still means fair, and is still in use; so also are Lloyd, brown, or gray, Gough (goch), red, and Vaughan (vychan), the younger, or little one. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company has carefully preserved the old Welsh names in some of its stations, as Wynnewood, Bryn Mawr, etc., but the owners of those original names have suffered them to be corrupted. Thus *Oem* has turned into Combe, *Glynde* is Lind, and *Oer-bryn* sinks into Coburn. But More (great), Gregg (hoarse), Balloch (speckle-face), Doe (black), Grimm (strong) remain unchanged. Craddock is an ancient corruption of Caradoc, Chowne is from Chun, Myerick and Merrick from Mairick, the source also of Meredith. Madoc is turned into Maddox. Pocock and Boccock are from the Welsh *Bochog* (puffy-cheeked); Davy, Daffy, Dawes, Dawkins, Taffy, Davison, are all Welsh forms of David, or Davids (Ap David). The name Pye is a corruption of Ap Hugh.

³ "Feather-edged," with one side thinner than the other, as shingles are made.

by every emigrant, would make them warm. The other furniture would comprise chiefly kitchen utensils; pork fat, whale or sturgeon oil, and pine knots or "light wood" would give all the artificial light needed.

Iron articles were most costly and hardest to get. Edward Jones, at Merion, writes in August, 1682, for nails, sixpennies and eightpennies; for mill-iron, an iron kettle for his wife, and shoes, all of which he says are dear; "iron is about two and thirty or forty shillings a hundred; steel about 1s. 5d. per pound." In Penn's "Directions" he recommends colonists to bring out with them, in the way of utensils and goods, "English Woollen and German Linen, or ordinary Broad-Clothes, Kerseys, Searges, Norwich-Stuffs, some Duffels, Cottons and Stroud-waters for the Natives, and White and Blew Ozenburgs [Osnaburgs], Shoes and Stockings, Buttons, Silk, Thread, Iron Ware, especially Felling Axes, Hoes, Indian Hoes, Saws, Frows [frowers, for splitting shingles], Drawing Knives, Nails, but of 6d. and 8d. a treble quantity, because they use them in shingling or covering of Houses." For the first year's stock for a farm he advises "three milch cows, with young calves by their sides, £10; yoke of oxen, £8; Brood mare, £5; two young Sows and a Boar, £1 10s.,—in all £24." For first year's provisions: Eight bushels of Indian corn per capita, and five bushels of English wheat, for five persons, £8 7s. 6d.; two barrels of molasses (for beer), £3; beef and pork, 120 pounds per head, at 2d. per pound, £5; five gallons spirits at 2s. per gallon, 10s. Three hands, with a little help from the woman and boy, can plant and tend 20,000 hills of corn (planted four feet each way, there are 2717 hills to an acre, or seven and one-third acres to the whole number of hills), and they may sow eight acres of spring wheat and oats, besides raising peas, potatoes, and garden stuff. The expected yield will be 400 bushels of corn, 120 bushels of oats and wheat, etc. These calculations were moderate for a virgin soil, free from vermin. Dr. More, in his letter to Penn in September, 1686, says, "I have had seventy ears of Rye upon one single root, proceeding from one single corn; forty-five of Wheat; eighty of Oats; ten, twelve, and fourteen of Barley out of one Corn. I took the curiosity to tell one of the twelve Ears from one Grain, and there was in it forty-five grains on that ear; above three thousand of oats from one single corn, and some I had that had much more, but it would seem a Romance rather than a Truth if I should speak what I have seen in these things."

A better class of houses than these clapboard ones with dirt floors were soon built. Indeed, the old log houses of the Swedes were more comfortable, especially when built like that of Sven Seners' at Wicaco, with a first story of stone and the superstructure of logs. A well-built log house, on a stone foundation, well filled in with bricks or stone and mortar, and ceiled inside with planking like a ship,

makes the driest, warmest, and most durable country-house that can be built. But in Philadelphia the settlers immediately began to burn bricks, and construct houses of them, often with a timber framework, in the old Tudor cottage style. This sort of building went on rapidly as soon as limestone began to be quarried and burnt. In Penn's "Farther Account," etc. (1685), he mentions the fact that he had built his brick house (probably the one in Letitia Court) in a good style and fashion "to encourage others, and that from building with wood," and he adds that "many have Brick Houses are now going up, with good cellars." He enumerates houses built by Arthur Cook, William Frampton, John Wheeler, the two brick-makers, Samuel Carpenter, John Test, N. Allen, and John Day, on Front Street chiefly. All these houses have balconies, he says. Pastorius is burning bricks at Germantown; Carpenter has a kiln for shell-lime on his wharf; a large plain brick house, in the centre, 60 feet by 40, is erecting for a meeting-house; another of the same dimensions on the river front or bank is also building for an evening meeting.

This better class of houses was of course, more elaborately furnished. It may be noticed that in John Goodson's directory cabinet-makers and other workmen in furniture and interior movables are mentioned, but all the first settlers must have brought or imported their furniture from Europe. It was stiff and heavy, scarcely anticipating that slim and spindling style which came in with the next English sovereign, and has recently been revived with an extravagance of pursuit seldom exhibited except in bric-a-brac hunters and opera-bouffe artistes. As yet not much mahogany and rosewood were used by the Northern nations (except the Dutch), but good solid oak, well-carved, and walnut were the favorite woods. There were great chests of drawers, massive buffets, solid tables, with flaps and wings, straight-back oak chairs, well-carved, leathern-seated chairs, studded with brass nails, and tall Dutch clocks. Much of the table furniture was pewter or common delf ware; brass and copper served in the kitchen, where now tin is used. Wood was the only fuel, and the fire-places, enormously capacious, had great iron dogs in them, to which, in winter-time, the back-log was often dragged by a yoke of oxen with the log-chain. Cranes and hooks, suspended in these fireplaces, held pots for the boiling, and the roasting was done on spits or upon "jacks," which dogs had to turn. The bread was baked in a brick oven usually outside the house, and the minor baking in "Dutch ovens," set upon and covered over with beds of red-hot coals. In the family part of the house the brass andirons and tongs and fender made the fire-glow upon the deep hearth look doubly cheerful. The Quakers did not use stoves until Benjamin Franklin inveigled them into it with that simulacrum of an open fireplace called the Franklin stove. The Swedes scarcely had chimneys, much less stoves, but the Germans early im-

ported the great porcelain stoves, which they were familiar with at home, and which they used until Christopher Saur, the Germantown printer, invented the ten-plate stove, for which lovers of the beautiful will scarcely know how to forgive him. All well-to-do families had good store of linen for bed clothes, blankets, etc.; the washing was not done often, and the chests of drawers were filled with homespun. Especially was this the case among the German settlers, who scarcely washed up the soiled house and person wear more than once in a quarter. It was the pride and test of a good housewife to have more linen made up than she knew what to do with, and this continues to be the case even to-day in Berks, York, and Lancaster Counties.¹ It is noteworthy that the Germans built their houses with one chimney, in the centre of the building, the English with a chimney at each end, and this distinction was so commonly marked as to attract the attention of travelers.² In their bedroom furniture the Germans substituted the "feather deck" for the blanket,—*more majorem*,—and this uncomfortable covering is still retained.

In the houses the floors down-stairs were sanded. There were no carpets as yet, not even home-made ones, and the Germans have not been using these for a hundred years. William Penn had no carpets in his Pensbury Manor house. The large, heavy tables in the dining and living rooms of the early homes groaned with plenty, and the great pewter dishes were piled high. The people worked hard, and they did not stint themselves. The Swedes, Germans, and Quakers were all of them hearty feeders, and they liked gross food. No dread of dyspepsia limited their dishes; they had abundance and enjoyed it. Only a few men of English habits and fond of port, brandy, and madeira, like Capt. Markham, ever had the gout.³ The rivers teemed with fish, and the Quakers early learned the virtues and delicious flavor of the shad, broiled on a plank at one side the fireplace, while a johnny-cake browned on another plank at the other side of the fire. Penn grew so fond of these that in 1686 he wrote to Harrison to send him some "snoakt haunches of venison and pork. Gett them of the Swedes. Some snoakt shadd and beef. *The old priest at Philadelphia (Fabricius) had rare shadd. Also some peas and beans of that country.*" Richard Townshend, in 1682, says that the first year colonists almost lived on fish, of which great quantities were

caught, the winter being an open one, and venison,—
"We could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel." Six rockfish or six shad could be bought for a shilling; oysters two shillings a bushel, herrings one shilling and sixpence per hundred. Sturgeon were caught for food, and also for the oil they supplied. The Delaware and the Schuylkill and adjacent pools and marshes were the resort of myriads of wild-fowl, from swan and geese down to rail and reed birds. As soon as the settlers became established, the flesh of all domesticated animals was cheap in the markets. Every family kept its own cows, made its own butter and cheese, salted, cured, and smoked its own bacon, beef, herring, shad, venison, and mutton. The smoke-house, dairy, and poultry-house were appendages to all town houses, and most of them had their own vegetable gardens likewise. It was the custom then, and remained so until long after the beginning of the present century, for every house to be provisioned as if to stand a siege. The cellars had great bins for potatoes and other roots and apples; there were tiers of barrels of fresh cider and casks for vinegar to ripen in, and in a locked recess were usually some casks of madeira, sherry, port, rum, brandy, gin, etc., for the master and his guests, with marsala and malaga for the women and children. There was an astonishing amount of drinking going on all the time; all drank something, if it was only ale or small beer. The pantry and store-house of the mistress was for use, not ornament. Her barrels of saur-kraut were in the cellar, her firkins of apple-butter occupied the ample garret, along with strings of onions, hampers of dried peaches and apples, and great bundles of dried herbs; but in the store-room the deep-bottomed shelf was ranged around with gray stone jars of large capacity, filled with pickles, the shelf above it marshaled a battalion of glass jars of preserves of every sort, and the upperselves bent under the weight of bottles filled with balsam apples for cuts and bruises in case of need, cordials, lavender, aromatic vinegars, and a hundred deft contrivances to tickle the palate, and deprave all stomachs but such as those of these hardy toilers in the open air.

The gardens yielded all the common vegetables, and people who ate so largely of salted meats and fish required much vegetable food and many sweets and acids to protect them from scorbutic affections. Onions, turnips, cabbage, potatoes were supplemented with the more delicate vegetables known in Germany. The Indians supplied the colonists with their first peas, beans, and squashes, taught them how to boil mush, to pound hominy, to roast the tender ears of corn, and prepare the delightful succotash. Much pastry was used, many sweetmeats and pickles, but not very high seasoning. At table, until tea and coffee became regular articles of diet with all classes, cider and the small beers of domestic brewing were

¹ In a clever little volume, published in 1873, called "Pennsylvania Dutch and other Essays," we read of one extremely provident and forward-looking dame, who had a bureau full of linen shirts and other clothes ready made up for her future husband, whom she was yet to meet, and whose measure she could, of course, only guess at, by assuming that the right man, when he did come, would be of the size and figure she had in her mind's eye in cutting out the garments.

² Schoepff's "Reise Durch Pennsylvanien," 1783, quoted by I. D. Rupp, notes to Dr. Rush's pamphlet on "Manners of the Germans in Pennsylvania."

³ In Governor Fletcher's time the Council adjourned to meet again in Markham's house because the gout prevented him from going out, and Fletcher wanted a full attendance of his advisers.

served without stint at every meal. In winter the beers were sweetened, spiced, warmed, and drunk for possets. Wines did not appear except upon the tables of the well-to-do, but rum and spirits were in every house, and all took their morning and noon drams in some shape or other. The effects of alcohol were neutralized by the active outdoor life all led, and by the quantities of coarse food taken at every meal. In the journal of William Black, who was in Philadelphia in 1744,¹ it is made to appear among the duties of hospitality to be treating to something or other every hour in the day. This young fellow either had a very strong head, or alcohol did not make the same impression upon the strong, healthy frame of the youth of that day which it does upon modern effeminate men. There was bread, cider, and punch for lunch, rum and brandy before dinner, punch, madeira, port, and sherry at dinner, bounce and liquors with the ladies, and wine and spirits *ad libitum* till bedtime. The party are welcomed too with a bowl of fine lemon punch big enough to have "swimm'd half a dozen young geese." After five or six glasses of this "poured down our throats," they rode to the Governor's house, were introduced and taken into another room, "where we was presented with a glass of wine," and it was punch, spirits, or "a few glasses of wine" wherever they went during their stay, his friends being, as he says, as liberal with their good wine "as an apple-tree of its fruit on a windy day in the month of July."

The dress of the people of Philadelphia in the early days of which we write was simple, plain, but not formal as that of the Quakers subsequently became. The country people, for their ordinary wear, made much use of serviceable leather doublets and breeches, woolen waistcoats, felt hats, heavy shoes with leather leggings, or else boots. They wore stout flannel next to the skin in winter, rough coats, and many woolen wraps about the throat; in summer, coarse Osnaburgs and home-made linens. All wore wigs, and the dress suits of cloth or camlet were brave with buttons, braid, and buckles, silk stockings and embroidered waistcoats, gold-laced hats and fine lace ruffles and cravats. Gentlemen wore their small swords; workmen and laborers either dressed in leather, druggets, serge, fustian, or lockram, or else in Osnaburgs. Common women and servants wore linen and domestics, linseys and calicoes; on their heads a hood or quilted bonnet, heavy shoes, home-knit stockings of thread or yarn, petticoats and short gowns, with a handkerchief pinned about the shoulders. The ladies had of course more brilliant and varied wardrobes; the hat was high-crowned, the hair much dressed; stomachers and corsage long and stiff; much cambric about the neck and bosom, much gimp, ribbon, and

galloon; silk or satin petticoats, and dainty shoes and stockings. A friend in 1697 sent Phineas Pemberton's wife "an alamode hood," and the ladies would contrive always to have something "*à la mode*." In the inventory of Christopher Taylor's estate are enumerated "a baratine body, stomacher, and petticoat, cambric kerchiefs, and forehead cloths." In that of John Moon were a "fine Brussels camelot petticoat, a yellow silk mantle, silk band and sash, silk and satin caps, hoods, lute-strings, white silk hoods." William Stanley's store had for sale "frieze, serge, broadcloth, Holland linen, yellow, green, and black calicoes, satins, lute-strings, tabby, silk plush, ribbon, striped petticoats, phillimot, ferret, flowered silks, thread laces, gimps, whalebones, galloons." Letitia Penn did not disdain to buy finery in Philadelphia,—caps, buckles, a watch, and other goldsmith's articles. There was not a great amount of luxury, however, nor much plate nor display of fine articles. The people's habits were simple. They were all industrious, ploddingly so, and the laws and sentiment and temper of the influential classes frowned equally upon display and extravagance. The wild youth, the sailors and laborers sometimes broke bounds, but the curb was in their mouths and they were soon reined up.

The population seemed to realize that they had their fortunes to make, and that good pay and great industrial opportunities made idleness and loose, extravagant living inexcusable. Wages were comparatively high, labor was respectable and respected, and no community has ever exceeded, in rapidity and symmetry of industrial development, the progress made by Philadelphia and its environs during the first twenty years of the town's existence. In 1689 there were ten vessels sent to the West Indies freighted with produce of the province, and the same year fourteen cargoes of tobacco were exported. In 1698 the river-front abounded with the conveniences and facilities requisite for an extensive commerce, and for building and repairing vessels, as well as loading and unloading them. Ship carpenters earned five and six shillings a day in wages, and on that pay would soon save money. The trade to the West Indies and Brazil consisted of horses and other live-stock, provisions, staves, etc. The vessels themselves were sold with their cargoes, and every one might have his little venture in a traffic which paid double the investment on each risk. Thus the ship carpenter, who laid by one day's wages a week, could, in a month or two, be trading to the Indies so as to give him £50 or £60 clear money at the end of a year, and that would buy him a farm, build him a house, or give him a share in some vessel on the stocks. In ten years he could become a capitalist, as many of his trade did so become. The timber of the Susquehanna and Delaware was sometimes sent across the ocean in huge raft ships, rigged with sails and manned by regular crews. We read of one of these, the

¹ Black was a young Virginian, secretary of the commissioners appointed by Governor Gooch, of Virginia, to unite with those of Pennsylvania and Maryland to treat with the Six Nations in 1744. His diary has been published in the *Penna. Magazine*, vol. i.

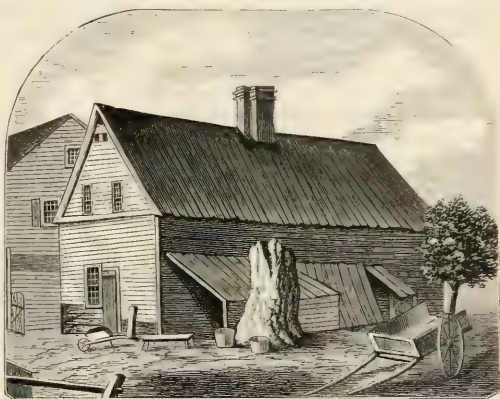
"Baron Renfrew," measuring five thousand tons, which arrived safely in the Downs.

Mills were established rapidly under the proprietary government. Penn had two on the Schuylkill. Richard Townshend had one at Chester, and one on Church Creek in 1683. The Society of Free Traders had a saw-mill and a glass-house in Philadelphia the same year. The saw-mills still could not meet the demand for lumber, and in 1698 hand-sawyers were paid six and seven shillings per hundred for sawing pine boards; in 1705, ten shillings. Shingles in 1698 sold for ten shillings per thousand; hemlock "cullings," ten shillings per hundred; timber, six shillings per ton. Printz's grist-mill on the Karakung was soon duplicated after the proprietary government took possession. Pastorius says the colony had mills enough; the Frankford Company had established several as early as 1686. In 1698, Thomas Parsons had a mill at Frankford, and Richard Dungworth one in Oxford township. In that same year the Darby Creek was lined with corn- and fulling-mills, doing superior work.¹ Garrett Rittenhouse had a grist-mill on Cresheim Creek in 1697, and the Robesons at the same time had one at Roxborough, on the Wissahickon. There were mills on the Pennypack before this, and some of these large mills added to their profits by having bakeries connected, where ship-bread was baked in quantities for sea-going vessels.

We have already spoken of the early manufacture of bricks. The Swedes' Church at Wicaco, still standing, was built of brick in 1700. The first Proprietary Assembly at Upland was held in a brick house, but these bricks were probably imported. The Centre Quaker meeting-house in Philadelphia was of brick, built in 1684. Robert Turner's brick house, Front and Arch Streets, was built in 1685, and Daniel Pegg's, above the creek, the same year. Penn tried to get this house for an executive mansion. Anthony Morris had a large brew-house at Dock Creek in 1697. Penn's brew-house at Pennsbury, still standing, was built before his mansion. Penn, Dr. More, and several others of the first settlers made strong efforts to improve native grapes, introduce the exotic grape and manufacture wine. They had wine made of fox-grape juice, and fancied it was as good as claret. Penn set out a vineyard at Springettsbury, and had a French vigneron to tend it. The experiment failed, however, and was abandoned before Penn's second visit. Pastorius was deceived also, and wrote to Germany for a supply of wine-barrels, which, however, he never filled, unless with cider or peach-brandy. No wonder Penn wanted to make wine at home,—his

province imported four hundred thousand gallons of rum and sixty thousand gallons of wine a year, costing over fifty thousand pounds annually.

Penn's leading object in establishing fairs in Philadelphia and the province was to promote industrial enterprises. At the first fair in 1686 only ten dollars worth of goods was sold. There was no money in Philadelphia, and exchanges could not be made. The fairs were held twice a year, three days each in May and November. These gatherings became very popular, and led to license and riot, races, gambling, and drunkenness, such as made the strict Quakers groan. Numerous complaints were recorded against them in the courts and proceedings of Council and Assembly, and they were finally suppressed, as supporters of vice and immorality, in 1783. Another plan of Penn's was to offer prizes for superior work in manufactures. In 1686, Abraham Op den Graaffe,



PENN'S OLD BREW-HOUSE, NEAR BRISTOL, BUCKS COUNTY.

of Germantown, petitioned Council to grant him the Governor's premium for "the first and finest piece of linen cloth." About the same time Wigart Levering, one of the Germantown colonists, began weaving in Roxborough. Matthew Houlgate, in 1698, bought property in the same township, and began a fulling-mill on the Wissahickon. The price in 1688 for spinning worsted and linen was two shillings per pound; knitting heavy yarn stockings, half a crown per pair. Wool-combers received twelve pence per pound; linen-weavers twelve pence per yard of stuff half a yard wide; journeyman tailors were paid twelve shillings a week and "their diet." There were several tailors early set up in Philadelphia, one of whom, Charles Blackman, did work for Governor Penn. The domestic manufactures of the day in linen and woolen wear supplied a large part of family wants. Fabrics were coarse but serviceable; and the women of the household, after the men had broke and hackled the flax and sheared the sheep,

¹ Gabriel Thomas.

did all the subsequent work of carding, spinning, weaving, bleaching, and dyeing. While wages were good, the clothes of apprentices and laborers were not expensive. Leather shoes with brass buckles and wooden heels lasted as long almost as leather breeches and aprons. Hemp and flax Osnaburghs, dyed blue, cost only a shilling or one and sixpence per yard, and a felt or wool hat and two or three pairs of coarse yarn stockings were good for two seasons. Wealthy people, who were imported velvets, satins, silks, and nankeens, however, had to pay extravagant prices for them, and the cost of a fashionable outfit often exceeded the money value of an eligible farm. The rapid increase of their "bestial" not only gave the Pennsylvania planters a valuable line of exports, but also early encouraged the manufacture of leather. Penn and the Free Society of Traders established a tannery in Philadelphia in 1683, and it was well supplied both with bark and hides. Leather was in general use for articles of clothing, such as are now made of other goods. Penn himself wore leather stockings, for which he paid twenty-two shillings a pair. In 1695 the exportation of dressed and undressed deer-skins was prohibited, in order to promote their utilization at home. Raw hides cost one and a half pennies per pound, while leather sold for twelve pence. A fat cow went to the butcher for three pounds, while beef sold for from three to four and a half pence per pound, a profit of over one hundred per cent. to butcher and tanner. But land was cheap, the Barbadoes market was always ready to pay well for cattle on the hoof, and these things secured good wages for labor in the mechanic arts. Carriers, who paid twenty pence a gallon for their oil, received three shillings and four pence a hide for dressing leather. Journeymen shoemakers were paid two shillings a pair for men's and women's shoes, and last-makers got ten shillings a dozen for lasts; heel-makers two shillings a dozen for wooden heels. Men's shoes sold for six shillings sixpence, and women's for five shillings per pair. In 1699 there were two tanneries, Hudson's and Lambert's, in Philadelphia, in "the swamp," on Dock Creek. Great skill and taste were displayed in the various makes of "white leather," soft leather, and buckskin for domestic wear, a branch of manufactures taken up by the Swedes in imitation of the Indians.

The mineral wealth of Pennsylvania, suspected by the Swedes, began to be revealed very early to the primitive settlers under the proprietary government. A Dutch colony is claimed to have worked iron in the Minnesink long before Penn came over, but there is nothing but tradition in regard to these pioneers. Penn wrote to Lord Keeper North, in 1683, that copper and iron had been found in divers places in the province. Gabriel Thomas speaks of the existence of iron-stone richer and less drossy than that of England; the copper, he says, "far exceeding ours,

being richer, finer, and of a more glorious color." These "finds" were in Chester County, the seat of the earliest iron-works in the province. Thomas also mentions limestone, lodestone, isinglass, asbestos, and amianthus. Blacksmiths earned high wages; one is mentioned who, with his negroes, by working up old iron at sixpence per pound, earned fifty shillings a day. All the contemporary writers speak of the heavy charges for smith-work, though there was no horseshoeing to be done. Silversmiths got half a crown or three shillings per ounce for working up silver, "and for gold, equivalent." There was a furnace and forges at Durham, in Bucks, before the eighteenth century set in.

Where there was so much hand-work done, and so many things to be accomplished by mere manual labor, there was naturally not much call nor room for brain-work. The habits of the Swedes, the system and culture of the Society of Friends were not particularly favorable to intellectual growth nor to education. Many more scholars, wits, and learned men came to Pennsylvania in the first two generations than went out of it. The learned Swedish pastors were exotics, and their successors, from Campanius to Collins, had to be imported from the mother-country. They did not grow up in the Delaware country. Nor did Penn's "wooden country" (as Samuel Keimer, Franklin's odd companion at the case, calls it) produce any parallels or equals to the university scholars who, like Penn, the Lloyds, Logan, Growden, Shippen, Nicholas and John More, Pastorius, Wynne, White, Guest, Mompesson, and others, devoted their talents and learning to the service of the infant commonwealth. There is some truth in the satire of Rufus Choate when he toasted Pennsylvania's two greatest men, "One born in New England, and the other in Old England." Penn himself, it was alleged in Council, on the trial of Bradford for the unlicensed printing of the charter and laws (a work which he was instigated to by Judge Growden), had taken the Virginia Governor Berkeley's rule for his pattern, and wished to discourage publications of all sorts. The learned and elegant professions indeed were not well nurtured in Pennsylvania's early days. In Goodson's inventory of occupations the "chirurgeon" was put down between the barbers and the staymakers. Gabriel Thomas shows that the professions were contemned. "Of Lawyers and Physicians," he observes, "I shall say nothing, because this Country is very Peaceable and Healthy; long may it so continue and never have occasion for the Tongue of the one or the Pen of the other, both equally destructive to men's Estates and Lives." Where the sole source of Divinity was "the Inner Light," cultivated persons were not to be looked for in the ministry; education was rather esteemed a hindrance than a help to the free and perfect expression of inspiration. It was a "snare" and a "device," like the steeple on the church's tower, the

stained glass in its windows, like the organ in the choir, and the gowns and also the salaries and benefices of the clergymen.

Bradford was driven out of Philadelphia more by the indifference of its people to the sort of work he chose to make his living by than on account of prosecution and intolerance. He did not care how active hostilities were against him, being a belligerent himself, but apathy was something which baffled him. He printed all that offered; he made work for himself, yet could not get enough to do to support him. The little printing he did outside of official matters, forms, briefs, and almanacs, was chiefly polemical, acrid as the exudations of the toad, and dry enough to reduce a proof-reader's brains to pumice-stone. No man of Bradford's energetic and volatile temperament could oscillate between John Burnyeat's "Epistles" and George Keith's "Serious Appeal" and live. Bradford stood it for eight years and then fled. He did some good work while in the province. His *Kalendarium Pensilvaniense* shows that a man's individuality may impress itself even upon an almanac. This, the earliest book printed in the province, came out late in 1685 as the calendar of the coming year. It has all the features of such works, with a touch of Bradford throughout. His chronology begins with the Noachian deluge, "3979 years before the almanac," and the building of London, "2793 years before the almanac," and concludes with "the beginning of government here by the Lord Penn five years before the almanac." And Council forced him to blot over his "Lord" Penn with a full-inked "three M quad." Bradford published the poem of Richard Frame, which has been quoted from on a preceding page. He published one Burlington and two Philadelphia almanacs, a good many broadsides and tracts, "The Temple of Wisdom for the Little World," which contains (a proof of the printer's taste) Bacon's Essays and Thomas Quarles' Emblems, proposals for printing the Bible, large copy, by subscription, a number of Keith's offensive diatribes, several papers by Gershom Bulkeley on the Connecticut Charter, several tracts in answer to Keith, and an anti-slavery poem attacking Samuel Jennings. Bradford went to New York in 1693, to be succeeded after some years by Reynier Jansen, who is thought to have been the first printer's apprentice.

There is really as little to say about the doctors and lawyers of the province as Thomas allows. The Dutch Annals mention a surgeon of the name of Jan Oosting, another, William Van Rasenberg, who was called indifferently barber and surgeon, and Everts and Arent Pietersen. These three in three years received government pay to the amount of two thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight florins as physicians and "comforters of the sick."¹ In the journal of Sluyter and Dankers, Otto Ernest Cock is

called a physician, or rather "a late medicus." In addition to Drs. Thomas Wynne, Griffith Owen, and Nicholas More, John Goodson was also a physician under Penn's government, and so was Edward Jones, founder of Merion, and son-in-law of Dr. Wynne. Dr. John Le Pierre, who was reputed to be an alchemist, came over about the same time as Penn. Dr. More did not practice his profession in the colony, but Griffith Owen was a regular physician from the date of his arrival. There were several other "chirurgions" among the "first purchasers," but it is not ascertained that any of them immigrated to the province. Doctors could not be well dispensed with, since, in addition to colds, consumptions, and constant malarial disorders, the province was visited by three or four severe epidemics, including a fatal influenza which attacked all the settlements and colonies on the Atlantic, an outbreak of pleurisy which was noticeably destructive at Upland and New Castle, and a plague of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1699. The smallpox likewise was a regular and terrible visitor of the coast, though its most fearful ravages were among the Indians.

In addition to the leading lawyers already named, Charles Pickering appears to have been a member of the bar, as well as a planter on a large scale, a miner, and copper- and iron-worker, a manufacturer of adulterated coins, and a sort of warden of the territory in dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore. Patrick Robinson, the recalcitrant clerk of Judge More's court, was an attorney, and Samuel Hersent was prosecuting attorney for the province in 1685, afterwards securing his election to the sheriffalty of Philadelphia. David Lloyd succeeded him as attorney-general, and distinguished himself in the controversies with Admiralty Judge Quarry. John Moore was the royal attorney in Quarry's court. John White and William Assheton were also lawyers in Philadelphia before the end of the sixteenth century.

These gentlemen of the bar found plenty of work to do. There were many disputed titles of land, there was a great deal of collecting to do in the triangular trade between the province, the West Indies, and the mother-country, and there were numbers of personal issues and suits for assaults, libels, etc. Besides, while Penn himself did all he could to prevent litigations, the character of his laws necessarily called for the constant interference of the courts in affairs not properly their concern. There were some sumptuary laws, many restrictive ones, and the whole system was unpleasantly inquisitive and meddlesome. It kept up the same sort of obnoxious interference with private business and personal habits which made the Puritan system so intolerable, but its penalties had none of the Puritan's atrocious severity and bloodthirst. It must be confessed that the unorthodox person of gay temperament who sought to amuse himself in primitive Philadelphia was likely to have a hard time of it. The sailor who landed there on liberty after a tedious

¹ Westcott's History of Philadelphia, chap. lii.

three months' cruise soon found that he was not at Wapping. The Quakers had learned to despise riot and debauchery, less perhaps because it was vicious and demoralizing than for the reason that it was offensive to their ingrained love of quiet and order and to their passion for thrift and economy. Wildness, sport, all the livelier amusements were abhorrent to them because they signified extravagance and waste. The skirts of their Christian charity, admirable, thoughtful, and deep as that was, seemed never broad enough to embrace or condone prodigality. When the prodigal son came home to them the fatted calf was not killed, but the question was wonderingly and seriously asked (saying the oath), "*Mais, que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?*" That was the way precisely in which they treated William Penn, Jr., when he was arrested for rioting and beating the watch in a tavern. Instead of *excusing* him for his youth and for his worthy father's sake, they *accused* him on that account, and the father's great character actually became a part of the body of the indictment against the profligate son. No wonder that the father should have cried in the bitterness of his heart, "See how much more easily the bad Friends' treatment of him stumbled him from the blessed truths than those he acknowledged to be good ones could prevail to keep him in possession of it."

In fact, all that was not exactly according to Quaker ways was narrowly looked upon as vice and to be suppressed. Christmas mumming was accused as flagrant licentiousness. Horse-racing was prevented by the grand jury. It offended the sobriety of the community for ships to fire salutes on arriving and departing. The laws against the small vices were so promiscuous and indiscriminate and the penalties so ill balanced, that when the Pennsylvania code was finally presented to Queen Anne for approval, her ministers drew their pens through half the list of misdemeanors and penalties, for the reason that they "restrain her Majesty's subjects from innocent sports and diversions. However, if the Assembly of Pennsylvania shall pass an act for preventing of riotous sports, and for restraining such as are contrary to the laws of this kingdom, there will be no objection thereto, so it contains nothing else."¹ The character of these unnatural restraints is fully illustrated in certain "extracts from the records of Germantown Court" (1691 to 1707) and "presentments, petitions, etc., between 1702 and 1774."² For example, Peter Keurlis, charged with not coming when the justices sent for him, with refusing to lodge travelers, with selling barley-malt at four pence per quart, and with violating Germantown law by selling more than a gill of rum and a quart of beer every half-day to each individual. Peter's answers cover the whole case of

the absurdity of such apron-string government. He did not come because he had much work to do; he did not entertain travelers, because he only sold drink and did not keep an ordinary; he knew nothing about the four pence a quart law of the province, and as for the Germantown statute, the *people he sold to being able to bear more*, he could not or would not obey the law. The court, however, took his license away from him and forbade him to sell any drink, under penalty of £5. Oaths and charges of lying, when brought to the court's notice, if the offender acknowledged his fault and begged pardon, were "forgiven and laid by," the law making them finable offenses. Reinert Peters fined twenty shillings for calling the sheriff a liar and a rascal in open street. A case of Smith *vs.* Falkner was continued because the day when it was called "was the day wherein Herod slew the Innocents." George Muller, for his drunkenness, was condemned to five days' imprisonment; "*item*, to pay the Constable two shillings for serving the warrant in the case of his laying a wager to smoke above one hundred pipes in one day." Herman Dors, being drunk, called Trinke op den Graeff a naughty name, accused Peters of being too kind to Trinke, called his own sister a witch and another vile name, and said his children were thieves; brought before the court, "and there did particularly clear all and every one of the said injured persons, who, upon his acknowledgments of the wrongs done them by him, freely forgave him;" the court fined him five shillings. Peter Shoemaker, Jr., accuses the horses of John van der Willderness of being "unlawful," because they "go over the fence where it had its full height." The jury, however, found Shoemaker's fences to be "unlawful." The court orders that "none who hath no lot nor land in this corporation shall tie his horse or mare or any other cattle upon the fences or lands thereof, either by day or night, under the penalty of five shillings." Abraham op den Graeff is before court for slandering David Sherker, saying no honest man would be in his company. Verdict for defendant. "Nov. 28th, 1704, Daniel Falkner, coming into this Court, behaved himself very ill, like one that was last night drunk, and not yet having recovered his wits." Falkner seemed so aggressive that the sheriff and constable were ordered to "bring him out," which was done, he crying, "You are all fools!" which indeed was not the remark of a drunken but a sober man. No court could continue to waste time in preposterous trivial proceedings of such sort without exhausting the patience of a community and making it impossible for people to avoid such outbursts as those of Falkner.

Among the Philadelphia grand jury presentments, etc., quoted in these papers, we find one against George Robinson, butcher, "for being a person of evell fame as a common swearer and a common drinker, and particularly upon the 23d day of this inst., for swearing three oaths in the market-place, and also for utter-

¹ Privy Council to Governor on repealing certain laws, Pennsylvania Archives, 1709, vol. 1 p. 155, First Series.

² Published in Volume First of Collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, pp. 243-58 et seq.

ing two very bad curses the 26th day of this inst." Philip Gilbeck utters three curses also; presented and fined for terrifying "the Queen's liege people." John Smith, living in Strawberry Alley, presented "for being maskt or disguised in womens' apparell; walking openly through the streets of this city from house to house on or about the 26th of the 10th month [day after Christmas], *it being against the Law of God, the Law of this province and the Law of nature, to the staining of holy profession and Incorridging of wickedness in this place.*" All this against an innocent Christmas masquerade! Children and servants robbing orchards is presented as a "great abuse" and "licentious liberty," a "common nuisance" and "agreeviance." Such ridiculous exaggeration destroys the respect for law which alone secures obedience to it. John Joyce, Jr., is presented "for having to *wifes at once*, which is boath against y^e Law of God and Man." Dorothy, wife of Richard Canterrill, presented for masking in men's clothes the day after Christmas, "walking and dancing in the house of John Simes at 9 or 10 o'clock at night,"—not even charged with being in the street! Sarah Stiner, same offense, but on the streets, "dressed in man's Cloathes, contrary to y^e nature of her sects . . . to y^e grate Disturbance of well minded persons, and incorridging of vice in this place." John Simes, who gave the masquerade party, is presented for keeping a disorderly house, "a nursery to Debotch y^e inhabitants and youth of this city . . . to y^e Greef of and disturbance of peaceable minds and *propigating ye Throne of wickedness amongst us.*" Peter Evans, gentleman, presented for sending a challenge to Francis Phillips to fight with swords.¹ The grand jury report that their predecessors having frequently before presented the necessity of a ducking-stool and house of correction "for the just punishment of scolding, Drunken Women, as well as Divers other profligate and Unruly persons in this place, who are become a Publick Nuisance and disturbance to this Town in Generall, Therefore we, the Present Grand Jury, do Earnestly again present the same to this Court of Quarter Sessions for the City, desiring their immediate Care, That *those public Conveniences* may not be any longer Delay'd." Certainly it is a novel idea to class ducking-stools and houses of correction among "public con-

veniences." There are three successive presentments to this effect.² The grand-jury also present negroes for noisy assemblages in the streets on Sunday, and think that they ought to be forbidden to walk the streets in company after dark without their masters' leave. Mary, wife of John Austin, the cordwainer, is presented because she was and yet is a common scold "a Comon and public disturber, And Strife and Debate amongst her Neighbours, a Comon Sower and Mover, To the great Disturbance of the Liege Subjects," etc. In spite of all these presentments and indictments, however, and especially those against drunkenness and tipping-houses, we find in a presentment drawn by Benjamin Franklin in 1744 that these houses, the "Nurseries of Vice and Debauchery," are on the increase. The bill says there were upwards of one hundred licensed retail liquor-houses in the city, which, with the small groceries, "make by our computation near a tenth part of the city, a Proportion that appears to us much too great." One place, where these houses are thickest, has "obtained among the common People the shocking name of *Hell-town.*"

CHAPTER XII.

PENN'S ADMINISTRATION, 1699-1701—PENNSBURY MANOR—THE PROPRIETARY RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

THE ship—the "Canterbury," Capt. Fryers—in which William Penn crossed the ocean to his province in 1699, came up to Chester on December 1st. The next day, on landing, the Governor's arrival was heralded with a military salute, in the course of which a young man had his arm blown off by the premature discharge of the cannon. On Sunday, December 3d, Penn reached Philadelphia, and made a formal call upon his deputy, Governor Markham, the other dignitaries of the town and province, including Judge Quarry, of the Admiralty Court, and John Moore, crown prosecutor, having met and received him at the water's edge. From Markham's house Penn proceeded to the Friends' meeting-house at Second and High Streets, and took part in the afternoon meeting, offering a prayer, and delivering one of those short, incisive addresses in which he was so happy. Penn was very well received by all classes in the community, says James Logan, who had come out with the Governor, and was in constant attendance upon him. It was rumored by the *quidnuncs* of the day, and the party hostile to Penn's administration and to the proprietary government, that there would be some difficulty in regard to Penn's resumption of his active functions as Governor, on account of his

¹ Evans' challenge was as follows: "Sir: You have basely slandered a Gentlewoman that I have a profound respect for, And for my part shall give you a fair opportunity to defend yourself to-morrow morning, on the west side of Jos. Carpenter's Garden, betwixt seven and 8, where I shall expect to meet you, *Gladio cinctus*, in failure whereof depend upon the usage you deserve from yr, etc.

"PETER EVANS.

"I am at y^e Powter Platter."

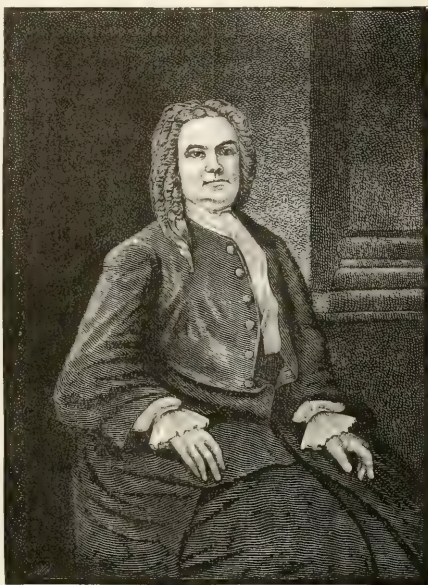
Phillips appears to have been arrested, for the grand jury present him for contriving to "deprive, annihilate, and condemn" the authority of mayor and recorder by saying, "Tell the mayor, Robert Hill, and the recorder, Robert Assheton, that I say they are no better than Rogues, Villains, and Scoundrells, for they have not done me justice, and might as well have sent a man to pick my pocket or rob my house as to have taken away my servant," etc.

² It would be curious to inquire how the great moral idea of the ducking-stool, as a public convenience and a cure for scolding women, originated.

inability to take the oaths prescribed by Parliament. Judge Quarry, who had been in bitter controversy with Markham, Attorney-General Lloyd, and the Council for some time, had, as it was known, denounced the testimony on affirmation in the piracy cases as being unworthy of credit, and, in fact, not testimony at all. It was, perhaps, hoped and believed by the faction which sought to upset Penn's government and convert his province into a fief of the crown that Judge Quarry would apply his rule to the case of the Governor's return to office, and thus provoke an open issue forthwith. Quarry and Moore, however, did nothing of the kind, but, by being present to receive Penn, practically admitted that his authority was unimpeachable. On the other hand, Penn's supporters, the Quakers and Germans, and all who were really anxious for a stable government and the settlement of feuds and disorders, welcomed the proprietary's arrival as an auspicious event and the harbinger of peace. In Logan's words, they "concluded that, after all their sufferings, this province now scarcely wanted anything to render it completely happy." Penn, indeed, soon had a long interview with Judge Quarry, in which there was an abundance of courtesy on both sides, and by mutual consent it was agreed that a little concession on the

part of the high contending parties would not be difficult when both confessed they had made mistakes, and that nothing else was needed to estab-

lish a *modus vivendi* between the representatives of the imperial and the proprietary governments. No such complete understanding was indeed arrived at until after Penn's diplomacy had secured the removal of Judge Quarry and the appointment of Judge Mompesson in his stead. Penn and Quarry came to quarrel with each other more violently, and with more bitter language than had been used between Markham and the Admiralty Court, but meantime it was important to have the community know that they were at least temporarily on good terms, and that Penn did not feel himself obliged to take up Markham's controversies, or follow precisely in his footsteps. The proprietary's position would



EDWARD SHIPPEN, FIRST MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA.
[Drawn from original painting in possession of Edw. Shippen,
by P. F. Goist.]

be greatly strengthened if people should look up to him as the Governor of the whole province, the friend of all parties, the arbiter in all difficulties and mis-understandings, and one who was so far above factions as to be out of reach of improper influences and prejudices.

After the meeting was over and Friends had dispersed to their homes, Penn and his suite went to the house of Edward Shippen,¹ residing there for a

¹ West side of Second Street, north of Spruce Street, called the "Great House," and also the "Governor's House." It was inclosed on two sides by a garden, extending to Laurel or Levant Street; in this garden stood two tall pine-trees of the primeval forest, a well-known landmark, visible for a great distance in every direction. The house was built in 1693; Shippen had only occupied it from 1695 to 1696. After Penn left the house, Lord Cornbury lodged and dined there when he came over to proclaim Queen Anne's accession. Lords were not frequent visitors at that day in any of the colonies, except Virginia, and Cornbury's presence made a great deal to do. James Logan wrote to Penn of how he hastily got up a splendid dinner for him at the slate-roof house, followed by another at the Shippen house, with covers for thirty persons, and supplemented by an entertainment at Pennsbury, which place his lordship found much to admire in. An old lady's disappointment is chronicled who, hearing that "my lord" was passing by, ran out in great haste to have a look at the well-born man of titles, and found him not different from other people, except that he wore "leather stockings." Shippen and his family resided in the house after Penn left it, and his son was here arrested for assault and battery on Thomas Clark, Esq. Governor Sir William Keith

lived here while in the executive chair of the province, 1717 to 1726, and William Denny also, Deputy Governor from 1756 to 1759. Ellis Lewis made it his residence, and it was in his widow's possession during the British occupation of Philadelphia, Maj. Baumeister, a Hessian officer, being quartered on her. Cornwallis is likewise thought to have lived here for a time. The house was built by Edward Shippen, born in England in 1639, son of a Yorkshire gentleman named William Shippen. The family was one of consequence, Edward's nephew, Rev. Dr. Robert Shippen, being principal of Brazen Nose College and vice-chancellor of Oxford University, and another nephew, William, was the "downright Shippen" of Pope's verses, leader of the Jacobites, whom Walpole confessed to be proof against corruption, and whose courage and integrity in Parliament procured him a commitment to the Tower in 1717. Edward Shippen came to America in 1668, settled in Boston, and got rich as a merchant. He was a member of the Established Church, and belonged to the artillery company, but in 1671 he married Elizabeth Lybrand, a Quakeress, and joined the Society of Friends. He became at once a mark for New England intolerance and fanaticism, and was forced to take his share of the "jailments" and scourgings which were visited upon his

month, when he took up his residence in the "Slate-Roof House," his city home during the remainder of his sojourn in the province.¹

sect. In 1693 a meteor appeared in the Massachusetts atmosphere and was made the signal for a fresh persecution of Quakers and Baptists, in which Shippen was banished. He probably knew Penn and was invited to Philadelphia. At any rate he went there, bought his lot, built his house, and by the end of 1694 had closed up his business and removed his family to the new city, having first erected a memorial "on a green" near a "pair of gallows, where several of our friends had suffered death for the truth and were thrown into a hole." Shippen was a man of wealth, handsome face and figure, talents and high character, and his mansion was a "princely place." He soon stepped to the front in the new community, and Penn lavished honors and positions on him. He was Speaker of the Assembly in 1695, first mayor of Philadelphia (1701), and in 1702-4 president of Council, after Andrew Hamilton's death, and *ex-officio* Deputy Governor of the province until Penn sent over William Penn, Jr., and John Evans to supersede him. In 1704, Shippen married his third wife, Elizabeth James, and, as she was not a Quaker, he himself withdrew from the society, but continued on good terms with them and prominent in public affairs until his death in 1712.

¹ This old mansion, when first built the largest house in Philadelphia, better known even than the "Letitia House," or any other of the historic places connected with Penn and the city he founded (except the Shackamaxon treaty elm), was only recently removed (in 1867), to make way for the imposing structure erected by the Chamber of Commerce. It was a quaint-looking house, with a sort of individuality of its own that quite beamed it, and in its original state, with extensive gardens surrounding it, inclosed within a high wall, must have had a commanding aspect. Graydon, who lived there (his mother, the "Dearly" or Desdemona of the pert British officers of the day, kept the place as a boarding-house just before the Revolution), describes the old house:—It stood on the corner of Second Street and Norris Alley, afterwards Gothic Street,—as a "singular, old-fashioned structure, laid out in the style of a fortification, with abundance of angles, both salient and re-entering. Its two wings projected to the street in the manner of bastions, to which the main building, retreating from sixteen to eighteen feet, served for a curtain. Within it was cut up into a number of apartments, and on that account was exceedingly well adapted to the purpose of a lodging-house, to which use it had long been appropriated." The yard or garden was graced with a row of venerable pine-trees, and the association of the place gave it a substantial historic interest. It bore much less the look of a fortress than Graydon's military eye conceived. The back building was as peaceful-looking as the culinary offices should be, and the neat little chambers in the so-called bastions were cosy nooks, with chimney-places in the corners. The kitchen had a giant pile of chimney, with a great fireplace, and the garrets were high and roomy. The house was roofed with slate said to have been brought from England, but plenty of the material was to be had near Philadelphia, and Pennsbury was roofed with this, according to Gabriel Thomas. This house was built for Samuel Carpenter by James Porteus. It was erected about 1698, and Penn was probably its earliest occupant. Carpenter had built in 1684-85 a house on Front Street, near his wharf and warehouses, and it is likely he lived there after the slate-roof house was completed. Carpenter was a man of great ability and enterprise, accumulating wealth rapidly and doing much to build up the city of his adoption. He married Hannah Hardiman, a Welsh Quakeress and preacher, in 1684, and held many important positions,—member of the Assembly, treasurer of the province, etc. He bought large tracts of land, owned numerous vessels, mines, quarries, and mill-seats, so much property in fact that it impoverished him and threw him into serious pecuniary embarrassment, though he was ranked as the richest man in the province. He died in his house in King Street (now Water Street), between Chestnut and Walnut Streets, April 10, 1714, and the Friends' Meeting, after his death, said of him that "he was a pattern of humility, patience, and self-denial; a man fearing God and hating covetousness, much given to hospitality and good works. He was a loving, affectionate husband, tender father, and a faithful friend and brother." Carpenter's brother Joshua, a brewer, was nominated for alderman of Philadelphia in Penn's charter for the city, 1701, but declined the place, having made a "vow or oath" never to serve under the proprietary. (Penn and Logan Correspondence). The Carpenters were English, arriving out soon after Penn's first visit. Samuel himself was opposed to Penn's conduct of affairs in the province, and signed a memorial and protest to Queen Anne in 1709. Carpenter's house, which was let to Penn furnished, was occupied during Penn's

Penn and his family moved into the slate-roof house in January, 1700, and there, on the 29th of that month, was born John Penn, called "the American," the proprietary's only child not of English birth, son of William Penn by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill.

This confinement of Mrs. Penn, the need to look about him and ascertain the real condition of public affairs, so greatly entangled, and the sickness and depression prevailing in Philadelphia, prevented Penn from dispatching much business until some time after his arrival. He was in Philadelphia three weeks before calling a meeting of the Council. The sickness in the city must have been distressing, though it could not have been a return of the yellow fever, since it occurred long after the season of frost. In the Logan papers a letter from Isaac Norris to his English correspondent in 1699 speaks of illness and daily deaths for quite a number of weeks, and he gives the names of many prominent Friends who had succumbed or were supposed to be dying. In another of these letters, written in March, 1701, the same writer speaks of the infant John Penn in this fashion: "Their little son is a comely, lovely babe, and has much of his father's grace and air, and hope he will not want a good portion of his mother's sweetness, who is a woman extremely well beloved here, exemplary in her station and of an excellent spirit, which adds lustre to her character, and has a great place in the hearts of good people." When spring opened Penn and his family removed to the manor house at Pennsbury, and probably resided there all summer as well as during the spring and summer of

unexpired term and afterwards by James Logan; when Governor Evans, William Penn, Jr., and Judge Mompesson came over in 1704, the four kept bachelor's hall at the Clark mansion (later Pemberton's), southwest corner of Third and Chestnut Streets. The slate-roof house had been sold in the latter part of 1703 to William Trent, the Inverness miller, who founded and gave his name to Trenton, N. J. Trent paid \$850 for it. In 1709 he sold it for £900 Pennsylvania currency to Isaac Norris, who occupied it until his removal to Fairhill in 1717. The Norris family owned the house until 1867, when it was bought by the Chamber of Commerce and torn down. From 1717 onwards it appears to have been used as a boarding and lodging-house, being in several hands besides those of Mrs. Graydon. Gen. Forbes, Braddock's successor, died there in 1759, at which time the house was kept by Mrs. Howell. Baron de Kalb lodged there in 1768-69, when he was the secret agent of France. Sir William Draper, the target of Junius' sarcasm, lodged there with Mrs. Graydon during his visit to the colonies. James Rivington, the Tory printer and publisher, ate and slept there, and the house is reported also to have lodged John Hancock and George Washington during the first sessions of the Continental Congress. Baron Steuben, Peter S. Duponceau, and others lodged here for a while after the British evacuated Philadelphia. Later it was the seat of a boarding school, kept by Madame Berdeau, reputed to be the widow of Dr. Johnson's Dr. Dodd, hung in London for forgery in 1777; then it became a workshop, a place of business, and a tenement-house, with shops on the ground floor, which were occupied by tailors, engravers, watch-makers, silversmiths, etc. Under one of the "bastions" a notable oyster cellar was opened, the resort of the merchants and bankers doing business in that vicinity. Logan was very desirous that Penn should buy the house when Trent offered it for sale, and said that it was hard that the Governor did not have the money to spare. "I would give twenty to thirty pounds out of my own pocket that it were thine, nobody's but thine," said honest James.

1701, until they returned to England. Mrs. Deborah Logan has preserved a pretty tradition of the mother and child, told her in youth by an aged woman of Bucks County, who remembered that when she was a girl she went to the manor house at Pennsbury with a basket containing some rustic tribute or other, and saw the proprietary's wife, "a delicate and pretty woman, sitting beside the cradle of her infant." A vivid photograph this of the life at Pennsbury, of that domestic serenity and quiet which Penn yearned for, and yet from which his wife and daughter Letitia were incessantly eager to hurry him away. They were weary of the solitude of Pennsbury, broken only by the soft tread of the Indian, or by the petty squabbles and small concerns of the Philadelphia politicians. They were used to country life, but it was the country life of old England, with mansions that looked out on smooth green lawns inclosed with hedges of privet and hawthorn, not a life in the frayed selvage of the measureless backwoods, with a deep river in front, and behind nothing but insolent bears and wolves and painted savages with scalps hanging at their belts!

In the slate-roof house and at Pennsbury the proprietary maintained a good deal of state. He entertained much and liberally, and had a large retinue of attachés and servants. When he went from his manor to his capital city, to attend the meetings of Council or look after other business, he proceeded in his eight-oared barge, and must have looked well passing ceremoniously along the river-front to the landing-place. There may have been something of policy in this stately parade and in the insignia of office with which Penn chose to surround himself as the lord paramount of a great and prosperous territory, rapidly growing in population and consequence. But Penn was rather fond of display for its own sake. He cherished power, both because it gave him influence for good and because he liked to know that he had influence. In the same way he enjoyed the sense of his proprietorship of such a great domain, the work of his own hand, and he liked to show himself as the "monarch of all he surveyed." This was so openly and ingenuously done that it provoked comment and satire. The people, who thought that a Governor who kept such state and entertained so liberally must be very rich, complained that he should be demanding subsidies and extorting quit-rents from them. The English party, headed by Judge Quarry and others, who wanted the crown to take possession of the government, looked upon this lofty post of the Governor's as the assumption of too independent an attitude towards the mother-country. The vulgar and envious were disposed to carp and sneer at a dignity which they proclaimed to be altogether unsuited to the humility and plainness of one holding the self-subduing faith of the Society of Friends. In 1703 one Francis Bugg, an apostate Quaker, who had bloomed into a full-grown churchman, published a

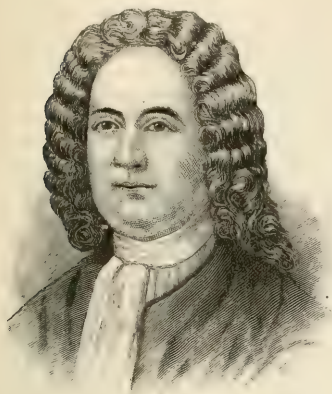
tract in London called "News from Pennsylvania," in which ample expression is given to this mean spirit of detraction. "Our present Governor, William Penn," writes Bugg, "wants the sacred unction, tho' he seems not to want majesty, for the grandeur and magnificence of his mien (tho' his clothes be sordid in respect to his mind, being not arrayed in royal robes) is equivalent to that of the Great Mogul, and his word in many cases as absolute and binding. The gate of his house (or palace) is always guarded with a janissary armed with a varnished club of nearly ten foot long, crowned with a large silver head, embossed and chased as an hieroglyphic of its master's pride. There are certain days in the week appointed for audience, and as for the rest you must keep your distance. His *corps du gard* generally consists of seven or eight of his chief magistrates, both ecclesiastical and civil, which always attend him, and sometimes there are more. When he perambulates the city, one, bareheaded, with a long white wand on his shoulder, in imitation of the Lord Marshal of England, marches grandly before him and his train, and sometimes proclamation is made to clear the way. At their meeting-houses," continues Bugg, whose pen is rather more clever than truthful or generous, "first William leads the van like a mighty champion of war, rattling as fast as the wheels of his leathern conveyency.¹ After him follow the mighty Dons according to their several movings, and then for the chorus the Feminine Prophets tune their Quail pipes for the space of three or four hours, and having ended as they began with howlings and yawlings, hems and haws, gripings and grasplings, they spend the remainder of the day in feasting each other, and to-morrow they go into the country, and so on from meeting-house to meeting-house, till, like the Eastern armies in former times, they have devoured all the provisions both for men and beasts about the country, and then the spirit ceasing they return to their own outward homes."

While Penn sojourned at Pennsbury, James Logan remained at the slate-roof house, with patient fidelity and comprehensive grasp of mind seeking to acquaint himself with all the details of the proprietary's complicated business and all the multiplied affairs of the province and city. Never was man or State better served than Penn and Pennsylvania by James Logan, a character so admirable that one comes to have an affectionate regard for him as for all who merit the epitaph: "Well done, good and faithful servant." Self-poised, sedate, retiring, and even reserved, a scholar with some of the tendencies of the recluse, he seemed to know nothing but his loyalty and duty to the friend who trusted him and to the community whose most intimate interests were in his keeping. He was everything to Penn and Penn's family from

¹ Penn *did* have a state coach for four horses, and it must have rattled a good deal in traversing the stumpy, root-roughened road from Pennsbury to Philadelphia.

the day when he entered the proprietary's service, and his zeal and industry were made doubly effective by tact, shrewdness, diplomatic skill, and a composed intelligence always steadily concentrated upon the one object of his life. Penn was not always fortunate in his judgment of character and in selecting his agents, but he was not deceived in the implicit faith

the crowning act of a long life of benevolence and exalted public spirit.'



JAMES LOGAN.

with which Logan inspired him. "I have left thee," wrote Penn, after going on shipboard to return to England in 1701, "in an uncommon trust, with a singular dependence on thy justice and care, which I expect thou wilt faithfully employ in advancing my honest interests." Nobly did Logan discharge that trust, and nobly did this virtuous and accomplished gentleman bear himself in every relation of life. He was not largely recompensed, for Penn allowed him no more than £100 a year, and Hannah Penn, for the heirs, only deeded to him a part of the Springettsbury Manor. He became rich, but it was by his own intelligent operations in the Indian trade and in real estate. Of course his position gave him many opportunities to pursue these adventures with success, but he was never a mercenary nor a grasping man, and when he was able to retire from the public service without injury to it, he did not any longer seek to make money but gave himself up with ardor to his favorite pursuits of literature. William Black's diary describes him as he was in the period of his retirement and ill health,—a recluse almost, with an austere and melancholy face, monosyllabic at table, but rousing up and becoming animated and cheerful in the act of showing to his visitors the library and literary treasures he had gathered around him in the classic retreat of Stenton. Most fittingly he made the gift of that library to the city of his adoption and love,

The lives of men like James Logan enable the pages of history and make its study an elevating pursuit and a reinforcement to the resources of public morality. This man was worthy the compliment which the steadfast Shawanee warrior paid him when he put aside his own name and took that of Logan simply; worthy to have been the trusted friend of William Penn, and to have had Benjamin Franklin for his printer. How many men has the world produced who, after forty years spent in the whirl and muddy currents of active business and intense political strife, can, with clean hands and unsullied reputation, calmly step aside out of the turmoil and retire to the company of books and authors, to endow a library, and make a translation of Cicero's "De Senectute," printing it, as the writer himself pleasantly says, "In a large and fair character," so that old men may not be vexed by their defective eyesight in reading what was so appropriate to their years? When John Davis, the English traveler in America, visited the Loganian Library, in 1798, he wrote: "I contemplated with reverence the portrait of James Logan, which graces the room, *magnum et venerabile nomen*. I could not repress my exclamations. As I am only a stranger, said I, in this country, I affect no enthusiasm on beholding the statues of her generals and statesmen,—I have left a church filled with them on the shore of Albion that have a prior claim to such feeling. But I here behold the portrait of a man whom I consider so great a benefactor to literature, that he is scarcely less illustrious than its munificent patrons of Italy; his soul has certainly been admitted to the company of the congenial spirits of a Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medici. The Greek and Roman authors, forgotten on their native banks of Ilyssus and Tiber, delight, by the kindness of a Logan, the votaries of learning on those of the Delaware." James Logan, a man of old and reputable family and himself aristocratic in all his tendencies, was born in Lurgan, Ireland, 28th October, 1674. His father, Patrick Logan, grandson of Sir Robert Logan, of Restalrig, Scotland, sprang from that stock of proud Scottish lairds, distinguished for long pedigrees and barren acres, whose children have lent their genius to the service of the world. The Logans went on crusades with the Douglasses; they fought the English on sea and on land; they lost their estates by forfeitures in consequence of the Gowrie conspiracy. Patrick Logan was an alumnus of Edinburgh University, educated for the church, but early connecting himself with the followers of George Fox. His wife was Isabel Hume, of the family of Dundas and Panmure. James was a lad of precocious mind,—at sixteen he knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and had made rapid progress in mathematics. He afterwards mastered French, Italian, and Spanish, and probably Dutch and German, spoke Latin with ease and grace, and was familiar with several Indian dialects. He went into trade; linen-draper's apprentice in Dublin, then in the Bristol trade for himself. At Bristol he met Penn, and became his private secretary and devoted follower ever after. This was in 1698. From the time of Penn's return to England in 1701 to Logan's death, in 1751, he was always the power behind the proprietary throne, wielding what was sometimes almost absolute authority with singular propriety and judgment. He was secretary of the province, commissioner of property and of Indian affairs, member and president of Council, acting Governor and chief justice. His love of books was constant and sincere, and after a broken thigh compelled him to live retired at Stenton the pursuit of literature became his passion. But even in seclusion and invalidism he never neglected his public duties for his private tastes, nor lapsed into indifference on account of personal infirmities. Many important affairs of state were transacted at Stenton, which was nearly always surrounded by deputations of Indians, who camped about the house to seek advice and favors from their honored friend "hid in the bushes." Logan's literary and scientific pursuits and associations were very respectable, and he was widely known among his contemporaries. His own Latin tracts on botany, electricity, navigation, and optics had a place in leading scientific journals. Thomas Godfrey's improvements in the quadrant were made at Stenton under Logan's eye, and Franklin and he worked together with a thorough appreciation of each other's good qualities. Logan was an unsuccessful suitor for the hand of Ann, daughter of Edward Shippen, who married Thomas Story. His wife was Sarah Read, daughter of a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, to whom he was wedded eight years after his ill-success with Miss Shippen. His children were not literary in their tastes, and it was on this account that he left his library to Philadelphia, endowing it, for its perpetual maintenance, with the Springettsbury Manor property which he had received from Penn's estate. Logan was a personable man, tall, well proportioned, with graceful but grave demeanor. His complexion

At Pennsbury the proprietary led very much the life of a lord of the manor. No picture of the ancient place is extant, but our regret at the neglect of contemporary chroniclers is mitigated by the skill, industry, and intelligent research with which the late J. Francis Fisher has reconstructed the history of Penn's private and domestic life during his residence at this pleasant seat. Penn had the true-born Englishman's genuine fondness for country life. He was as much a rural squire as a courtier, and he resembled Sir Robert Walpole at once in his ambition, his pliant facility and easy humor in dealing with men, and in that pleasant satisfaction which he derived, "*procul negotiis*," in driving his cattle afiel on the mellow mould of his own broad acres,—

"Quis non malarum, quas amor carius habet,
Hæc inter obliviscitur?"

It was the dream of Penn's life to settle permanently upon this manor and become himself the patriarch of his extensive plantations. Before he reached the province this estate had been selected provisionally for him by Markham in pursuance of his orders, and he had had building commenced there in the hope to occupy it forthwith after his arrival. There is no evidence, however, that Penn spent any time at Pennsbury during his first visit, and if he did bring over materials for erecting a house there it is probable that these were rather employed in constructing the Letitia house in the city, as his more immediate needs suggested. No vestige of the old plantation now remains, except some decayed cherry-trees, which tradition points to as having been planted by Penn's own hand. The old brew-house stood until 1864, when it was pulled down,—a substantial building, twenty by thirty-five feet, with solid brick chimney and founda-

had the warm and florid tone of health even when he was far advanced in years; his eyes never failed him, nor did his brown hair turn gray, though he wore a powdered wig on all state occasions. His manner was dignified yet courteous, and his conversation quiet and reserved. He was a diligent correspondent with learned persons all over Europe and America, numbering among those to whom he wrote regularly Cadwallader Colden, Governor Burnett, Franklin, Col. Hunter, Collinson, Fothergill, Mead, Flamsted, the father of Sir William Jones, Sir Hans Sloane, Fabricius, Gronovius, and Linnaeus. The latter gave Logan's name to one of his classes in botany. But the real labors and the great glory of Logan are to be sought in his services to the Penn family and to the commonwealth founded by Penn. He shaped and controlled the development of the province with an intelligent purpose and an untiring resolution no less remarkable because his tastes drew him all the other way and his work was most disagreeable to him. "These duties," he wrote, "make my life so uncomfortable that it is not worth the living." "I know not," he repeated, "what any of the comforts of life are." He withstood the popular party and faced impeachment, imprisonment, and persecution with unblenching resolution, triumphing over his adversaries with the same calm composure with which he had encountered their fierce opposition and bitter reproaches. He was always a dauntless man, because one who was just and feared not. The Indians revered him as a saint while they loved him like a brother, and when he died they pitifully besought the provincial government to send them another righteous man like Logan. No second Logan was to be found, however. As Gordon, in his "History of Pennsylvania," says, "Never was power and trust more safely bestowed for the donor. The secretary faithfully devoted his time and his thoughts to promote the interests of his master, and bore with firmness, if not with cheerfulness, the odium which his unlimited devotion drew upon himself."

tions, ten-inch sills and posts, and weather-boarded with dressed cedar. The mansion at Pennsbury stood on a gentle eminence facing the Delaware, Welcome Creek winding two-thirds of the way around it. The main structure was two stories high, with lofty garret, built of brick, and stately in appearance; it was sixty feet long by thirty feet deep; the bricks were probably burnt on the premises, Penn having sent over workmen for that purpose in 1685. There was a high porch front and rear, with steps, rails, and banisters. On the first floor a wide hall traversed the building, used for receptions and public occasions, and on this floor were parlor, dining-room, smaller hall, and closets. Above were four apartments on the second floor, with offices, etc. The building was roofed with tile or slate of native production, and there was a reservoir on the roof which had a lining of lead. The outbuildings comprised, as ordered by Penn in a letter to James Harrison, August, 1684, "a kitchen, two larders, a wash-house, a room to iron in, a brew-house, a Milan-oven for baking in, and stabling for twelve horses." These buildings were to be a story and a half high, and to be arranged in straight lines, "not *àscu*." The proprietary had a horror of any divergence from right lines and angles in town construction and in landscape architecture. Dean Prideaux accused him of laying off Philadelphia according to the Scriptural descriptions of Babylon. He was probably simply obeying his own instinctive taste for right lines and rectangular forms. He did not despise ornament, but, on the contrary, delighted in decoration, and was particular in enjoining Harrison not to let the front of the Pennsbury house be "common," but he did not think departures from straight lines to be ornamental. He carefully supervised the construction of the building even while the broad ocean rolled between him and his steward, Harrison; selected the hands and discharged them if they did not please him.¹ Penn spent over £5000 on Pennsbury. The grounds were elaborately and handsomely laid off, with lawns, vistas, and park-like appointments. There was a broad pebble walk, on each side of it a row of tall poplars. Bridges were thrown over Welcome Creek, and steps led down to the landing and the boat-house sheltering Penn's barge, which he thought much of, quarreling with Harrison because he permitted it to be used for transporting lime. The gardens and shrubberies were cared for at great expense, gardeners being sent from England for that purpose, as well as all sorts of rare seeds and plants. Trees were transplanted from Maryland, and many wild-flowers from the forest were domesticated in the gardens. The lawn was seeded with English grasses, and a good deal of the land around

¹ James was to finish the work his men began; J. Redman furnished the bricks, John Parsons the plank. James was discharged by Logan because the Governor thought him "too much of a gentleman," wanting two servants to do the work proper for his own hands. The Governor's carpenter was named Henry Gibbs.

it brought under cultivation. Penn was proud of his stock, importing some fine horses from England, among others "Tamerlane," a thoroughbred stallion, by the Godolphin Arabian, that famous barb, who, with the Darley horse, established the stock of English race-horses.

The manor house at Pennsbury was well furnished. In the best bedroom was a state bedstead of great proportions, a silk quilt, satin curtains and cushions, mirrors, etc. The table appurtenances were in good taste, damask cloths and napkins, Tunbridge ware, white and blue china, with two or three services of silver. The furniture down-stairs was of solid oak; there was a tall clock, which may be seen to-day in the Philadelphia Library. The cellar and larder were

well supplied, and the retinue of domestics was large. There was cheer at the manor house for all, and it never lacked visitors. Generally there were some Indian wigmans pitched about among the trees in the lawn and forest, and a deputation of savages almost every morning waited in the hall, seated upon the floor on their haunches, with their knees drawn up under their chins, observant but silent. Penn was a very liberal man in his expenditures. He let his friends and relatives dip into his purse at all times.

William Penn, Jr., could always depend upon him to pay his debts, and his son-in-law Aubrey actually compelled him, with ineffable meanness, to pay him exorbitant interest on some delayed payments upon Letitia's portion given to her, and he was greedy for money all the time. The proprietary's charities were no small tax upon his stinted resources. He gave to all who asked or all who seemed needy. And this was the way he kept house at Pennsbury, entertaining the leading people of the province, distinguished visitors from abroad, his own guests and a horde of dependants and Indians. He received the Governors of Maryland and Virginia with great state and profuse hospitality when they came to visit him. His steward bought a ton of flour at the time, molasses by the hogshead, cranberries by the bushel, barrels of cider, and dozens of cases of select wines. There was a barrel of olives in the pantry for the dinner and lunch table; butter was fetched from Rhode Island, and for candles the steward sent to Boston. The wine,—madeira, sherry, port, claret,—the brandy and gin, and strong beer and ale were shipped from London; the rum came from Jamaica, and, though this was meant chiefly for the Indians, Penn ordered the best in sealed bottles, so as to be sure it was not watered or otherwise tampered with.

Occasional runnels of ale were procured in Philadelphia, and the small beer was brewed at home. The Swedes furnished fresh fish at the manor house; the bacon, flour, meal, chocolate, coffee, sugar, etc., came from Philadelphia.

After James Harrison's death, in 1687, John Sotcher became steward at Pennsbury; Mary Lofty was house-keeper. There were several gardeners at different times; one of them, for three years' service, receiving his passage-money, thirty pounds in cash, and sixty acres of land to settle on. This gardener was required to train two subordinates under him. Another gardener was Hugh Sharp, whose pay was thirty shillings a week, who was to have three men under him. Five gardeners at one time was rather extravagant. There was besides a vigneron and his attendants at the grapery on Vineyard Hill, afterwards Springettsbury farm, and when the grapes turned out good for nothing Penn must still have the Frenchman in charge provided for and given some kind of work. There were three or four carpenters at Pennsbury always at work. The coachman was a negro, named John, one of Penn's slaves, and there were some ten or twelve servants besides about the house.¹

Penn traveled in state when he went abroad with his family, either in his barge, his coach, or his calash. In August, 1700, he wrote to Logan that if the justices did not make the Pennepack and Poquessing bridges passable he could not come to town. For his own traveling he preferred the barge or his horse. He was probably a bold rider, and one time, at Pennsbury, was laid up with a crippled leg, having hurt it riding (and healed it with an oil made in Philadelphia by Ann Parsons). We read of his picking up barefoot girls by the roadside and taking them to ride behind him. His wife and daughter had their side-saddles, and may have ridden with him sometimes. His long excursions to view his territories and visit the Indians in their villages were necessarily made on horseback. He certainly took his family with him to fairs and to the Indian "canticoes." When he returned to England a part at least of his equipment for the voyage was his "hair-trunk, leather stockings, and twelve bottles of Madeira wine." Conceive the founder of Pennsylvania crossing the ocean with a hair-trunk to contain his luggage and his stout calves

¹ "Among other employés of the manor house were Ann Nichols, the cook; Robert Beekman, man-servant; Dorothy Mullers, maid; Dorcas, negress; Howman, a ranger (who, in 1688, was complained of 'for killing y^e said Luke Watson's hogg'); James Reed, servant; Ellis Jones and his wife Jane, with children,—Barbara, Dorothy, Mary, and Jane,—who came from Wales in 1683; Jack, a negro, probably cook, whose wife, Parthena, was sold to Barbadoes because Hannah Penn doubted her honesty. There was, besides, a Capt. Hans, with whom Penn had a difficulty, which, however, was 'adjusted,' so that the captain stayed." . . . Penn employed one new hand in 1701, of whom he wrote to Logan that he could neither plow nor mow, but could swear. Peter, assistant gardener, received thirty pounds per annum. There were also some bought negroes, "Old Sam," his wife Sue, James, Chevalier, etc. There were four indentured servants and Stephen Gould, Penn's clerk. See Gen. Davis' "History of Bucks County," pp. 181-83, from which some of these particulars are derived.



PENN'S CLOCK.

encased in a pair of leather galligaskins, for which he had paid one pound two shillings!

Mr. Janney, in his "Life of Penn," is greatly distressed that the proprietary should have been a slaveholder. In his eagerness to palliate the facts he is in danger of doing Penn a gross injustice. He forgets that slave-holding was not forbidden by the Quaker discipline until many years after Penn's death. Penn directed his slaves to be free at his death, but the will was never executed, nor were its provisions respected. His daughter took one of the slaves, the woman "Sue." His executors sold three to pay his debts. It is shown in the preceding note that Parthena was sold by Penn to Barbadoes, thus separating her from her husband, because she was thought dishonest. In writing about his gardener and the assistants whom he was to train, Penn says, "It were better they were blacks, for then a man has them while he lives." In fact, nobody at that time had any idea of the heinousness, immorality, or crime of slavery, unless perhaps the little German colony, who had Pastorius for their leader. Fox was "exercised" about the slaves, but it was not the fact of their being in bondage, but the way in which they were treated which troubled him. Penn was "exercised" on the same subject, and he went so far as to persuade the Council and try to persuade the Assembly to pass a law regulating the marriages of negroes. But it would be unjust to Penn to require him to become an abolitionist a hundred years before there were any such. Slavery was not thought a crime in his times, nor was the slave considered unfortunate, unless he happened to have a severe master. The slave trade with Africa was indeed repudiated, but rather from its impolicy than its immorality. Some sort of servitude was almost universal, and one-half the early settlers in Pennsylvania, in 1682-83, were servants bought and sold by the Quakers for a term of years. Even Indian slaves were often to be met in Philadelphia, in spite of Penn's affection for that race, and his own Deputy Governor, William Markham, owned one, Ectus Frankson, born in 1700, who by his will was to be free at the age of twenty-four, all his other slaves and servants being devised to his wife.

In the course of his residence at Pennsbury the Governor paid a visit to New York, and also one to Maryland. He was accompanied (says John Richardson's journal) to the Quaker meeting at Tredhaven Creek (now Easton, Talbot Co.) by Lord Baltimore and his wife with a numerous retinue. They did not get to the meeting until late, and, in fact, says Richardson, "the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting. So the lady was much disappointed, as I understand by William Penn, for she told him 'she did not want to hear him and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man, and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, as husbandmen, shoemakers, and such like

rustics, for she thought they could not preach to any purpose.' William Penn told her 'some of these were rather the best preachers we had among us,' or near these words."

But we have only been describing the proprietary's periods of refreshment and recreation. He had plenty of hard work and many disagreeable tasks in the time between these intervals of rest and ease. His situation was peculiar. There were two parties in the province, one of which sought to subvert his proprietorship absolutely, the other to modify and curtail his authority by procuring a new charter or radical amendments to the existing one. Col. Quarry and John Moore, the British admiralty judge and crown attorney, were in the lead of one party, David Lloyd, attorney-general of the province and the popular leader in the Assembly, directed the movements of the other party. Penn had the sympathies of neither, for while his support of Markham in the controversy with Quarry had procured him the enmity of the latter, he had since his arrival in the province aroused the personal animosity of Lloyd, a brilliant and versatile but vindictive man, by rebuking his intemperate attitude towards Quarry, which could not be maintained, he said, without doing hurt to the interests of the province. Lloyd resented this, and he was further incensed at Penn's relations with Quarry, which seemed to assume that Markham and Lloyd had not been altogether right in their dispute with the crown officers. Logan describes this quarrel in a letter to William Penn, Jr., in which he characterizes the attorney-general as "a man very stiff in all his undertakings, of a sound judgment and a good lawyer, but extremely pertinacious and somewhat revengeful." The question of the seizure of the goods at New Castle and the contempt of the king's authority coming up in Council, "David resolutely defended all that had been done, and too highly opposed the Governor's resolution of composing all by mildness and moderation, and reconciling all animosities by his own intervention, which he thought the only advisable expedient to put an end to those differences that had cost him so much trouble. This soon created some small misunderstanding; several of the most noted Friends were involved more or less in David's business, and, though troubled at his stiffness, yet wished him in the right, because the most active enemy and assiduous counselor against the other party, who on all occasions would be glad, they thought, of their utter ruin." Penn would not tolerate David Lloyd's obstinacy. Lloyd "knew not what it was to bend," and so Penn made a life-long enemy of the most daring and implacable, and in some respects the ablest man in the province. David Lloyd's character and his audacity are illustrated by Quarry's charge against him that at a county court, when the marshal of the Admiralty Court produced his commission under the broad seal, with "his most sacred majesty's effigy"

stamped on it, Lloyd took the seal, held it up before the people, and exclaimed, "What is this? Do you think to scare us with a great box (meaning the seal in a tin box) and a little baby? (the effigy.) 'Tis true fine pictures please children, but we are not to be frightened at such a rate."

The substantial charge against Lloyd, that he had advised the magistrates to take goods by force out of the king's warehouse at New Castle in contempt of the Admiralty Court, was a serious business for Penn. The Privy Council had received repeated charges against Penn's government as having made light of the royal authority, winked at piracy and smuggling, and set the navigation laws at naught, and the Admiralty Court had been established at Philadelphia expressly to put a stop to such things. Penn, moreover, in securing the restoration of the province to his control, had given express pledges to see that the irregularities complained of were rectified, and, moreover, to secure from the province the subsidy for the support of operations against the Indians, which the Assembly had hitherto refused to vote. If Lloyd should be permitted to have his own way Penn could not hope to redeem either of these pledges, and so was sure to find himself again embroiled with the king and his cabinet.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that Lloyd was the leader of the popular party, including all the younger and more ardent Quakers, and these, a vast majority in the Assembly, were seriously bent upon securing from Penn a more liberal Constitution and especially the concession to the Assembly of the right to originate supply bills. Under such circumstances there is no cause for wonder that Penn should have delayed meeting his Council for some time, while he was studying the situation and consulting his friends.

The first Council attended by Penn met on Dec. 21, 1699, and the issue between the Admiralty Court and the provincial government was given immediate prominence. Col. Quarry was invited to attend the next day's Council meeting, and it was resolved that a proclamation should be forthwith published discouraging piracy and illegal trade. Quarry's charge against Penn's government was that the justices of Philadelphia Court had issued a writ of replevin, and sent the sheriff (Claypoole) to seize goods which were in the custody of the marshal of the Admiralty Court, having been legally seized in the name of the crown; that the justices had been offensive and insolent to Judge Quarry, challenging his commission and claiming that their jurisdiction was coextensive with his and their authority to unloose fully as great as his to bind; that the sheriff made a pretence of keeping certain pirates in custody, while in fact they were at large every day. *Per contra*, Markham, after showing that he repudiated the act and the conduct of the justices and had reproved the sheriff, claimed that Judge Quarry was in contempt of the provincial

government for having arrested certain alleged pirates within its jurisdiction and sent them to Barbadoes for trial, and for having pretended that the provincial officers, because qualified on affirmation and not on oath, were not duly qualified according to the statute. At the next day's Council, December 22d, Anthony Morris, the chief of the offending justices, and Judge Quarry were both present. Morris surrendered his commission as justice, and further said, after pleading his sacrifices in the public service, that he had issued the writ of replevin in the case complained of in good faith, "in pursuance (as hee thought) of his duty, believing hee was in the right & yt hee was induced yerto by advice of those that hee thought were well skilled in ye Law, who told him yt was the priviledge of the subject; and further said yt hee had no interest in the owner nor goods, nor no self nor sinister in so doing." The Governor said "That his signing ye ad replevin was a verie indeliberate, rash, & (in his opinion) unwarrantable act," which neither the justice could nor the Governor would justify. Morris evidently wanted to make it plain that he had acted upon David Lloyd's advice, and Penn to make it equally plain that he condemned and repudiated all such counsel. As Lloyd was present, he could not fail to feel a strong resentment at the course matters had taken. To Judge Quarry the Governor said that it was the most sincere intention of his government, by all lawful means, to discourage, discountenance, and severely punish piracy and illegal trade, in which he desired the advice, assistance, and co-operation of the judge and all the other king's officers. At the next Council meeting Penn spoke of the necessity of calling a General Assembly to take further measures for the suppression of piracy and illicit trade. A day or two later Robert Turner, Griffith Jones, Francis Rawle, and Joseph Wilcox appeared as petitioning the Governor on the subject of a revision of the charter and asked a hearing. This led to a long conference, and it had the result that the Assembly be called would come prepared to agitate the question of constitutional amendment, as well as that of piracy and illicit trade. It was decided to call the old Assembly to meet on January 25th, a new election being ordered in New Castle County, which had neglected to choose representatives for the last Assembly. On January 24th the Council again met, and Judge Quarry and Justice Morris were confronted. Quarry, after stating his case, said that "this his action was no less than to Question whether his ma^{ty} or y^e s^a Anthonie has most power." The act of Parliament governed both courts, and the justice could not pretend ignorance when he had been so long on the bench. He therefore wished Penn and Council to have Morris prosecuted for violence and compelled to make good to the king the appraised value of the goods replevined. Morris, in reply, urged that he signed the writ of replevin through ignorance and not from malice against the king or his officers, "y^t

he was persuaded to do it by advice of y^m y^t knew y^e Laws," and therefore he hoped he would be excused; it would be very hard if any justice should be made to suffer for an error in judgment. The security given by the petitioner who had taken out the writ was, he believed, ample to cover the value of the goods. Penn said he would see that the appraised value of the things taken was made good to the marshal, and told Quarry further that "if he was not satisfied w^t Anthony Morris' being outt of Commission of the peace & w^t his p^{sent} submission, hee might propose in writing what other satisfaction he expected, and it should be considered of. To w^{ch} call. Quarry made an^r, y^t hee had no p^{sonal} animositie ag^t M^r. Morris and y^t for his p^t he was well satisfied with y^e Pro^r & Gov^rs' promise, & M^r. Morris' submission." This disagreeable business was thus for the time being adj-justed, but only for the time being.

The next day after this meeting of the Council the Assembly came together; the records, now kept by James Logan, assuming at once and henceforth a more satisfactory and intelligent shape for those consulting them, e.g., "PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA AND TERRITORIES, ss.—*Minutes of Council in the Assembly, Anno Ri. Rs. Gulicmi terty Anglice, etc., decimo, 25th January, 1699-70. Att a Council held at Philadelphia die Juris, 25th January, 1699-70.*"

Thesheriff of New Castle County returned, in answer to the Governor's writ, that Richard Halliwell and Robert French were elected members of Council, and John Healy, Adam Peterson, William Guest, and William Houston members of Assembly. The writ for this election is interesting from its unusual form: "To R. Halliwell, J^a. Donaldson, and Rob^t French, of Newcastle: Inclosed I send you a writ for y^e County of Newcastle, to return their Representative for a Council and Assembly, that I am forced to call with all possible speed. Piracies and Illegal trade have made such a noise in Eng^l, and y^e jealousies of their being so much encouraged in these Am^{er} parts, such an Impression on the minds of sev^l great ones, that I think myself obliged to give them earlier Demonstrations of our Zeal ag^t all such Practices than an expectation of y^e next Assembly (w^{ch} comes not on till the Spring), or a full consideration of the Constitution and present frame of Govern^{mt} will admit of. The business of this I now call will be very short, and soon over, & y^e new Assembly meets soon after, in which I hope to take such effectual measures for the future & better settle^m of this Govern^{mt} as will give full satisfaction to all.

Pr. DYER.

"Phila^a, 12 m^o, 1699-1700."

Some of the New Castle people complained that they did not have any sufficient notice of this election. Penn said the sheriff should be punished for his neglect, but in the mean time there would be no business before the present session except what was named in the writ, in which he hoped all would concur, without making the New Castle case a precedent for the

future. Committees of Council and Assembly were appointed to consider the subject of the two proposed bills, which, after several conferences and some debate, were passed. The Assembly did not like the clause forbidding trade with Madagascar and Natal; these places, it was explained, had become retreats and retiring places of the pirates, and trade with them was accordingly forbidden for three years. Penn then dissolved the Assembly, after informing them that he intended to call the next General Assembly according to charter at the usual annual session. Penn had not signified to the Assembly whether or not he approved of the charter granted by Markham in 1694. Nor did he ever formally approve it, for the charter finally granted by Penn in 1701 appeared as if it were an amendment to or substitute for the charter of 1683. Penn apparently was not on very good terms with Markham at this time, or else the latter's ill health (he died in 1704 after a long illness) no longer suffered him to take an active part in government affairs.¹

Penn showed himself determined at this time to

¹ Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," says that Markham was but twenty-one years of age when he came out to Pennsylvania, but this must be a mistake, as it would make him only forty-five when he died. At that time he was spoken of as the "old gentleman," and he had two grandchildren. Besides, he died of retrocedent gout, seldom fatal at such an early age. His knowledge of affairs and the confidential positions given him would imply a much older man. He left a widow, a daughter, a son-in-law, two grandchildren, and a "daughter-in-law" at his death. It is probable that Markham's retirement was on account of suspicious circumstances connecting him with the pirates, who, since the French Admiral Pointis had driven them away from the Caribbean Sea, were become active in Northern waters. Kidd harbored about New York, Avery and Blackbeard about the Delaware; some of Avery's men were in prison in Philadelphia, and Col. Quarry complained more than once that their confinement was a farce, as they could go when and where they chose. It is certain that Markham suffered some of these men (who had their pockets full of gold) to be treated very leniently. One of Avery's men, Birmingham by name, had intrusted his money to Markham's keeping, and he was allowed by Sheriff Claypole to walk the streets in summer in custody of a deputy, and in winter to have his own fire. Another person suspected of connection with Avery was James Brown, member of the Assembly from Kent in 1698, and then expelled on account of his relations to the pirates. Penn had him arrested in 1699 for having come over with Avery. He was sent to Boston to be tried by the Earl of Bellamont, Governor of New York. This man is usually suspected of having been Markham's son-in-law, the husband of his daughter, "Mrs. Ann Brown." Penn's letter to Markham, dated 27th January, 1699-1700, is generally supposed to refer to him. It is as follows: "Cosin Markham,—When I was with thee to-day thou offered to be bound for thy son-in-law should he bring thee into trouble, it is all the Portion I believe he has with thy daughter. What thou hast I may venture to say thou hast got by this Govern^{mt}. I think it strange y^efore thou shouldst make a Difficulty in binding thy Executiv^e with thyself for his appearance. Should another be bound, no man will take thy Bond for thy own Life, only for a counter security. Thou knowest it is Contrary to the form of all Obligations, & I cannot but take it hard thou shouldst be unwilling to venture so much for thy own Credit as well as that of the Govern^{mt} and for the Husband of thy only Child from those I am not concerned with. I expect a more express answer than thou hast yet given and remain thy affec^{tionate} Kinsman,—W. P."—(Penn. Archives, i. 126.)

Gordon says the pirates were largely reinforced after the peace of Ryswyk, and they made harbor on the Delaware, because they could easily impose on the unarmed, pacific Quakers. They sacked the town of Lewes, and captured many vessels off the Delaware capes. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Markham was retired on account of the ineffective means employed by him for the suppression of these public plunderers.

break up the piracy in the Delaware. He even went a little into the detective and private inquiry business himself. He wrote to Luke Watson: "Thy Son's Wife has made Affidavit to-day before me of what she saw & knows of Geo. Thomson having East India goods by him about y^e time Kidd's Ship came to yo^r Capes: Thy Son doubtless knows much more of the business; I desire therefore thee would cause him to make affidavit before thee of what he knows either of Georges Goods or any of y^e rest." To the magistrates at New Castle he wrote that he had information that Pirates or persons suspected of piracy had "lately landed below, on this and t'other side the River, & that some hover about New Castle, full of Gold. These are to desire you to use your utmost Endeavor and Diligence in discovering and apprehending all such p'sons as you may know or hear of that may be so suspected, according to my Proclamation." A similar letter was sent to Nehemiah Ffield and Jonathan Bailey.

William Penn's capacity to rule men has never been doubted, but we think it is revealed with unexpected force in his administration of 1699-1701. We have outlined the difficulties that were in his way,—stumbling blocks so many and so serious that he himself said in his striking letter to Lawton, "What I have mett with here is without Example, and what a *Dilemma* would not tempt to undergoe seven years,—faction in Govern^t, and almost indissoluble knots in Property." Let us see now how he did meet these difficulties. It required a firm hand, and a firm hand he put to it. The very existence of his government depended upon his setting himself right with the crown in the matter of piracy and illicit trade, to prevent the Lords of Trade from proceeding against his charter with a writ of *quo warranto*, which he knew to be the object that Col. Quarry and Attorney-General Edmund Randolph had in view. Accordingly, he resorted to severe measures against all who were in any way suspected in connection with these matters, going further than Judge Quarry went, and seeming to be guided and counseled by that intemperate official in a way which at once flattered and deceived him. All the time, however, he was quite aware of Quarry's hostility to him, and was preparing a sure trap for his feet. When Penn was satisfied that he had done all that the Lords of Trade and commissioners of custom would demand or expect of him, he turned next to the Assembly and the Council. The proceedings of the Legislature in regard to the revision of the charter extended over a period of eighteen months, and will be presently exhibited, as they can be most lucidly, as a consecutive whole. Suffice now to say that with consummate adroitness he first purged his Council of the disorganizing elements in it by reversing the proceedings of 1690 which had resulted in the disqualification of Robert Turner and some more of Penn's most devoted friends,—proceedings instigated by David Lloyd, —and then procuring the disqualification of Lloyd

himself as member of Council by instigating Judge Quarry to prefer in writing such charges against him of contempt to the crown and its officers as compelled Penn to suspend him. Lloyd wanted to be tried at once, but Penn said, "Oh, no," that this was merely an investigation, not an indictment, and the time for trial had not come yet. Thus Lloyd was put out of the way, and incapacitated from doing injury to Penn's more immediate projects. Next the Assembly having failed to agree upon the amendments to the charter, Penn required them categorically to decide whether they would be governed by that instrument any longer or no. They voted no, and surrendered the charter to him, whereupon he put it coolly in his pocket, dissolved and sent them home, quietly informing him that he would for the time being at least govern them himself under his patent from Charles II., and the acts of settlement and union. "Friends," said Penn, "since you were dissatisfied wth y^e charter you had, and y^t you could not agree among yourselves about a new one, I shall be easie in ruling you by the king's Letters patent and act of Union, and shall in the ruling of you Consider my grant from the king and you that I am to rule, and shall from time to time endeavor to give you satisfaction. I advise you to be not easily displeased one with another, be slow to anger and swift to charity, so I wish you all well to your homes." This was short and to the point. It was a perfectly safe proceeding, for the Assembly had already passed all the laws demanded by the proprietary, including the tax-bill of a penny a pound and six shillings per head, and the custom bill levying a duty on imported liquors and other goods, and had also confirmed and continued until after the next Legislature should meet all the necessary laws then in existence and unrepealed.

The next thing to do was to deal with Quarry and his satellites, and it must be confessed that Penn temporized with this obstacle, while preparing the way for its removal, in a fashion that entitled him to the epithet of "Jesuit;" at any rate there is no excess of the straightforward Quaker "yea and nay" in Penn's part of the business.¹ Birch, collector of customs at New Castle, wrote to Penn under date of May 28, 1700, complaining of vessels having gone down from and come up to Philadelphia without reporting to him. Penn answered he was sorry that masters were so lacking in respect. There was a bill now before the Assembly to make the offense penal. But he thinks a customs collector ought to have a boat, if he wanted to secure the enforcement of the laws, which were all on his side. "Thou canst not expect that any at Philadelphia, 40 miles distant from you, can putt Laws in execution at N. Castle, without any care or vigilance of officers there, if so there needed

¹ The letters on this subject are to be found in volume first of the Pennsylvania Archives, p. 1:1 *et seq.*

none in the place, especially since no place in the River or Bay yields y^e prospect y^e is at New Castle of seeing 20 miles one way and a dozen the other, any vessel coming either up or down." Penn confesses he thinks the particular care he had taken of the interests of the king and his immediate officers deserved a better return "than such testy expressions as thou flings out in thy Letters both to myself and of one to y^e members of Council." Birch is reminded that he has forgotten the respect due to the proprietary's station and conduct, and that he should not make Penn a sufferer on account of his pique against the collector at Philadelphia, a matter with which he neither had nor wanted anything to do. "*Let your Masters at home decide it; what comes fairly before me I shall acquitt myself of, with Hon^r & Justice to y^e best of my understanding wthout regard to fear or favour, for those sordid passions shall never move y^e Propriet^r & Gov^r of Pensilvania.*" But Penn was not done with Mr. Birch yet. In a postscript he says he hears that the collector talks of writing home, and making he knows not what complaints. "*I hope thou wilt be cautious in that point lest I should write too, which, when I doe, may prove loud enough to make thee sensible of it at a distance. If thou understands not this, it shall be explained to thee at our next meeting, when I am more at Leisure.*" This letter, full of conscious power, was palpably meant for Quarry quite as much as Birch. Penn sent the whole correspondence to the Lords of Trade, and when Birch died shortly afterwards, Penn himself appointed his successor *pro tem.*, in order, as he said, to protect his Majesty's interests,—in other words, implying that those interests were not served by either Birch or Quarry. He had already awakened a fear in the minds of the Lords of Trade that Quarry was overdoing his part in the business. The Episcopalians had now built Christ Church in Philadelphia, and the Bishop of London, Penn's adversary of old, sent over Rev. Mr. Evans as incumbent. Penn proceeded at once to conciliate and disarm this new ally of Quarry's party. "He appears a man, sober & of a mild Disposition," writes the proprietary to Robert Assheton (his kinsman); "I must therefore desire thee to use all early methods by thyself and such others of yo^r Church as are for Peace and a friendly understanding, to make impressions on his mind for the best, and by all seasonable means endeavor to dispose him to an easiness of mind and good inclinations to the Publick, and the People in general he is now to live amongst, assuring him that while he behaves himself with Candour and Ingenuity, he shall want no Goodwill from me, nor kindness that I can shew him, and that he may expect as much favour in all reasonable things as he could from any Governor of his own way."

Quarry and his officers had seized and condemned a ship called the "Providence," Capt. Lumby, upon a technicality, there being some defect in the registry. The law allowed Penn one-third of the prize-

money, the other two-thirds going to the crown. Penn at once sent his third to the owners, telling them he could not think of such a thing as profiting by an accidental oversight on their part, and advising them to compromise for the other two-thirds on the best terms they could get, he having prevailed on Quarry to accept two hundred pounds in Pennsylvania money (one hundred and thirty pounds sterling) in lieu of the libel. This letter also Penn took care should be shown before the Lords of Trade. A few days later the Governor wrote a letter to Quarry, in reply to one received from the judge. The latter had been complaining of reports circulating among the Quakers that he had been ordered home, and all the proceedings of the Admiralty Court were to be quashed and made void. If Quarry would give the names of those who spread such reports, Penn promised to have them proceeded against with the utmost vigor as defamers and spreaders of false news and lies. He regretted to see that the judge let such things disturb him so much. There were very injurious reports out against him too, but he thought it his duty to "make allowance for ye giddy and weak side of mankind." Then he dismisses the matter as if not worthy to be further discussed, and proceeds to explain to the judge some action of the Philadelphia courts. At the very time that Penn was writing this to Quarry he had not only determined on his removal, but had fixed upon a man to succeed him. This is evident from his letter to Squire Lawton of about the same date. Lawton was one of Penn's confidential agents in London, and to him he discloses the game he had been playing since his return to the province. After mentioning the fact that he had not only fully advised the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations of all his proceedings, sending them copies of the entire correspondence with Quarry and his officers, etc., but had also written personal letters to Chief Justice Holt, Lords Somers, Romney, and the lords of the admiralty, he promises Lawton that his agency shall be worth more to him than house rent, without giving him much trouble. He rebukes Lawton for his impatience, one moment kind, the next stormy,—"*but I know thee so well and in the main reasonable in thy Resentm^t that I will say no more of it, only,*"—that his correspondent seems to forget *he* has his difficulties and worries too. Lawton is instructed to confer with "the Quaker's lawyer" in Doctor's Commons, John Edge, and see that the case of the "Providence" is properly presented. Then Penn opens his batteries on Quarry; the admiralty was as uneasy about the rigor of the judge's enforcement of the laws as it had previously been about their laxness. "*If it were worth while at first to erect Courts of Admiralty in America,*" Penn says, "*it would be for the king's service to have experienced officers in it; for as these manage, great Discourage^{mt} is given to trade, 4 ships having gone to other ports y^e were bound hither, by w^{ch} I have lost 50^{lbs} and y^e county 100^{lbs} by each, and y^e passengers*

suffer greatly." He shows that Quarry and his officers were voracious, ruling to condemn vessels for their fees and trying to tempt him with his "thirds." Also they were not impartial in selling condemned stuff, of which he gives some instances; "*but if a churchman come in play he is favored*—of this proof can be made by Depositions." "Salute me Lord Haversham," Penn says, "and tell him the Admiralty is no Inheritance to him, but the common Law is, and hope he will not countenance their Ignorance: y^e Judge affirmed the Court had more power here than that in England; they pursue the letter of their Commissions; the Advocate confessed there was not one in America understood the Civil Law or Doctors Commons; at what a pass then are Proprietary Governments, who, unless they will run their heads against the wall, are in danger of being *quo warranto* by the late Act agst Piracy, a weak thing, what done this Assembly about y^e Act of Piracy. As for y^e Commission, if I can make a Mayor and not an officer under him, 'tis odd; and to have 300 miles of water and yet no power to serve a Writt on it, is to grant a country without a way to it; y^e Contrary has been practiced ever since a Gov^{mt} till these Gent^{men} had their Com^{mission}, and now what is granted by y^e 7th and 8th of W^m ye 3^d is allowed them, but they will have all the power even in Creeks not 20 feet over, without considering what is *infra Corpus Comitatus*, and will have all actions tried by ye Admiralty, whatsoever it is, without a Jury; but I hope, if I live 7 years, to see those y^e give away men's estates without a Jury punished¹ though not so vigorously as Empson and Dudley, —and of Lumby's business, too, where both Judge and Advocate are parties for ye thirds. *I am too far off to make trips to Whitehall, otherwise Westminster, ye Parliament, etc., should have rung of it as well as ye Exchange.* 'Tis a great affront and Injustice that my Waters should be under another Vice-Admiralty; to talk of a country and no waters, a proprietary, or palatine & no vice-admiralty, nor to be Lord of ye Waters, has a contradiction in it; *inculcate this to ye Lords of Admiralty & Trade, for I have sent over a Dep^{ty} name for approbation.*"¹

¹ That Penn was determined, if the worst came, to make a fight in Privy Council on the rights conveyed to him by the Royal Charter and Patent is obvious from the fact that he begs Lawton to make particular inquiry concerning "y^e Nature & Custom of y^e Castle of Windsor." This was in reference to the particular character of the tenure, the third article of the Royal Charter to Penn, giving to him (saving allegiance and loyal sovereignty), "to have, hold, possess, and enjoy, the said tract of land, country, isles, inlets, and other the premises . . . forever, to be holden of us our heirs and successors kings of England, as of our castle of Windsor, in the county of Berks, in free and common socage, by fealty only, for all services," etc. "Custom" is a feudal law term, implying established usage in contradistinction to written or statute law. Thus the districts of Northern France were styled *pays coutumier* in contradistinction to those of the South, which, governed by the civil law, were styled *pays du droit Latin*. The "custom of Paris" became finally, as formulated by Louis IX., the common law of France. The law of customs was that when a general custom was concerned, any infraction of it was to be tried by Parliament or Privy Council, aided by the courts; but a breach of a local custom was to be tried by jury. The "custom of

The spirit of this letter we cannot admire, but every one must admit the skill and adroitness of it, especially in the suggestion of arguments appealing at once to the experience and the prejudices of Lord Haversham, the English judge of the Common Pleas. Penn is making a case in the Privy Council against Judge Quarry, and every word he says is meant to tell with men like Somers, Holt, and Haversham. Even his bitterness, scarcely so reserved as is usual with him, has a deliberate purpose in it, and is the echo of feelings which he knows must still be strong among lawyers fresh from the English state trials which hastened the expulsion of King James from the throne. Penn proceeds with his indictment of his enemies in the following terms: "Hinder Randal [Edmund Randolph] our Enemy, a knave, &c., from returning [he] has played many pranks; was prerogative's tool to Destroy N. England's character; occasioned my disputes 5 years; treated with y^e pirates for pardon. I send an original Lett^r of his to W. Clark, wth whom he dispensed without an oath, tho' he made that a great charge against us; Sir R. Southwel was his protect^r, and wth I left Londoⁿ his great Enemy for baseness: R. Harley has great power wth him, who had a better man in his eye, one Brinton; Sir R. S. has Interest. Coll. Bass and Coll. Barkstead are Alsations, wooden colonels, little will, &c., ingrate to y^e last, my great Enemies; Bass & a Liar y^e same, let him not come hither; y^e popish friar his fr^d & his wife are dead, both cunning and his fr^ds. See R. West on this, Gov^r. Ham^l fr^d agst Bass."² Penn further advises his agent to "give R. West a guinea now and then." "I fear him in y^e surrender of y^e Jerseys; he has always profest friendship, putt him in mind of it." Also, his agent is to choose a good lawyer, "not full of practice," to ascertain the power of the Council Board and House of Lords to take cognizance of cases of law before them; after the opinion is got it is to be shown to Mompesson (who was afterwards appointed to succeed Quarry). Penn says that West wanted him to stay in England and fight out the difficulty with Quarry before the Privy Council, but Quarry's letters, backed by the Bishop of London and Gr. Nicolson, would not suffer it. "Church is their cry and to disturb us their merit, whose labors have made the place; they misrepresent all we doe, & would make us dissenters in our own country." The church party have had every concession possible made to them, says Penn, and have three of the five counties, but they want everything, although "we are much Superior to them in Number & Estates; 2 to 1 in Numbers, 4 to 1 in estates, 20 to 1 in first

Windsor" was the general feudal rule of the English monarchs regarding tenure of lands, and as old as William the Conqueror; but in respect of being local to Windsor, in a specified county, Penn could demand a jury if accused of violating the charter.

² It is anything but honest in Penn to quarrel with Randolph for being "prerogative's tool;" he himself was precisely that sort of instrument during the reigns of Charles and James.

adventurers.¹ G. K.'s [George Keith's] Hypocrisy first open'd y^e way for this violent spirit." After repeating his injunction to Lawton to spare no pains to get the Bishop of London's good will and advising him that several things in this letter "are not to be showed," Penn concludes this epistle, which is written a great deal more in the style of Barillon, Gondemar, Burleigh, or Godolphin than in that of the quiet Quaker, humbly pursuing his own path and leaving worldly things to the management of Providence. The spirit of intrigue and cunning breathes through every line, and the founder of Pennsylvania does not scruple to bribe lobbyists at Whitehall, nor to practice upon the prejudices of the law lords in King William's Privy Council. He shows that Mompesson, the man who came out in 1704 with Evans and William Penn, Jr., to succeed Col. Quarry as judge of the Court of Admiralty, was already in his confidence so deeply as to be retained as counselor in the most intimate affairs.

The records of Council at this period are not rich in minor matters of interest respecting Philadelphia. The price of wheat had gone up to five shillings sixpence a bushel, whereupon the bakers reduced the size of the loaf, and were complained against. The result was that the standard weight of the loaf was reduced in order to enable the bakers to live. There were other market regulations of a similar character. At the session of the Assembly and Council, in October, 1700, at New Castle, there was a general revision of laws, and a tax bill was passed to raise two thousand pounds, of which Philadelphia contributed a little more than half. One hundred and four acts were passed at this session of the General Assembly, the most of them being modifications of existing laws, or acts of local character and minor importance. The purchase of land from Indians without consent of the proprietary was forbidden; better provision was made for the poor; dueling and challenging to combat visited with three months' imprisonment; bound servants forbidden to be sold without their consent and that of two magistrates, and at the expiration of their term of service were to have clothes and implements given them. An act relating to roads gave the regulation of county roads to county justices, and the king's highway and public roads to the Governor and Council; inclosures were to be regulated, corn-field fences to be made pig-tight and five feet high of rails or logs; when such fences were not provided the delinquent to be liable for all damages from stock. The counties were to provide railed bridges over streams at their own expense and to appoint overseers

of highways and viewers of fences. A health bill was also passed, providing quarantine for vessels with disease aboard. An ordinance was also made by Council restricting the firing of salutes by vessels in the river, some Seneca Indians in Philadelphia, on a visit to Penn, having been frightened off by one of these promiscuous cannonades. The Governor took great pains to conciliate the terrified Indians, made them a speech, and ended by sending them to inspect the vessels in person and find out why and how salutes were fired. The Council also followed the lead of the Friends' Yearly Meeting in providing for the marriage of negroes and the spiritual welfare of them and the Indians, as well as trying to discourage the importation of African slaves; but the Assembly declined to carry out the proposed legislation. Negroes were property, and the Legislature was slow to do anything impairing their value. A negro slave named Jack, in September, 1700, shot and killed a white youth, but it does not seem as if he could be brought to trial. His conviction and execution would have destroyed that much property.² In order to render the enactment against piracy more effective a strict system of passes for goers and comers was instituted, and the old law revived requiring people intending to move away to publish due notice thereof. Pastorius and the people of Germantown attempted but did not succeed in having their borough divorced from Philadelphia, as far as taxes were concerned. The sewerage system of Philadelphia was defective, the streets being washed and flooded by every rain. A commission was accordingly appointed to regulate the streets and water-courses, and they were authorized to levy for five hundred pounds to enable them to perform their work.³

There being complaint of the drain of coin from the province to pay for neat cattle imported from East Jersey, the Council agreed upon a series of regulations for the Assembly to act upon, requiring every holder of forty acres of cleared land to keep ten sheep; prohibiting any one to sell or kill more than half his neat cattle; none to be killed or sold in Philadelphia under any pretence between 10th of June and 10th of September; none but strictly mar-

² The murdered man was buried in the Friends' burying-ground on Fourth and Mulberry Streets, and here, in 1815, his tombstone was dug up, bearing the following inscription:

"Here lies a Plant,
Too many have seen it,
Flourisht and perisht
In half a minute;
Joseph Rakestraw,
The son of William,
Shott by a negro
The 30th day of Sept.,
1700, in the 19th year
and 4th mo. of his age."

—Westcott quoting from Hazard's Register.

¹ This shows conclusively the wane of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania after twenty years of settlement. They still retained the preponderance in property, but since 1682 had declined in proportion of numbers from twenty to one to two to one, and were in a minority in the lower counties, the Delaware Hundreds. The motion for the secession of these counties in 1699 and 1702, and the reason why the Quakers took this secession so easily, are thus fully explained.

³ The members of this commission were Francis Cook, James Atkinson, Charles Read, Jonathan Dickinson, Thomas Masters, and John Parsons.

ketable cattle to be killed at any time, nor less than twenty-four hours after being driven; slaughter-houses to be forbidden in the city limits; but all slaughtering to be done on the east side of Delaware, where the tide might carry off the offal; finally, the duty on rum of the West Indies imported in vessels belonging to the province was taken off, on other vessels one penny per gallon; but if rum be retailed in quantities less than ten gallons it was to pay duty. No person to keep more than four horses without fences; no stallion to go at large. The Assembly was called together, Aug. 1, 1701, again to consider a letter from the king asking £350 to repair and build forts in New York. The application was, however, refused, the Assembly, not without a dig at Penn, representing the province as being poor through previous contributions, and having arrears of quit-rent to pay up. The Assembly was very loyal and humble, but gave unmistakable evidence of its unwillingness to be taxed for the warlike purposes of another colony.

The subject of the unsatisfactory condition of the trade with the Indians was several times brought before Council, there being reason to believe that French emissaries had helped to debauch them with rum and false rumors. The Council ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the French traders, Louis and P. Besalieu, and took measures looking to let out the trade to a company or a limited number of persons, "who should take all measures to induce the Indians to a true Value and Esteem for the Christian Religion by setting before them good Examples of Probity and Candour, both in Commerce and Behaviour, and that care should be taken to have them duly instructed in the fundamentals of Christianity."

A sort of joint-stock company was proposed, the old traders to be admitted, and all who should subscribe to rules and regulations to be laid down by Council. Many efforts were made to prevent or restrict the traffic in rum with the Indians, but, though a bill to this effect was passed by the Assembly before Penn's departure, it was not stringent enough to accomplish the end sought. In the mean time, however, Penn had had many conferences with the tribes, and established good relations with them. In 1696, through Governor Dongan, of New York, he had bought from the Five Nations the right to all the lands on the Susquehanna. This purchase was not considered satisfactory by the Indians on the spot, and consequently the representatives of the Susquehannas, the Indians at the head of the Potomac, the Shawanese, and delegates from the Five Nations were summoned to Philadelphia to meet Penn and his Council. A formal treaty was negotiated between the contracting parties, in which the Susquehanna land purchases were fully ratified and a treaty of amity agreed upon, by which a "firm and lasting peace" was forever established, "and that they shall forever hereafter be a one Head and One Heart, & live in true friendship

& Amity as one People." By this treaty common measures were taken against all acts of violence, and mutual guarantees of full immunities, free intercourse, and safe conduct exchanged; any hostile intentions on the part of either party should be anticipated by due notice given to the other party, and evil reports were not to be credited until investigated; the Susquehannas were not to permit strange Indians to settle on their lands, nor to trade with any but the commissioned agents of the province. Before Penn left the province he again met these Indians in a grand council at Pennsbury, where he took leave of them, gave them every assurance of his interest in them and their well-being, and received from them the most solemn assurances of continued fidelity. They told him, as John Richardson reports in his journal, that "they never broke covenant with any people, for"—and here they smote three times upon their heads and their hearts with their hands—"they did not make treaties in their heads but in their hearts." Then they kindled their council fires in the grounds about the mansion, and performed their "canticoes" and dances, singing their songs and sounding their long war-whoops until the forests on the other side of the Delaware echoed with the wild refrain.

A new Assembly was called to meet on the 15th of September, 1701. The proprietary told them he would have been glad to defer the session to the usual time, but he was summoned away to England by news seriously threatening his and their interests. A combined effort was making in Parliament to obtain an act for annexing the several proprietary governments to the crown. A bill for that purpose had passed its second reading in the House of Lords, and it was absolutely necessary for Penn to be on the spot to prevent the success of these schemes. When the Assembly met (Philadelphia being represented by Anthony Morris, Samuel Richardson, Nicholas Waln, and Isaac Norris), Penn told them he contemplated the voyage with great reluctance, "having promised myself the Quietness of a wilderness," but, finding he could best serve them on the other side of the water, "neither the rudeness of the season nor the tender circumstances of my family can overrule my intention to undertake it."¹ At the first regular session of the Assembly since his return (April, 1700) Penn had addressed them on the subject of reforming the charter and laws. Some laws were obsolete, he said, some

¹ In strict honesty, while Penn was pleading the "tender circumstances" of his family, he should have added that both his wife and daughter were urging his departure, and that he might perhaps have stayed in the wilderness if they had given him any hopes of enjoying quietude there. In a letter to James Logan, dated Sept. 8, 1701, he wrote: "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with York. I know not what to do. Samuel Carpenter seems to excuse her in it, but to all that speak of it say I shall have no need to stay, and great interest to return." Penn evidently wanted to leave his wife and daughter at Pennsbury, so as to put himself under speedy bonds to return after a brief run over to England.

hurtful, some imperfect and needing improvement, new ones needed to be made also. "We cannot go too slowly to make them, nor too fast to execute them when made, and that with diligence and discretion." If any law needed repair, alter it. If new laws are demanded, propose them. But do not play at government. "I wish there were no need of any." "Government is not an end but a means; he who thinks it is an end aims at profit, to make a trade of it; but he who thinks it to be a means understands the true end of government. Friends, away with all parties, and look on yourselves and on what is good for all as a body politic. . . . Study peace and be at amity. Provide for the good of all, and I desire to see mine no otherwise than in the public's prosperity." This was salutary and timely counsel; but the Assembly did not heed it. They demanded a new charter, and were not rebuffed by Penn's retort, "whether they thought the old charter was living, dead, or asleep?" Now, when the Assembly met before his departure, the proprietary brought the same subject plainly to their attention. "Think, therefore," said he, "since all men are mortal, of some suitable expedient and Provision for your safety, as well in your Privileges as Property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may render us happy, by a nearer Union of our Interest." The Assembly expressed its sorrow at his intended departure and gave him thanks, in a formal address, for his interest in the province's behalf.

All this, however, was simply preliminary. The Assembly made a remonstrance and petitions of the people of Philadelphia which had been presented to Governor Markham in April, 1697, and again brought before Penn,¹ the occasion for an address to the proprietary. This address was in twenty-one articles, and embraced the substance of what the Assembly conceived should be entertained in any new charter. It was made up of specific demands for political privileges and territorial concessions, and, as Gordon observes, was "the germ of a long and bitter controversy." The political privileges demanded were that in case the proprietary left the province, due care should be taken to have him represented by persons of integrity and considerable known estate, with full power to deal with lands and titles, that an ample protective charter should be granted, that all property questions should be settled in the courts, and no longer allowed to go before Governor and Council, and that the justices should license and regulate ordinaries and drinking-houses. The rest of the articles were in reference to the land question, and the freedom of the demands provoked the Governor, who said, on hearing the articles read, that if he had freely

expressed his inclination to indulge them, "they were altogether as free in their cravings," and there were several of the articles which could not concern them "as a House of Representatives conven'd on affairs of Gov't." In fact, the Assembly demanded (1) that the proprietary should cease to exercise the right of reviewing and altering the land contracts made in his name by the Deputy Governor, and that the latter should have power to remedy all shortages and over measures; (2) that the charter should secure all titles and clear all Indian purchases; (3) that there should be no more delay in confirming lands and granting patents, and the ten in the hundred should be allowed as agreed upon; (4) no surveyor, secretary, or other person to take any extra fees beyond the law's allowance; (5) the ancient land records, made before Penn's coming, should be "lodged in such hands as y^e Assembly shall judge to be most safe;" (6) a patent office should be created, like that of Jamaica; (7) that the original terms for laying out Philadelphia were clogged with rents and reservations contrary to the design of the first grant, and these should be eased; (8) "that the Land lying back of that part of the town already built remain for common, and that no leases be Granted, for the future, to make Inclosures to the damage of the Publick, until such time as the respective owners shall be ready to build or Improve thereon, and that the Islands and flats near the Town be left to the Inhabitants of this town to get their winter flödder;" (9) that the streets of the town should be regulated and bounded, the ends on Delaware and Schuylkill to be unlimited and left free, and free public landing-places be confirmed at the Blue Anchor Tavern and the Penny Pot-House; (10) the deeds of enfeoffment from the Duke of York for the lower counties should be recorded in their courts, and all lands not disposed of then be letted at the old rate of a bushel of wheat the hundred acres; (11) New Castle should receive the one thousand acres of common land promised to it, and bank-lots these to be confirmed to owners of front lots at low-water mark, at the rent of a bushel of wheat per lot; (12) all the hay-marshes should be laid out for commons, except such as were already granted; (13) that all patents hereafter to be granted to the territories should be on the same conditions as the warrants or grants were obtained, and that people should have liberty to buy up their quit-rents, as formerly promised.²

² Some of these propositions were obviously untenable, and some amounted to a charge of bad faith against the proprietary. Gordon says (*History of Pennsylvania*, p. 118).—

"1. In the surveys to the first emigrants an allowance had been made by the proprietary of ten acres in the hundred for roads, uneven grounds, and errors of survey. Subsequent purchasers claimed this allowance also as a right. The situation of every tract did not admit of such addition, and the surveyors sometimes omitted to embrace it when it might have been obtained. . . . An attempt was made to satisfy the claimants in the preceding year by the passage of an act giving to those whose surveys included so much, or more, the full ten per cent., and two per cent. to those who had the nett hundred. The inequality of this provision was obvious, and the landholders were consequently dissatisfied. The

¹ It was a protest against the right of the Assembly and Council, as then constituted, to pass laws and raise taxes. It was signed by Arthur Cook and one hundred and thirteen leading citizens of the place. Penn referred it to Robert Turner, Griffith Jones, Francis Rawle, and Joseph Wilcox.

Penn informed the Assembly that their address was solely on property, and chiefly in relation to private contracts between him and individuals, whereas he had recommended them to consider their privileges, the bulwark of property. He would never suffer any Assembly to intermeddle with his property. The Assembly retorted that they were of opinion they had privileges sufficient as Englishmen, and would leave the rest to Providence. As to the king's letter demanding a subsidy, the country was too much straitened of late by the necessary payment of their debts and taxes; other colonies did not seem to have done anything, and they must therefore beg to be excused.

Penn now made answer to the address, article by article; he would appoint such deputies as he had confidence in, and he hoped they would be of honest character, unexceptionable, and capable of doing what was right by proprietary and province; he was willing to grant a new charter, and to dispense with delays in granting patents; fees he was willing should be regulated by law, but hoped he would not be expected to pay them; the custody of the records was as much his business as the Assembly's; if the Jamaica patent law would improve things he was willing to have it adopted; the claim for town lots was erroneous; the reservations in the city were his own, not the property of the inhabitants; improvements of bed of streets conceded; license proposition conceded; the deeds for Delaware counties were recorded by Ephraim Herman; the other propositions, in substance, so far as they were important, were negated or referred for revision.

In the course of the discussions the representatives of the lower counties took offense and withdrew from the Assembly; they objected to having the As-

sembly demanded the full ten per cent. on all lands then sold, and five per cent. on future sales." (This Penn refused, offering six per cent. all round. This caused much trouble until 1712, when a settlement was effected on the basis of six per cent.) "The examination of this question of surplage, though attended with much vexations, proved of pecuniary advantage to the proprietary. An act of Assembly was passed directing a survey of all located lands, at the expense of William Penn. within two years; and large quantities of land were found included in former surveys not covered by the warrants, for which he justly demanded payment. But this exaction was most unreasonably considered by some of the tenants as hard and oppressive.

"II. The pretension of the freeholders to a full participation of the benefits especially granted to the first purchasers, were not confined to the allowance for roads. The city lots, now rapidly increasing in value were claimed as appendages to country purchases, and every holder of a farm demanded a city lot of a size proportioned to the number of acres he possessed.

"III. The inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia required that the vacant town lots should remain in common. . . . Whilst these extravagant claims were advanced by the freemen of the province those of the territories asked that the price of lands in their counties should not be raised, and that future grants should be made at the original quit-rents.

"IV. In resurveying the quit-rents the proprietary intended not only to secure to himself a permanent revenue, but to preserve that connection between the grantor and grantee which had been the soul of the feudal system and which was still considered necessary though all the incidents of that system, save fealty, escheat, and rent, frequently nominal, had ceased."

sembly confirm and re-enact the laws passed at New Castle, since they regarded these as already permanent and established. This was only preliminary to the final separation of the Delaware counties from Pennsylvania. Finally the Assembly was dissolved on Oct. 28, 1701, the Governor having signed an act to establish courts of judicature for the punishment of petty larceny; for minor attachments; for preventing clandestine marriages; for preventing fires in towns; for preventing swine from running at large; for the destruction of blackbirds and crows, and against selling rum to the Indians. Penn also signed the Charter of Privileges, "with a

Warrant to Affix the Great Seal to it, which was delivered with it to Thomas Story, Keeper of the said Seal, and master of the Rolls, to be Sealed and Recorded." At the same time he signed a charter incorporating the city of Philadelphia.

The Charter of Privileges, after a specific preamble, begins by confirming freedom of conscience and liberty of religious profession and worship in ample terms, as had been done in the earlier form of government; it provided for an Assembly of four members from each county, to be elected by the freemen each year on October 1st, and meet in General Assembly October 14th at Philadelphia. The Assembly to choose its own Speaker and officers, judge the qualification and election of its own members, sit upon its own adjournments, appoint committees, prepare bills in or to pass into laws, impeach criminals and redress grievances, "and shall have all other powers and privileges of an Assembly, according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the King's Plantations in America." The freemen of each county, on the election day for assemblymen, were to select two persons for sheriff and two for coroner, the Governor to commission a sheriff and a coroner, each to serve for three years, from the persons so chosen for him to select from. If the voters neglected to nominate candidates for these offices, the county justices should remedy the defect. "Fourthly, that the Laws of this Govr^t shall be in this stile, viz: [By the Governour with the Consent and Approbation of the freemen in General Assembly mett] and shall be, after Confirmation by the Governour, forthwith Recorded in the Rolls office, and kept at Philad^a, unless the Govr. and Assembly shall agree to appoint another place. Fifthly, all criminals to have the same privilege of witness and



SEAL OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1701

counsel as their accusers; complaints as to property not to be heard anywhere but in courts of justice, unless upon appeal lawfully provided for; no licenses for ordinaries, &c., to be granted but upon recommendation of the County Justices, who also can suppress such houses for disorder and misconduct; suicide was not to work escheat of property nor affect its regular descent to legal heirs; no forfeiture of estates to proprietary in consequence of accidents. The charter was not to be amended or altered in any way but by consent of the Governor and six-sevenths of the Assembly, and the first article, guaranteeing liberty of conscience, "shall be kept and remain without any alteration, Inviably forever." The Assembly, by this charter, at last secured what it had been contending for ever since the first session at Upland,—the parliamentary privilege of originating bills, which must be inherent in every properly constituted legislative body. Penn, in fact, conceded everything but the margin of acres for shortage, the town lots, and the quit-rents. To expedite the conveyance of patents, titles, and land grants he created a commission of property, consisting of Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, and James Logan, with power to grant lots and lands and make titles. The new charter did away with an elective Council, and the legislative power was vested exclusively in the Assembly. But Penn commissioned a Council under his own seal to consult and assist him or his deputy or lieutenant in all the public affairs of the province. The Council thus commissioned were to hold their places at the Governor's pleasure, the Deputy Governor to have the power to appoint men where there was a vacancy, to nominate a president of Council, and even to increase the number of members. The Council as nominated by Penn consisted of Edward Shippen, John Guest, Samuel Carpenter, William Clark, Thomas Story, Griffith Owen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Finney, Caleb Pusey, and John Blunston, any four of them to be a quorum. In the charter for Philadelphia, Edward Shippen was named mayor and Thomas Story recorder.

On or about Nov. 1, 1701, William Penn, with his wife Hannah, his daughter Letitia, and his infant son John, embarked on board the ship "Dalmahoy" for England. Mrs. Penn, who had promised to return with the Governor, should he come back, appears to have made a good impression in the province. Isaac Norris writes that "she is beloved by all (I believe I may say in its fullest extent), so is her leaving us heavy and of real sorrow to her friends; she has carried under and through all with a wonderful evenness, humility, and freedom; her sweetness and goodness have become her character, and are indeed extraordinary. In short, we love her and she deserves it." Penn commissioned Andrew Hamilton, formerly Governor of East and West New Jersey, to be his Lieutenant-Governor; and he made James Logan provincial secretary and clerk of Council.

While the ship dropped down the river the proprietary wrote his letter of instructions to Logan, from which extracts have been given above. And so Penn passed away from the province he had created, never to return to it again.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE QUAKER CITY—1701-1750.

THE charter of the city of Philadelphia, which William Penn granted Oct. 25, 1701, begins:

"WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, etc., to all to whom these presents may come, sends greeting: "*Know ye*, that at the humble request of the inhabitants and settlers of this town of Philadelphia, being some of the first adventurers and purchasers within this province, for their encouragement, and for the more immediate and entire government of the said town, and better regulation of trade therein, I have, by virtue of the king's letters patent, under the great seal of England, erected the said town into a borough, and by these presents do erect the said town and borough of Philadelphia into a city, which said city shall extend the limits and bounds as it is laid out between Delaware and Schuylkill."

The charter provides that the streets are to continue forever as they are now laid out and regulated, the Delaware end to be free, as now, for the use and service of the city and people, with power to improve and build wharves, etc., as the mayor and Common Council shall determine. Edward Shippen is named present mayor, "who shall so continue until another be chosen, as is hereinafter directed." Thomas Story to be recorder; Thomas Farmer, sheriff; and Robert Ashton, town clerk, clerk of the peace, and of the courts; Joshua Carpenter, Griffith Jones, Anthony Morris, Joseph Wilcox, Nathan Stanbury, Charles Read, Thomas Masters, and William Carter, aldermen; and John Parsons, William Hudson, William Lee, Nehemiah Allen, Thomas Paschall, John Budd, Jr., Edward Smout, Samuel Buckley, James Atkinson, Pentecost Teague, Francis Cook, and Henry Badcocke, common councilmen.

The mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common councilmen and their successors are declared to be "one body corporate and politic in deed," by the name of "the mayor and commonalty of the city of Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania;" and as such, persons capable in law to "have, get, receive, and possess" real and personal property, rents, franchises, liberties, jurisdictions, etc., and to dispose of the same, as well as to sue and be sued like any other persons, and to have a seal.

The mayor is to be elected annually, by the mayor and commonalty, on the first third day of the week in the eighth month, and is to qualify within three days before the Governor, making the test declarations provided in 1 William, iii.; other officers to qualify before the mayor. The aldermen and Common Council are to be chosen at the same time that the mayor is elected, when such choice is necessary.

The mayor, recorder, and aldermen are made justices of the peace and of Oyer and Terminer, with plenary jurisdiction within the liberties of the city, and any four or more of them (the mayor and recorder being two) are given power and authority to hear and inquire into all crimes and felonies, larcenies, riots, unlawful assemblies, and breaches of the peace, and to try and punish all crimes and vices, etc. They are to hold a court of record quarterly or oftener, and to abate nuisances and arrest encroachments, and they are constituted of the quorum of the justices of the County Courts, Quarter Sessions, Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery of Philadelphia County.

They may erect a jail and court-house, take cognizance of debts according to the statute of merchants and of action burnel, and appoint a clerk of the market, who shall have assize of bread, wine, beer, wood, etc.

The existing coroner of Philadelphia County is to act for the city, but the freemen of the city may choose their coroners and sheriffs as such officers are chosen in the counties, the sheriff to act as water bailiff on the Delaware.

The mayor may be removed for misconduct by the recorder and five aldermen and nine common councilmen; a successor in that case, or in case of death, to be elected within four days, the senior alderman to act as mayor during the latter's absence or disability.

The recorder may be removed for misconduct by the mayor and two-thirds of the commonalty; the person chosen to succeed him must be skilled in the law. Aldermen and other officers are made removable by kindred processes. Persons refusing to serve in any of these offices to be punished by fine, not exceeding, in the mayor's case, forty pounds; in the case of aldermen, thirty-five pounds; and common councilmen, twenty pounds.

A quorum of the Common Council shall consist of the mayor and recorder, and not less than three aldermen and nine councilmen. They are given authority to admit other freemen into their corporation; to make and execute constitutional laws and ordinances; to fine and amerce. No persons are to be admitted freemen of the city, or capable of being elected to office, unless free denizens and inhabitants of the city, twenty-one years old, freeholders, or worth fifty pounds in money or stock, "and have been resident in the said city for the space of two years, or shall purchase their freedom of the mayor and commonalty aforesaid."

Two market-days a week are provided for, two annual fairs, lasting three days each, and Philadelphia is made a port of entry, all under the charge of the mayor and commonalty. Landing-places are provided for,—the Penny-pot house and the Blue Anchor tavern,—and the swamp between Budd's buildings and Society Hill is reserved for docks and harbors.

Vacant land within the liberties is to remain open for pasture until taken up for improvement; but Penn

reserves the right to fence the land between Centre meeting-house and the Schuylkill without its being deemed an encroachment.

The charter is to be construed liberally, and in favor of the corporation.

The minutes of the proceedings of the mayor and commonalty from 1701 to 1704 are not extant. Those which commence October 3d, in the latter year, have been preserved. We find in the first day's proceedings¹ that Griffith Jones, at that meeting elected mayor for the ensuing year, was just suing to have his fine of twenty pounds remitted, that having been imposed on him for refusing to serve during the previous year. In fact, it took some time for the people to understand the need of a separate municipal government. The first mayor, Edward Shippen, was also president of Council, and the Council and Assembly, especially since the defection of the Delaware Hundreds, seemed little other than the legislative body of Philadelphia and its suburbs.

Independent of local affairs, the proceedings of Governor, Council, and Assembly, from the date of Penn's departure in 1701 to the time of the Stamp Act, are monotonous and dreary. A constant struggle was going on, but it had no variations. The same issues were being all the time fought out, over the same familiar ground and by the same parties. The interests of the crown, the interests of the proprietary, the interests of the people, did not harmonize; there was a continual and incessant clash, and yet nothing was settled. The Governors were of inferior metal, the people vexed and complaining, the Penns wanted money, the crown wanted supplies and money, was jealous and solicitous about prerogative, everything seemed to be at odds and outs, yet the colony grew and prospered amazingly. The various and conflicting interests did not disturb a people who were peacefully reaping the fruits of their labors on a kindly soil in a gentle climate, almost untaxed and almost ungoverned, and immigration flowed in like a steadily mounting tide. The people were frugal, industrious, forehanded; and the Quakers, who had control of affairs, had been unpersecuted land-owners long enough to quite forget their early unnatural fanaticism and settle down into a staid sobriety, which was as impassive a substitute for conservatism as could be desired. They objected, on principle, to much government of any sort; their non-resistance doctrine had the effect of steady resistance. They were like a break upon the wheel of a vehicle, preventing accidents and danger, but making the wagon drag a little. From the time of Penn's second return to England until the time of Braddock's defeat and the riot of the Paxton boys, they had practically control of the domestic affairs of the province, and they kept Philadelphia, as it was intended it should be, the Quaker City.

¹ Oct. 3, 1704, Anthony Morris, mayor; David Lloyd, recorder.

In all political and public matters, within the dates named above, the history of the city is "a record of quarrels between the Lieutenant-Governors and the various Assemblies of the province. The latter were usually composed in majority of members of the Society of Friends, holding peculiar doctrines in relation to the unlawfulness of war. The members of the Penn family had returned to the religion of the Church of England, and the Lieutenant-Governors appointed by them held no conscientious scruples against the right of using arms when necessary. Great Britain was involved in several wars with European nations, and her American colonies were in danger of attack and capture. Whenever these necessities arose, Lieutenant-Governors called upon the Assemblies for appropriations of money to raise troops, which requisitions were frequently denied or evaded upon various pretexts, some of which were founded upon the alleged dishonesty of the proprietaries in evading their own obligations on such occasions, and endeavoring to throw them upon the people."¹ The case could not be more compactly yet completely summed up. In fact, Penn and his successors in the proprietaryship had a difficult course to pursue, and they could not pursue it prosperously, it seemed to them, without temporizing. That was a policy which was not disagreeable to Penn himself, nor, it appears likely, to his heirs. But it gave the province an inferior class of Governors, men without convictions, without great honesty, hangers-on of the court, protégés of the Lords in Council. Penn returned to England in 1701 to prevent the consummation of a concerted assault upon his charter. When Queen Anne succeeded to the throne he could hope, as a courtier, to frustrate the schemes of other courtiers against his principality. But he must have known at the same time that it was the settled policy of the thoughtful parliamentary leaders of England—the government—to take the first occasion to break the colonial charters, unite the colonies into three or four separate governments, and make them vicerealties, entirely dependent upon the Lords and Commons at home. This had been the plan of James II., defeated by his misfortunes. The establishment of the church in the colonies in 1694 looked to the same end. William went no farther, because he had no time to think of the colonies; the Netherlands demanded all his attention and absorbed all his thoughts. But James' policy was revived under Queen Anne. It was esteemed by Halifax. Cornbury was sent to New Jersey and Lovelace to New York in the hope to accomplish the consolidation of Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York into a single province, New England to be a second province, and Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas a third. Penn must have known that Judge Quarry, his own enemy, member of Council at the same time in five colonies, and one

of the most influential men of his day, was actively and industriously urging this particular time as the one most propitious for the consolidation which was contemplated.² Penn knew also that the Quakers were more mistrusted in England than any other colonists except the New England republicans. They were suspected of being what Ingoldsby, Deputy-Governor of New Jersey under Cornbury, accused,—"men notoriously known to be uneasy under all government; men never known to be consistent with themselves; men to whom all the factions and confusions in the government of New Jersey and Pennsylvania for many years are wholly owing," etc.

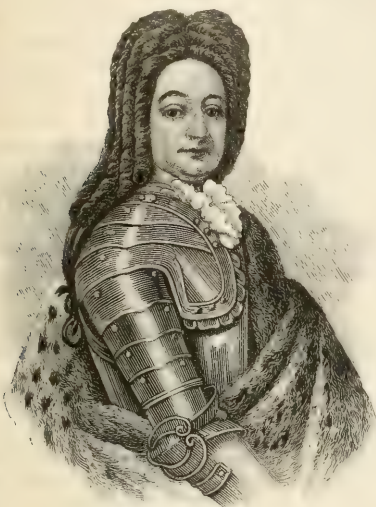
When Penn at last succumbed, borne down by debt, imprisonment, disappointments, chagrins, and the sturdy opposition of his provincials to all his demands and all his plans, he himself proposed to settle the whole vexed question by vacating his charter and selling all his rights and privileges to the crown for twelve thousand pounds, and only his own illness and subsequent imbecility prevented the sale from being ratified. After his death, when the estates and franchises of the Penns began to become very valuable, a formidable party sprang up in the province itself, headed by Franklin, in favor of abrogating the charter and vacating the proprietary government. To prevent this the Penns had to temporize again, concede here and stoop there, and so it happened that the Lieutenant-Governors of the province were never strong men, nor ever representative of any particular, leading interest. They were the creatures of compromise and non-policy,—what are called, in the slang of modern politics, "dough-faces." The provincials did not respect them, and continually resented their interference and despised their recommendations.

Andrew Hamilton, the first of these Governors, and the nearest to Penn's mind and purposes, had been Governor of East and West New Jersey, and was one of the proprietors of East New Jersey. He died in office, having accomplished but little. His appointment was opposed in England, and his acts withheld from ratification; at home the Assembly refused to ratify Penn's charter, and the Delaware Hundreds persisted in refusing to reunite with Penn-

² Quarry, who held office by appointment of the Lords of Trade (a board created in 1696 at the suggestion of Lord Somers), was in constant correspondence with them. He had adopted the idea put forth by Robert Livingston, of New York, in a letter to the Lords of Trade in 1701, recommending that "one form of government be established in all the neighboring colonies on this continent," an idea partly carried out by the commissioning of Lord Bellamont as captain-general over New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. In a memorial to the lords dated June 16, 1703, Quarry wrote, after giving a full account of the internal concerns of the colonies and the political opinions prevalent there, that "I may now say, that now or never is the time to support the queen's prerogative, and put a stop to these wrong, pernicious notions, which are improving daily, not only in Virginia, but in all her majesty's governments. I cannot recommend a more effective means than what I formerly mentioned,—the reducing all her majesty's governments on the main under one constitution and government as near as possible."

¹ Thompson Westcott.

sylvania. On his sudden death, April 20, 1703, Edward Shippen became acting Lieutenant-Governor. He was succeeded, in February, 1704, by John Evans, a Welsh youth, a friend of young William Penn, appointed, it should seem, in deference to the wishes of influential persons in the *entourage* of the queen. Evans was not a Quaker, but hostile to them; he was, besides, a rattle-pate, without judgment or



GOVERNOR SIR WILLIAM KEITH.

discretion, and very capable of doing mischief by rash acts. He was so unpopular that Logan, his intimate, was regarded with suspicion, and was complained against. He failed to accomplish any object which he set himself to achieve, became embroiled with every one, and was at last superseded by Penn, who, early in the year 1709, sent out Charles Gookin to succeed him. Gookin was a soldier, a man of years and experience, and Penn seemed to expect much from him. He wrote to his intimates in Philadelphia that Gookin was "of an easy, quiet temper." The queen approved of him; so did Godolphin, who wished him a good journey, and said he would be ready to serve him. "He is sober," wrote Penn, "understands to command and obey, moderate in his temper, and of what you call a good family, his grandfather, Sir Vincent Gookin, having been an early great planter in Ireland in King James I. and the first Charles' days, and he intends, if not ill treated, to lay his bones, as well as substance, among you, having taken leave of the war and both England and Ireland to live amongst you; and as he is not voluptuous, so I hope he will be an example of thriftiness." But the Assembly met Gookin, on his very

arrival, with a complaining address, full of Evans and other grievances, and he had no rest thereafter. They told Gookin, as they had told Evans, when he asked them for money both for Penn and for himself, that under his grant and charter Penn was rich enough in the proceeds of land sales and in quit-rents to maintain him and his Lieutenant-Governor likewise "answerable to their station." This must have been hard for even a quiet man to bear.

The Governor also asked for Pennsylvania's quota of one hundred and fifty men for the war, or the cost of equipping and supplying that number, promising the men should be forthcoming if the money was furnished. The reply of Assembly and Council was that the raising of money to hire men to fight and kill one another was a matter of conscience with them and against their principles; however, they would make the queen a present of five hundred pounds in gratitude for many great favors she had done them.¹

The Governor asked for more money, but the Assembly steadily refused to grant it. They did, however, vote two hundred pounds for his support and three hundred pounds to repair injuries done by French privateers at Lewes, demanding, however, in return, executive sanction to several important bills. They also persisted in the impeachment of James Logan.

Logan went to England, Penn wrote a strong letter to the province, a new Legislature of a more harmonious spirit was chosen, and two thousand pounds was voted for the queen's use on the eve of the expedition to Canada. In 1714, however, another Assembly renewed the quarrel, and there was no more peace. In 1717 Gookin bade them farewell. He had become erratic and violent towards the end of his career, turned his back on the Assembly committees, kicked a judge, and gave evidence of mental aberration. He was succeeded by Sir William Keith, a Scotchman, who had been surveyor of customs in the Carolinas, an adroit and perhaps unscrupulous politician, of easy, affable manners, accessible, avoiding

¹ The queen had befriended them. In 1705 the Legislature of Connecticut had passed an act to the effect, "that all who shall entertain any Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, and other Heretics, are made liable to the penalty of five pounds, and five pounds per week for any town that shall so entertain them; that all Quakers shall be committed to prison or sent out of the colony; that whoever shall hold any unnecessary discourse with Quakers shall forfeit twenty shillings; that whoever shall keep any Quakers' books, the Governor, magistrates, and elders excepted, shall forfeit ten shillings; that all such books shall be suppressed, and no master of any vessel to land any Quakers without carrying them away again, under the penalty of twenty pounds." This hard law the queen strongly disapproved, as contrary to the liberty of conscience granted to dissenters by the laws of England, and she accordingly repealed it and declared it void and of no effect. Consequently, the London Quakers sent a memorial to the throne expressive of their gratitude, and assuring her majesty of their "Christian and peaceable subjection, and unfeigned joy for the queen's mild and gentle government, aiming at the good of all her people." To this the queen replied: "Let the gentlemen know I thank them heartily for this address; and that, while they continue so good subjects, they need not doubt of my protection."

offense, willing and able to play the demagogue to serve his private ends. Keith treated with the Indians, wheedled the Assemblies into passing bills which advanced his interests, issued a paper-currency, organized an equity court, himself chancellor, and laid the foundation for a militia system. He at times allied himself with the Assembly against the Council and Secretary, who represented the proprietary interests, and craftily courted the Quakers. He was superseded in July, 1726, and was at once elected to the Assembly, where he tried to play the firebrand, but with little success. He published a history of Virginia in 1738, and died poor and neglected in London in 1749, leaving his widow to eke out her life in poverty in Philadelphia. Keith probably invented the paper-money scheme, of which he was so strenuous an advocate, and which had the immediate effect to drive all coin of every kind out of the province and send up exchange on London to ruinous rates. He formed a league with David Lloyd against the Council and James Logan, and the latter finally prevailed upon Hannah Penn to supersede him.



D Gordon

His successor was Maj. Patrick Gordon, a soldier, who had served in the regular British army, and rather prided himself on his blunt speech and his ignorance of the ways and wiles of the politicians. Gordon continued Lieutenant-Governor until 1736, his career in office being signalized by frankness and integrity. During his administration several disturbances occurred among the Indians, chiefly incited by strong drink, which were participated in by worthless bands, who had strayed away from the tribes to which they belonged. In these affrays several were killed and

wounded. Governor Gordon took prompt measures to apprehend and punish the offenders, and succeeded in preventing hostilities. He concluded a treaty with the Five Nations, and at a council held at Philadelphia, on the 26th of May, 1728, for the purpose of renewing treaties with the several Indian tribes there represented, Captain Civility spoke in behalf of the chieftains, and in referring to the Governor's address, previously delivered to them at Conestoga, said that "the Governor's words were all right and good; that they never had any such speech made to them since William Penn was here." These conferences with the Indians were frequent, and were attended with much expense, being generally coupled with treaties for the transfer of land. The Assembly, at its meeting in 1729, drew a distinction between the expense of treaties for the preservation of peace in the colony and those for the acquisition of territory, claiming that the latter should be borne by the proprietors, thus dividing, says Mr. Armor, the burden of the "frequent visits of the chiefs and their followers to polish the chain of friendship with English blankets, broadcloths, and metals."¹ Gordon was still in office at the moment of his death, and James Logan, as president of Council, became the *locum tenens* for two years, until Gordon's successor arrived in Philadelphia, in 1738, in the person of Col. George Thomas, formerly an Antigua planter. He was a man of ability and well disposed, but in 1740-41 the war with France and Spain broke out, the government wanted money, the Governor asked for it, and the usual disputes began with the Assembly. Some money was voted, but not all that the Governor asked, and he became embroiled with the Legislature because he sanctioned and encouraged the enlistment of indentured apprentices, servants, and redemptioners. There were serious election riots during this administration, and some difficulties threatened with the Indians, which, however, Governor Thomas adroitly managed to smooth over. He resigned in the summer of 1747, Anthony Palmer, president of Council, acting as Governor until November, 1748, when James Hamilton, a native of Pennsylvania, came over from England with the commission of Lieutenant-Governor. He was the son of Andrew Hamilton, the lawyer, wealthy, and esteemed and popular. He set himself to work to pacify the Indians on the Western border, and resigned on the eve of the Seven Years' war, foreseeing a renewal of the old contest between the Assembly and the Governor, as the representative of the crown and the proprietary.

Robert Hunter Morris relieved Hamilton in October, 1754. He was the son of Lewis Morris, formerly Governor of New Jersey, and his first act was to come in collision with the Assembly on a money bill. The war was beginning to rage furiously, and Pennsylvania was called upon for three thousand recruits,

¹ Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania.

subsistence, camp equipage, and transportation. While the haggling over the ways and means was at its height, came the news of Braddock's defeat, the border left defenseless, the savages raiding to Cumberland Valley. The Assembly at once voted fifty thousand pounds for the public defense, but the Governor returned the bill unapproved, because it provided for taxing the property of the proprietors the same as other estates. Morris would not be moved from this position, but the Assembly contrived to borrow fifteen thousand pounds to aid in expeditions against the French, and the proprietors contributed five thousand pounds as a bonus. On this foundation a money bill was at last passed and provision made for the organization of a volunteer militia. A force was raised and marched against the Indians, who were driven back, and the Quakers finally persuaded the most of them to bury the hatchet and retire. The question of taxing the proprietary estates, however, was lurking behind the next supply bill, when Governor Morris was relieved, and William Denny became Governor in his stead.

Denny acceded to the Lieutenant-Governorship Aug. 20, 1756, and he was joyfully received until it was found that his instructions bound him to refuse assent to any bill voting money that did not place the proceeds at the joint disposal of the Assembly and Governor, to veto any emission of paper money in excess of forty thousand pounds, and all taxes on proprietary property which were made a lien on the lands. So he and the Assembly quarreled, of course, and pretty bitterly at that. He told them bluntly that he was reconciled to the detraction and personal abuse showered upon him, because it was obvious, "from your conduct to those before me, you are not so much displeased with the person governing as impatient of being governed at all." Probably there was a good deal of truth in this.

The Pennsylvania troops took the field and behaved well; but the treasury was frightfully embarrassed. Money must be had. One hundred thousand pounds was voted, to be levied impartially upon all estates, real and personal, and Governor Denny rejected the bill. The emergency was so great that another bill was passed, in which the proprietary property was exempt; but Franklin and Isaac Norris were sent as commissioners to England to remonstrate before the throne and ask Parliament to vacate the charter and unite the province with the crown. In 1759 the able diplomatists carried their point. Parliament sanctioned a money bill on the basis of an impartial levy, the Governor, however, to co-operate with the Assembly in disposing the revenue and the proprietary untitled lands to be assessed at minimum rates. Thus the Assembly won in this long fight. Governor Denny had received no pay since his arrival in the colony; the Assembly voted him one thousand pounds, he signed the money bill taxing proprietary estates, and the Penns immediately recalled him, James Hamilton

succeeding, and holding office until November, 1763, when John Penn, son of Richard Penn, became Deputy-Governor.

The secret of this steady resistance of the people of the province, through the popular branch of the Legislature, to the claims of the proprietary and the pretensions of royal authority is to be sought in part in the sturdy determination of people of the English race to vote no supplies which they do not expend, and to lay no taxes which recognize privileges. But it must still more be sought in the non-resistance policy of the Quakers, and to understand that policy fully we must understand this singular sect itself.¹ Logan, writing to Penn in 1701, in the first days of the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, and animadverting upon the general policy of the Governor to sustain the Court by meeting its war measures more than half-way, comments upon the proclamation of the new Queen Anne of Denmark, the war with France and Spain, and Hamilton's notion that a militia force should at once be equipped for the defense of the colony. The "Hot Church party," who wanted to put the Quakers in the wrong, opposed volunteer enlistments. Logan wrote: "Lowther (the captain seeking recruits) on beating up the town with drums found only the meaner sort came forward to enlist; others would not enlist because they believed it the readiest way to secure the Quakers in the government. He mustered them a second time, which was the last, finding the opposition too great to struggle with, persons being daily employed in private to divert the inclinations of those who had shown a forwardness that way. Of this there might considerable advantage have been made by the government against that party who had shown themselves basely discouraging it; but that being in the hands of Friends, whose profession is directly opposite, they were tied up and could not appear."

Tied up by their professions. Yet the Quakers of this and subsequent periods, while their professions were the same and as binding, were a very different class from the wild, fanatical enthusiasts of two generations back. In ceasing to be persecuted they had lost the white glow of their fervor. They had settled and become sedate and sober quietists, a certain gleam and later radiance of mysticism in their principles still, which did not prevent their ways and views of life from being practical and matter-of-fact in the last degree. They were not quite yet so merely formal as they afterwards became, but their age of self-immolation and martyrdom was past, and they did not wrestle with the Spirit in public any more, go naked in the streets, make raids upon Grand Turks and "steeple-houses," and willingly bare their backs at the cart's tail. The pillory and the whipping-post ceased to have charms for shrewd and canny

¹ The Quakers are treated more at length in this work under the head of "Religious Denominations."

traders and planters with money and property. Peace and prosperity had cured the enthusiasm which inspired them in the past.

Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Hamilton first met the Council on Nov. 14, 1701, and next day came up a debate about the road leading out of the north end of the town and the bridge across it, called Daye's bridge, which was broken by a freshet. The subject came up again on the 18th, and urgent demands were made for the bridge's repair. The road was made on a causeway over a swamp, and the bridge being now broken and some of the embankment probably caved, some persons wanted a new road laid out on safer ground, and more convenient perhaps to them. Others urged the original cost of the causeway as a reason for continuing to use the old bed. A commission was appointed—Griffith Jones, John Goodson, Samuel Richardson, Nicholas Waln, Robert Heath, Daniel Pastorius, and Arnold Castell—of those desiring the new road, and seven other persons of those that stood for the old road,—Peter Deal, Thomas Parsons, Joseph Fisher, Benjamin Duffield, Robert Adams, John Worral, and William Preston. They met, examined, surveyed, consulted, could not agree, and referred the matter to the Governor. What he decided is not on record. The new road was not laid off, however, and the old one, "crossing what was afterwards called Pool's bridge, on Front Street, over the Cohoque (Pegg's Run), continued for many years the most frequented crossing-place at the upper part of the town."¹

Edward Shippen, Nathan Stanbury, Isaac Norris, and William Carter, assessors of the proprietary tax of two thousand pounds laid on the town and county of Philadelphia, reported to Council, on Feb. 3, 1702, that Thomas Farmer, Penn's sheriff and *ex-officio* tax collector, was not doing his duty so far as their charge was concerned. Evidently the people did not like such a levy, and Farmer would not press it for fear of making himself unpopular. On the recommendation of the assessors, the Governor and Council appointed William Tonge, the deputy sheriff, to complete the collection, and do it promptly. Deputy Tonge, however, had to levy by distraint, and then it was objected that the municipal charter had made questionable the jurisdiction and authority of the magistrates, so that their warrants were invalid. This, however, the Council overruled, and ordered the warrants to issue and be executed forthwith. Probably the people did not choose to contribute to the proprietary's support more than they were forced to do. The tax was heavy, the Council was an aristocratic and unpopular body, and did not attempt to identify itself with the popular interests. This was showed at this time by the adoption of an order that "all affairs of particular Persons, Cognizable before this Board (not being the Publick affairs of y^e Gov-

ernment), shall be brought in by Petition to y^e Gover. & Council, Deliv'd to y^e Secry or Clerk y^eof, for wch he shall receive six Shillings, & y^e Door-Keeper or Messenger for every Petition one Shill. & Eight pence." Such a rule passed to-day by any governing board would raise such a storm of indignation as would demolish them forthwith. Men in the Assembly like David Lloyd are always swift to profit by such errors of judgment as this.

The Governor and Council ordered Anne of Denmark to be proclaimed Queen of Great Britain on July 10th, in advance of official instructions, principally because war had been declared with France and Spain, and the use of the sovereign's name was necessary in calling out the militia for defense. This determination to involve the colony in military measures at once provoked the passive resistance of the Quakers and of their representatives, the Assembly, with results already stated. When the time came for the Assembly to meet, the lower counties were not represented. An adjournment was had, elections held, and new representatives chosen, but they likewise refused to go to Philadelphia, and so the Quakers of that county, Bucks and Chester, had things all their own way. Hamilton's authority to recommend distasteful measures was impaired by the fact that he could show no evidence that he was recognized as Governor by the Queen,—her government had not communicated with him in any way,—and he was put to the rather pitiful plea of suggesting that no possible Governor who succeeded him would object to measures taken to protect the province from insult by foreign enemies. His situation was indeed a painful and embarrassing one, for, as Logan's correspondence shows, David Lloyd and John Moore, leaders of the popular party in the Assembly, were intriguing, in co-operation with Quarry and the "Hot Church party," to produce such confusion and disorder as would lead to the overthrow of the charter and the proprietary government. The contrivance of these astute lawyers was to make trouble about the interpretation of the municipal charter so as to arrest the administration of justice. They had already made this issue in connection with the distraint warrants for taxes, and the question of the conflicting jurisdiction of city and county justices was simply extending their operations into other fields.

The grand jury, in the latter part of 1702, made some presentments which mirror the morals of the town at that time. Men's sons and servants, they said, were too fond of taking the "licentious liberty" of robbing orchards and "committing unruly actions, especially on the first day of the week, commonly called the Lord's Day." On that day also the community was plagued by "the great abuse and the ill consequence" of negroes collecting in crowds on the streets, with riot and disorder. "Multitudes of dogges needlessly kept in this city" caused great damage

¹ Westcott.

to the inhabitants "by the great loss of their sleep and other damages." The safety of property was imperiled by stacks of hay and reeds in private yards close to dwellings and outbuildings. And butchers killed their meat daily in the streets, "throwing the blood, dung, and gargdish in the streets, which is very hurtful to the health of the inhabitants." The grand jury also asked to have negroes prevented from working on Sunday. John Simes was presented by this grand jury, as has been shown in a preceding chapter, for keeping a disorderly house, "a nursery to debotch y^e inhabitants and youth of this city, and suffering masqueraded persons in the house to dance and revoll." Next year a man was presented for building his hay stack in the street and throwing a fence around it, and four barbers for "trimming people on first days of the week." The growth of the city was noted by the observant Logan, who calls Penn's attention to the fact that while in 1699 the collections for customs duties were only fifteen hundred pounds, in 1702 they had reached eight thousand pounds,—"New York not the half of it."

Andrew Hamilton died April 20, 1703, while on a visit to his family in South Amboy, N. J. Edward Shippen's administration as his successor *pro tem.* was uneventful. Quarry objected to some of the forms of oaths administered; Lord Cornbury, Governor of New Jersey, came to Philadelphia on a visit; Teague, coroner, got an order that his fees and charges for inquest should come out of decedent's estate; Assembly met in October and adjourned till May, 1704, the Philadelphia delegates being Nicholas Waln, Samuel Richardson, Isaac Norris, Anthony Morris, Jr., Samuel Cart, Griffith Jones, Joseph Wilcox, Charles Read, and David Lloyd, who was Speaker. In November, 1703, the road from Goshen through Haverford to Philadelphia was laid out.

John Evans, Penn's new Governor, arrived in Philadelphia Feb. 2, 1704. He arrived at night. Next day his commission and the queen's sanction of it were published "at y^e market place, in solemn form & order: the s^d Govern^r being present, & attended with the Council of State, the mayor, aldermen, & Council of Philadelphia Citty, the Principal officers, Gentlemen & Inhabitants of the place, from whence returning to y^e Council Chamber, The Govern^r took y^e Chair & held a Council." Evans, after acknowledging the members of the Council, as named in Penn's commission to them, desired to qualify himself all around. Accordingly, Judge Guest administered to him the oath of allegiance to the queen, the oath of abjuration of papal supremacy, and the test oath; having taken and subscribed all which, he wished also to take the oath enjoined by the Acts of Trade, and Col. Quarry, John Moore, and Jasper Yeates, of the royal commissioners, under the king's *Dedimus Potestatem*, were summoned to administer it also. Penn wrote that Evans, though only six and twenty, was "sober and sensible," and he must have

thought so or he would not have intrusted his son to him as a companion; he was, besides, "the son of an old friend who loveth me no little." With William, Jr., and Evans came also Roger Mompesson, Quarry's successor, and the proprietary's attorney-general.

Penn was totally mistaken in Evans, yet he began his career prudently enough. He, young Penn, Mompesson; and Logan, hired a house to live together.¹



CLARKE'S HALL AND DOCK CREEK.
[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

He did not interfere with the Council, more than to infuse into it new blood, adding to it Penn, Jr., Mompesson, Logan, William Rodgers, William Trent, Richard Hill, and Jasper Yeates, to none of whom any one could have the slightest objection. But, in a very brief while, he began to reveal himself in his true colors. He became involved in a quarrel with the Assembly upon a mere personal question of punctilio, in connection with a member of the Council. He failed in procuring the return of the representation of the Lower Counties to the Assembly, alienating them more completely still, and irritating the represented counties by his methods of procedure. He kept the fever about prerogative, always alive; was underhand and deceptive in his mode of dealing with a people who prided themselves upon the directness of their yea and nay; attempted to raise a militia on his own responsibility without the means to pay them, and capped the climax by engaging in a tavern frolic and fracas with young Penn, whom he is said to have aided to beat the watch.

The correspondence of Logan, the records of Provincial Council, and the minutes of Common Council, with private letters still extant from leading Friends, enable us to get some insight into the local affairs of Philadelphia at this time. We discover the growth and progress of the city, the demands and needs of trade, and the first dawns of the manufacturing spirit, instinctively looking to government for "pro-

¹ This house, known as "Clarke's Hall," stood on Chestnut Street where the branch of Dock Creek crossed it. The lot had a front of ninety-nine feet and a depth of two hundred and fifty-five feet, embellished with a garden in the Dutch style. The property passed into the Pemberton family, and the officers of the United States government were in the house prior to the removal to Washington.—Westcott.

tection" in the shape of restrictions imposed upon competitors. Thus, the building interest was important enough to ask for legislation by the Assembly concerning party walls; the transportation and commercial interests petitioned for a cart-way "under the bank," and were very angry with the proprietary for compelling those who wanted "bank-lots" to buy them, and pay sound prices; the municipal interests demanded a new court-house, repairs of the prison wall, and abatement of nuisances committed by prisoners, etc. The shoemakers and saddlers wanted a law for preventing the importation of leather, and a bill to that end was ordered to be prepared; there were petitions for a law to prohibit the exportation of deer skins in the hair; to encourage the killing of wolves (the bonus for wolf scalps was set at fifteen shillings for old ones, and seven shillings sixpence apiece for young ones); the felt-makers asked for a law to prohibit the exportation of all beavers, furs, and raccoon match-coats, such as could be made up in the province, while the farmers asked for a duty on imported hops.

Evans had promised, on his own responsibility, that those who enlisted in the militia should be exempted from watch duty, and it thus becomes apparent that the constable and watchman service was by patrol of citizens. This was not a slight duty, in the nighttime at least. The minutes of Council record (Sept. 3, 1704) that "several complaints have been publicly made of great disorders lately committed within y^e city in y^e night season, to y^e great disturbance of y^e sober inhabitants, and y^e encouragement of vice by evil examples." Anthony Morris, mayor, on behalf of the corporation, complained of the exemptions, as discouraging people from taking their turns in watching the city; to which the Governor and Council absurdly answered that "the safety of the people by the maintenance of a militia was greater than safety by a watch and ward." They also decided that county justices possessed concurrent jurisdiction in the city with the city magistrate. This was irritating, for the Governor, while he would not license innkeepers recommended by the mayor's court unless the County Court indorsed the recommendation, had by proclamation set aside a verdict of the mayor's court and forbidden officers to execute it.¹

There were currency troubles at this time already; coin was very scarce, and not to be had out of Philadelphia, so that, as Logan says, "many good farmers scarce see a piece of eight [a dollar] of their own throughout the year;" rent and other charges had to be paid in kind, and this affected the price of produce, so that wheat for two years was "worth very little." The Council, on Dec. 8, 1704, received from the Lords of Trade a queen's proclamation "for settle-

ing and ascertaining the current rates of foreign coins in Her Majesty's colonies and plantations in America, together with a computation made by Mr. Newton, master worker of the mint, according to which all foreign coins may pass in the said plantations, in proportion to the rates limited by the said proclamation." These rates were the next day proclaimed accordingly, but we are not told whether the revision of the standard by Sir Isaac Newton helped to relieve the stringency in the currency. This change, however, established by act of Parliament, was thought sufficient to forestall any action of the sort by Assembly, and accordingly, in 1709, the Queen's Council repealed an act of the province regulating the value of foreign coins.

Evans wanted to regulate tavern licenses. Probably he had a reason for it. At any rate, he, young Penn, Sheriff Finney, Thomas Gray, and Joseph Ralph, roysterers all, were concerned in a night broil and affray at Enoch Story's tavern, in Coombs Alley. The constable, James Wood, and night-watchman, James Dough, entered the place; there was a quarrel about Evans' militia, the argument ended in blows; Penn called for a pistol, Wood and Dough and Story were beaten; outsiders came in, including Alderman Wilcox, who beat Penn, under excuse he did not know him. The party were fetched before the mayor; Penn was defiant, played gentleman, and was rated sharply. The Council took the matter up, making it appear as if "some gentleman" had been greatly abused by the watch, backed by the mayor, recorder, and Alderman Wilcox; a trial in another place than the mayor's court was asked, but the Council would not interfere. Penn and his companions were indicted, but the Governor forbade the trial by proclamation. After this indictment young Penn renounced the Quaker principles and faith, and his personal friends were indignant. But the community was indignant likewise at such behavior, and with good reason. "I wish things had been better or that he had never come," wrote Isaac Norris; and not many were sorry when he took short occasion to depart.

The minutes of the Common Council begin in October of this year thus: "City of Philada. Att a Meeting of the Mayor, Aldermen, & Common Council at the House of Barbert Carry [Herbert Carey] of this City, Inn holder, the Third day of October, 1704, Pr,s,nt."¹ Griffith Jones was elected mayor for the ensuing year, and his fine remitted for declining a previous election. As "Csonabl (considerable) mischief" had lately been done by cartmen in the city

¹ The county justices appointed at this time were John Guest, Samuel Finney, George Roche, Samuel Richardson, Nathan Stanbury, John Jones, Joseph Pidgeon, Edward Farmer, Rowland Ellis, and Andrew Bankson, Jr.

¹ The mayor was Anthony Morris; David Lloyd, recorder; Aldermen, Edward Shippen, Griffith Jones, Joseph Wilcox, Nathan Stanbury, Charles Read, Thomas Masters, William Carter, John Jones; Common Council, John Parsons, William Hudson, William Lee, John Budd, Jr., Edward Smout, James Atkinson, Pentecost Teague, Francis Cook, Henry Badcock, Robert Yieldhall, Joseph Yard, Thomas Griffith, John Redman, Sr.

through reckless driving, an ordinance was ordered to be drawn up for their regulation, and the cartmen summoned and admonished to take care. We thus get the names of all the persons in the local transportation service of Philadelphia at this time.¹ The people of the town, by ordinance, were divided into ten patrols, and "each Constable bring in a Number to have an Equall Number assign'd to serve upon the Watch, and that nine persons besides the Constable Attend the Watch each night." Thus the patrol was a squad of ten, each division of citizens contributing a patrolman each night. John Budd and Henry Badcock were allowed four pounds apiece for wintering the two town bulls, from December 1st to June 15th. John Knowles, Nath. Webb, James Wood, George Painter, Nathaniel Tylee, Edward Evan, Abram Carlisle, John Test, Thomas England, "this day took out their ffreedom;," that is to say, they became members of the corporation, and acquired the rights of citizens, either by becoming free as apprentices or indentured servants, or in other ways. It was ordered that a watch-house should be built in the market-place, sixteen feet long by fourteen feet wide, and that John Redman, Joseph Yard, and John Parsons calculate the cost and report to next meeting. (The sum was sixty-five pounds.) The expediency was considered of an ordinance to prevent the boiling of tar into pitch and heating pitch on the wharf or within twenty feet of any building, and of forbidding haystacks "in the back-sides." The town-crier was ordered to give public notice that the act for preventing fires would be vigorously put in execution, and the mayor was ordered to inspect the bakeries once a month, to see if bread was of proper weight. On December 15th fifteen more freemen were admitted. The city was ordered to be divided into ten wards. One hundred and fifty pounds were asked for repairing the wharves, according to a survey made by Shippen, Willcox, Carter, and John Parsons, to wit: £50 to repair and make good the "Arch wharf," £20 for High Street wharf, £30 for Chestnut Street wharf, and £50 for Walnut Street wharf.

In 1705 the Common Council transacted a good amount of municipal business. The poor were taken care of, the Council agreeing to indemnify the mayor in any engagement he should make with the overseers in their behalf. His first payment to the overseers was £3 16s. 8d. out of his own pocket, "which he is to be repaid out of the first money raised." The committee to divide the city into wards (Aldermen Willcox and Carter and Councilmen John Parsons, Francis Cook, John Budd, John Redman, and Thomas Pascall) reported their work done, as follows: *Dock Ward*, inhabitants between Delaware

River and Seventh Street, south of Walnut Street, the south side of that street included; *Walnut Ward*, between Walnut and Chestnut Streets, from the west side of Front to the east side of Second Street (inclusive); *Chestnut Ward*, between Chestnut and High Streets, from Front to Second Street; *Lower Delaware Ward*, between Front Street and Delaware River, from the end of Walnut Street to the end of High Street, "both vpon & vnder y^e Bank;" *Upper Delaware Ward*, between Front Street and Delaware River, from High Street to the north end of the city;² *High Street Ward*, between High Street and Mulberry Street, from Front to Second Street; *Mulberry Ward*, north side of Mulberry Street to the extent of the city, from Front to Seventh Street; *North Ward*, between Mulberry Street and High Street, from Second to Seventh Street; *Middle Ward*, between High Street and Chestnut Street, from Second to Seventh Street; *South Ward*, between Chestnut and Walnut Streets, from Second to Seventh Street.³ Alderman Willcox and Recorder Story were ordered to draw up an ordinance for the regulation of the city watch. This was done and the new ordinance adopted and published, whereupon Governor Evans construed it as a defiance of his militia proclamation, and summoned the mayor and municipal officers before him. It was easy to purge themselves of the charge of contempt by disclaiming any such intention, and they were excused. Nevertheless, the Governor published his proclamation anew. None of the wards of the city extended beyond Seventh Street, because, as appears by ordinances adopted at this time, the outlying parts were reserved for meadow and pasture, were grubbed, cleared, and sowed in "English grass." The crier took an account of all cows, and for every cow of two years old and upwards an annual tax of twelve pence was levied for the purchase and maintenance of the town bulls. The aldermen and members of Council divided among themselves the duty of superintending the wharves and bridges of the city.

A source of revenue at this time was found in a tax for admission to the privileges of a freeman of the city. It was needed, for as yet there was no regular municipal tax, and only a few licenses and fines, as, for example, the fine of three shillings imposed on

¹ This point was in dispute. The same day that the wards were divided the following order was passed: "This Council being Informed that the bounds of this City is Incrocht vpon, & that tis Suggested that it Terminates Northward on the River Delaware at the Penny Pott house, Whereas it is made appear to this Council that it Extends to the Runn on this Side Daniel Peggs Land & so was first laid out. It is therefore ordered that the Recorder consider on some pp. [proper] & legal Method to Ascertain the True bounds thereof & report the same at the Next Meeting." The commissioners of property, however, refused to join with the corporation in ascertaining these bounds, and the recorder was directed to consider the matter further. There is no evidence that anything was done, however, and this same matter came up again in the Council in 1720 without apparent action.

² Redivisions of the wards at subsequent periods are fully discussed in the chapter on the topography of Philadelphia.

³ They were: Richard Pruse, John Till, Widow Bristow, Myles God-forth, Christopher Hobb, Philip Willis, William Bywater, Isaac Bland, Nicholas Pearce, Samuel Parker, James Jacobs, Henry Carter, Thomas Shall, John Mitchenor, John Mifflin, Nathan Poole, sixteen in all.

aldermen and councilmen absent from regular meetings or dilatory in attendance upon them. The duty on freemen, therefore, was popular with the members of Council, and they took steps to increase the returns from it by methods of "gentle suasion." The charge for admission ranged from two shillings sixpence to three pounds and upwards,¹ and women as well as men were admitted. The privileges were not trifling; none but freemen were eligible to corporation offices, and this rule was strictly enforced, so that after election the persons elected were constrained to take out their freedoms before qualifying, and none but freemen could vote for members of Assembly. The precise terms of the immunities and privileges could not be determined at once, and the form of the freedom paper was several times changed. To add to the city's revenues it was planned to force persons to become freemen of the corporations, and accordingly it was ordered that none but freemen could keep shop or become master workmen. Numbers of persons became freemen under these rules, and to secure these immunities and privileges. At the same time, while the city was looking after its freemen and taking care of its poor, it was particular not to be burthened with the poor of other places, and an ordinance was adopted requiring all strangers coming into the town to give security that they would not become a burthen to it for seven years. This must have borne hardly upon poor German and Irish immigrants, and probably forced a good many to become indentured servants who would not otherwise have done so.

At this time also measures were taken to secure a piece of ground for a public cemetery and burial-place for strangers, each religious denomination, as a rule, already having its own churchyard. Penn's commissioners of property, upon petition of the mayor and Common Council, granted the city a square, one of those originally marked out by Penn for public uses,—five hundred feet long and the same in breadth, bounded north by Walnut Street, east by Sixth Street, south by a street forty feet wide, "for a common burying-place for the service of the city of Philadelphia, for interring the bodies of all manner of deceased persons whatsoever whom there shall be occasion to lay therein." It was to be held as of the manor of Springettsbury, in free and common socage, at the annual rent of an ear of corn. This was a public general cemetery, but used at first also as the Potter's Field. Other ordinances of an ephemeral and routine character relating to the jail, the market-house, the regulation of weights, preventing butchers from committing nuisances in connection with their slaughter-houses, appointing a wood-corder (his fee was five pence per cord), forbidding persons from riding through town at a gallop, etc., need only be mentioned as illustrative of the town's growth.

¹ James Bingham was admitted 9th of April, 1705, and paid £3 2s. 6d.

The public revenue, as distinguished from the municipal, was not large. The Assembly was almost resolute not to vote anything for Penn, contending that the proprietary's quit-rents of twelve pence per one hundred acres of purchased lands were tax enough for his support and for that of the government as well. However, £1200 was voted, and the tax put at 2½d. per pound and 10s. per head, with a regular tariff, but the Governor giving the Assembly fresh cause of offense, the whole matter was let drop. Evans at this time was trying to punish William Biles, one of the members of Assembly, for calling him a boy, unfit to be Governor, and saying "We'll kick him out," and the Assembly was resisting what it claimed would be a breach of privilege. It was nothing but a squabble on both sides, but it caused bad blood.

The Assembly had been meeting at this time (1705-6) in a school-house, and Thomas Makin complained it had cost him the loss of several scholars, and three pounds was ordered to be paid him by the county of Philadelphia. At the same time an address was presented to the Governor asking permission for the Assembly to sit in Chester and Bucks Counties, until Philadelphia County provided a State house or other convenient place for the Assembly to sit in. This Assembly revised and re-enacted many old laws, and passed some new ones; among others the Sunday law, by which all labor and worldly business on the first day of the week was forbidden, penalty twenty shillings, certain necessary labors excepted. Sunday tipping in taverns and ale-houses was forbidden also, with exception in favor of ordinaries and the traveling community. An election law was also passed, directing elections to be held annually on October 1st, or the first Monday in that month when it began on Sunday. The counties each had eight members, and Philadelphia City two. In Philadelphia the polling-place was at or near the market-house, and voters in Philadelphia must be natural born or naturalized subjects of the crown, two years resident in the State, and freeholders or possessed of fifty pounds clear personal property upon the spot. Voting was by ballot, the voter writing his own ticket. The Assembly must meet on October 14th. The pay of members was six shillings per day, three pence mileage. The Speaker was paid ten shillings. Many other acts of a general legislative character were passed, but none particularly relating to Philadelphia excepting one forbidding pigs to run at large within its limits, and another giving the corporation and county justices authority to regulate, license, or suppress vintners and ordinary keepers, the license for ordinaries and taverns in the city being £3 6s., paid to Governor and secretary.

Under date of May 15, 1706, there is the following in the minutes of the Common Council: "Whereas, the Gov^r having rec^d an Express from the Gov^r of Maryland of seavall vessels lately seen some few leagues off the Capes of Virginia, & two of them chasing &

firing several Shotts at an English vessel bound to Virginia or Maryland, which are Suspected to be French vessels, & probably may have a design upon some of the Queen's Colonies. It is therefore ordered that the watch of this City be carefully and duly kept, and that the Constables at their pill [peril] take Care of the same, & in case their appear any show or danger of the Enemy, that they give the Alarm by ringing the Market Bell & that every night one of the Aldermen see the Watch set & see that two Constables be set thereupon till further order." There was no such express, no such news, but Evans had a "plan" to trick the people into giving him a militia by getting up a panic about invasion and pirates. Next day a messenger came post-haste from New Castle, saying the enemy's ships were in the river and making their way to the city. The alarm spread, the bell rang, the terrified people prepared for flight, vessels cast loose from the wharves, they and every vehicle loaded with goods hastily gathered, valuables were buried, women shrieked and children screamed, and in the midst of the confusion Evans rode on horseback into the excited streets, a drawn sword in his hand, calling upon the people to rise *en masse* to repel the invaders and defend the city. The Quakers may have been as much disturbed as any by this excitement, but they kept their outward composure and only four of them mustered in arms at Evans' call.¹ To make things worse, it was the day for Quaker meeting and for the half-yearly fair. However, there was not much harm done; the trick was soon discovered, and Evans' folly and knavery recoiled severely upon his own head, all his friends also being visited with the popular contempt, and some of them threatened so that they found it prudent to go into hiding. Logan suffered much from his intimacy with Evans at this time. The whole performance was, as Logan characterized it, "a most mischievous, boyish trick, and the next Assembly, when it met, treated Evans as a person not entitled to any consideration, nor to be heard on any subject without suspicion. The militia that was under arms melted away, and the next Assembly which was elected was composed for the most part of the Governor's enemies. Philadelphia County was represented by the Speaker, Daniel Lloyd, Joshua Carpenter, Robert Jones, John Roberts, Griffith Jones, Samuel Richardson, Joseph Willcox, and Francis Rawle; the city's members being Francis Cook and William Hudson.

This body gave the Governor no peace. They assailed Logan as Evans' pernicious counselor and an enemy to the province, and demanded his removal. He was charged with attempting to subvert and betray the rights and liberties of the people, was arrested, imprisoned, and would have been impeached but for the pressure of other concerns. But Evans had not

yet exhausted his powers of mischief. The Quakers could neither be driven nor frightened into catering to his itch for military measures. He turned to the seceding Delaware counties, and obtained their consent to build a fort at New Castle for the defense of the Delaware River. This was late in the autumn of 1706. The Friends in Philadelphia had no objection to the fort as a defensive outpost; as an obstruction to navigation and a hinderance to commerce, however, it became very offensive to them. The regulations in connection with it were such that every vessel passing up or down the river had to bring to and the captain was obliged to land, report, and get leave to continue his voyage. The penalty for refusing to come to anchor was a fine of five pounds, twenty shillings added for one gun, thirty shillings for the second shot, and forty shillings for the third and each succeeding shot fired in compelling obedience. Each inward bound ship, not owned by residents, had to pay a duty of half a pound of gunpowder for each ton of the ship's measurement. The merchants of Philadelphia remonstrated, but without effect. Then Richard Hill, a member of the Provincial Council, of the board of aldermen, and afterwards mayor, a man of energy and courage, determined to try if this obstruction could not be removed. He associated with him two leading Quakers, William Fishbourne and Samuel Preston, and the three went down the river in Hill's vessel, a sloop just cleared for a voyage across the ocean. This was May 1, 1707. When the fort was reached the vessel anchored, Hill's friends went ashore, produced the clearance papers and Governor's permit, and demanded to be allowed to go on. The captain of the fort refused, when Hill heaved up his anchor, hoisted sail, took the helm himself, and "ran the blockade" without other hurt than a shot through the mainsail. French, captain of the fort, pursued in a boat, was suffered to come aboard, then made a prisoner, when Hill took him to Salem, N. J., and delivered him to Lord Cornbury, who severely reprimanded the captain. Governor Evans pursued in another boat to Salem, but could get no satisfaction in spite of his rage.

Hill next brought the subject before the Representatives with a petition to the Assembly signed by two hundred and twenty citizens of Philadelphia. The Assembly pursued the matter in an address to the Governor so strongly couched that Evans was alarmed, suspended the proceedings, and gave no more trouble to navigation. When the Assembly met again, in February, 1707, it was very angry, and would keep no terms with Evans. Lloyd and he flagrantly quarreled, and the House sustained the Speaker; the impeachment bill against Logan was perfected and presented; the House refused to give the Governor an acceptable court bill; the Governor declined to try Logan's impeachment, and the Assembly petitioned Penn for his removal, declaring that he had, "by his excesses and misdemeanors, dishonored both God and

¹ Logan names Edward Shippen, Jr., John Hunt, Benjamin Wright, and two or three more.

the Queen, and has brought this government under very great and public scandals."¹

In spite, however, of these disagreements and of unquestionably bad government the province grew and thrived lustily. Isaac Norris, writing to Penn (then in the Fleet prison), computed imports at £14,000 to £15,000, paid for in return merchandise and produce, tobacco, furs, and skins. He thought the customs receipts for 1707 would exceed those of any previous year.

In 1708 the Assembly met without consent of or notice from Evans, who was either at Newcastle or in seclusion at his private house among the Swedes at Shakamaxon. French privateers, Capts. Crupant and Castrau, with others from Martinique, were off the Capes, and captured at least three vessels from or to Philadelphia. Evans again asked for supplies for defense and was again refused, and treated severely, even castigated for his encouragement to vice and debauchery. He knew that his removal was determined upon, and indeed the appointment of Col. Charles Gookin was approved by Queen and Privy Council as early as June 28, 1708, though he did not arrive in Philadelphia until Jan. 31, 1709. At Shakamaxon Evans lived in the stately house built by Thomas Fairman, a property Penn had several times, even as late as 1709, tried to buy for himself. This, nevertheless, was Penn's darkest hour, and he had only been able to get out of the debtors' prison at the end of December, 1708, by mortgaging his entire province.²

Slavery was not very different in Philadelphia at this time from what it was in the South at a later period. The white mechanics and laborers complained to the authorities that their wages were reduced by the competition of negroes hired out by their owners, and the owners objected to the capital punishment of slaves for crime, as thereby their property would be destroyed. In 1708 two slaves, Tony and Quashy, were sentenced to death for burglary, but their owners were allowed to sell them out of the province after a severe flogging had been given them upon the streets on three successive market-days.

Governor Gookin, upon his accession, added some members to the Council, and courteously declined to listen to the Assembly's complaints against his predecessor and against Logan. That body also tried to regulate the currency and the coinage anew, but was prevented by the Royal Council. They were in a querulous and petitioning mood, and called the at-

tention of the new Governor to several grievances. He, not to be outdone, asked for men and money for the expedition to Newfoundland. Thus the old quarrel was renewed, and in a short time there was a deadlock. In May, 1709, a privateer entered Delaware Bay and plundered the town of Lewes. Another, in July, being beaten off in an attempt to land at Lewes, stood up the bay. The Governor called upon the people to stand to their arms, and the whole militia to prepare to be called out, and summoned the Legislature in special session. They met and voted some small sums for presents to Indians and other minor matters, and then renewed the old disputes about the courts and James Logan, whom they denounced as an evil minister. They adjourned *sine die* in September, but the new Assembly elected to succeed them was still more unfriendly to all the proprietary interests. But little legislation could be perfected under such circumstances. Logan and Robert Asheton were particularly pursued by the Assembly as being hostile to the popular side of the matters in dispute, and the former, proposing to go to England, could only escape arrest on the writ of Speaker Lloyd by the direct interposition of Governor and Council. The Swedes were represented in this new Legislature, and their petitions and complaints began to be heard in regard to the changes made in the grants held by them under the Duke of York's laws.

At this time all the Germantown Germans were naturalized, in consequence of an attempt of John Henry Sprogle to get possession of their lands as the successor of the Frankford Company. Sprogle appears to have been the prototype of the now familiar "land-shark" of the West. He began his course of chicane by retaining all the lawyers of the province, paying them contingent shares of the property he counted upon seizing. David Lloyd appears in a very unenviable light in connection with these transactions, of which it is enough to say that Sprogle's designs were baffled.³ The Municipal Council does

¹ More than one deteachery was alleged against Evans in connection with both Indian women and whites; he is charged with misappropriation of funds, with granting improper and unwarrantable tavern licenses, etc.

² The sum was £6800, the mortgagees were Henry Gouldney, Joshua Gee, Sylvanus Grove, John Woods, and John Field, of London; Thomas Callowhill, Thomas Dade, and Jeffrey Pennel, of Bristol; and Thomas Cuppage, of Ireland. They did not take possession, but appointed Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, and James Logan their agents to collect rents and sell lands to settle the debt.

³ Lloyd's pay was to have been one thousand acres of land, the property of Benjamin Furley. Sprogle himself was naturalized by special act of the Council. Under that passed for the relief of the Germans the following persons were naturalized: Francis Daniel Pastorius, John Jawert, Casper Hoodt, Dennis Kunders, and his three sons, viz, Conrad, Matthias, and John Conrads, Dirk and Peter Keyser, John Lurhen, Wilhelm Strepers, Abraham Teunis, Lenhard Arrets, Reinier Tyssen, Isaac and Jacobus Dilbeck, John Deeden, Cornelius Siverts, Henry Sellen, Walter Simous, Dirk Jansen, Jr., Richard and John Rocelos Vanderwerf, John Strepers, Sr., Jacob, Peter, George, and Isaac Shoemaker, Matthias Van Belber, John Conrads, Sr., Lenwes and Henry Bartells, Conrad, Claus, John, and Wilhelm Jansen, Johannes and Peter Scholl, Matthias Lysen, Cornelius Vandergat, Peter Clever, George Gottschik, Paul and Jacob Engell, Hans Nons, Rainer and Adrian Vander Sluys, Jacob Gottschalk, Gottschalk and ——— Vander Heggen, Caspar Kleinhoof, Henry Buchholtz, Herman Tymen, Paul and John Klumpes, John Neus, Matthias Neus, Cornelius Neus, Claus Ruttinghuysen, Caspar Stolls, Henry Tubben, William, Hendrick, and Laurence Hendricks, Henry Keeslebarry, Johannes Roebenstock, Peter Verbymen, John Henry Kersten, John Radwitzer, John Gorgaes, John and William Krey, Peter and Evert in Hoffes, Peter Jansen, John Smith, Thomas Echelwich, Gabriel Senter, Wilhelm Puts, John Leusen.

not seem to have been busy. The members feasted the new Governor, carried forward a new project for a court-house, and began to consider proposals for a new and enlarged market-house. Additional steps were also taken to prevent fires, and secure their suppression in case they did break out. The Assembly did nothing at all, the Governor refusing to meet them.

A reaction appears to have set in October, 1710, possibly in consequence of the dead-lock obstructing all business, and in consequence also, perhaps, of the entreaties and pleadings of Penn with the Quakers and the exposure of David Lloyd's transactions with Sprogle. Whatever the cause, the Legislature elected in October, 1710, did not contain a single member of the Legislature of 1709. The people had swept every one of them out of the way, from David Lloyd down, and chosen entirely new men. Edward Farmar, William Trent, Edward Jones, Thomas Masters (ex-mayor), Thomas Jones, Samuel Cart, Jonathan Dickinson, and David Giffing were the members from Philadelphia County; and from the city, Richard Hill (ex-mayor, Speaker), and Isaac Norris. But, though this new House assumed more cordial relations with the Governor, no immediate business was done. The Municipal Council determined to build a new market-house at once, the aldermen being called upon to subscribe £5 each and the common-councilmen £2 10s. each. Stalls in this new building were rented at nine shillings per annum, and the lessees could not sublet them to any but those having the freedom of the city.

The initial steps towards building a court-house had been taken in 1707, when the Assembly proposed to hold its sessions in some other place than Philadelphia. The cost of such a building as was needed was estimated at six hundred and twenty pounds, requiring a shrewd tax. The county magistrates would not levy for it unless the city people permitted the cost of two new county bridges, which were needed, to be levied for also, and to this the citizens objected very decidedly, claiming that they would take no good from the bridges. The county people retorted that the city would not help to build the bridges even at the town end and Frankford, and that the county courts, in the capital city of the province, had no better place to hold their sessions than an ale-house. Finally there was a compromise, upon the city agreeing to build the court-house at its own charge if the county would provide for building the bridges, the county courts, however, to have free use of the new building.

This, which was completed towards the close of the year 1710, was built at the eastern end of the old market-house, on High Street, between Second and Third Streets. It stood upon arches, with brick pillars for them to rest upon, the basement being open for market stalls. It was a quaint, old-fashioned structure, with a little cupola and a bell, and having a balcony in front, over the door, and flights of steps leading up to it. This balcony covered an inclosure

beneath it which was rented for a shop, and from the balcony nearly all the out-door speech-making in Philadelphia was heard. The Governors used to deliver their inaugural addresses here, and here it was that George Whitefield spoke to six thousand people. This court-house was the town hall and seat of the Legislature and the Municipal Council also, state-house, and town-house, until the State-House was erected in 1735.



OLD COURT-HOUSE, TOWN HALL, AND MARKET, IN 1710.

[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

The "Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Commonality, and other Inhabitation" petitioned the General Assembly in 1710, before the court-house was finished, for a grant of more liberal powers to the corporation, in order to enable it to check the growth of vice and immorality, prevent the decay of the public credit, "and also to inable them to build a watch-house and cage, erect a work-house to employ the poor and vagrant, mend the streets, make and Repair Warfs and Bridges, etc., and by Levying money on the Inhabitation and Estates of all Persons within the limits of the same for defraying the Public necessary charges thereof," etc., etc.¹

¹ The signers of this petition were Will. Allen, Leeson Loftus, John Warder, Caleb Jacob, Hugh Lowden, Jno. Beeson, William Kelly, Ralph Jackson, Owen Roberts, Matthew Robinson, Lionel Buters, George Blumley, Thomas Coldman, Richard Willis, Thos. M. Carey, Arthur Holton, Richard Armit, Geo. Gray, Thomas Bradford, Thos. Griffith, Thos. Murray, Francis Richardson, Clem. Plumsted, Stephen Jackson, Wm. All, Jno. Budd, Sam^l Wamrise, Ed. Noble, Chas. Soler, Henry Flower, Jno. Redman, Thos. Wharton, Edw. Hadden, Francis Knowles, Daniel Radley, Joseph Claypoole, Thomas Eldridge, Jacob Warren, Wm. Lawrence, John Widdifield, Justinian Fox, Wm. Bartling, Wm. Oxley, Jos. Harrison, Jno. Harrison, Joseph Yard, Jr., William Hill, Anth. Morris, Jr., Nathaniel Tybe, John Bass, James Morris, Edw. Shippen, Jr., Wm. Fishbourn, Anthony Burton, James Wood, George Painter, James Estangh, George Claypoole, T. Mason, Robert Burrough, Johannis Nys, Caleb Ransted, Joⁿ Warder, Sam^l Holt, Richard Robinson, Thos. Pryor, Thos. Peters, Elisha Gatchell, Wm. Robinson, Cesar Ghiesling, John

There were numerous disputes in this period of Philadelphia's history about ferry rights, which those who held them regarded as valuable franchises, and the general community treated as invasions of public convenience. Some of these rights were granted by Penn, some by Council and Assembly, but usually when they came up they were subjects of protest and remonstrance by the corporation or by individuals.

Conferences with Indians were common, and they became more and more expensive as the nation receded farther into the interior. In previous times the presence of Indians in the streets of the town had been an every-day occurrence. They came as individuals unheralded, had no particular reception save on solemn occasions, as of a treaty or the like, and went as they came. But latterly, as many white settlements interposed between their villages and the city, the character of their visits changed. They came as tribes, or delegations from tribes. They sent messengers in advance, needed guides, an escort and carriers for their luggage; brought presents to emphasize their complaints and grievances, and in return looked for presents, entertainment, and lodging. This was costly in comparison to the older way of these visits, and, while it might tickle the fancy and gratify the pride of the Governors, was not very pleasant to the matter-of-fact people. There were numbers of these visits *en grande tenue* during the terms of Governors Gookin and Keith, and the latter indeed negotiated treaties of importance with them, both at Philadelphia and at other places. But one of these visits was like all the rest. There was the grave assemblage, the squatted circle, the metaphorical council fire, the passing round of the calumet (it is so called even in these colonial records), the speeches in turn, each point emphasized by the belt of wampum, the presents, the feasts, and the drunken Indians about town for some days afterwards. The presents from the Indians were of furs and skins; those in return were of clothes, arms, utensils, ammunition, etc. The chief interest these councils can have to us nowadays, so far as the personal and particular history of Philadelphia is concerned, is that they enable us to get a measure of the contemporary value of sundry services and com-

modities. Gookin, in June, 1710, sent two messengers to Conestogo to confer with the Shawanese and other Indians there. The bill of expenses was as follows: 4 shillings 6 pence for bread, 12 shillings for meat, £1 10s. for rum, 15s. for sugar, £4 for time of two men for baggage, and "John" (interpreter and guide) £1 4s. The chief expense, therefore, was for transportation; pack-horses had to be used, and all supplies for a journey carried on them. We find Col. French's bill for divers journeys to Conestogo, from 1707 to 1711, to have been £147 6s. 10d., all incurred in looking after the Indians, the remnants of the Susquehannas, and the fragments of tribes gathered around them. In June, 1711, Governor Gookin went to Conestogo and had a talk with the tribes through Indian Harry, the interpreter. The conference opened with the present of 50 pounds of powder, 100 pounds of shot, 1 piece of stroudwater, and another of duffels from the Governor. In May, 1712, there was a conference at Whitemarsh, in Philadelphia County, at which thirteen Delawares met the Governor and Council. They presented thirty-two belts of wampum, and the peace-pipe.¹ They also presented two packs of dressed deer-skins, and received presents in return, including laced stroudwater coats, and "white shirts," for the chiefs of the Five Nations. In July another delegation came to Philadelphia. They brought skins and furs worth seven pounds, and received six match-coats, six duffels, six white shirts, fifty pounds of powder, one hundred weight of lead, etc.²

In October, 1714, another Indian visit is alluded to, the presents being £3 15s. in furs; the return was £10 in goods, a present to Indian Harry, and the cost of entertaining them. In June, 1715, Opessah and Sassoonan, chiefs of the Delawares and Schuylkills, came on a visit to Philadelphia, and brought presents again.³ The presents given in return were valued at £34 4s. 6d. The list shows that a stroud match-coat

¹ "A long Indian pipe called the Calumet, with a stone head, a wooden or cane shaft and feathers fixed to it like wings, with other ornaments." This pipe, they said, had been given to them by the Five Nations in token of allegiance and protection."—*Minutes of Council*, ii. 546.

² The presents from the Indians included 30 deer-skins, valued at 30 shillings 6 pence each; 2 half bears, 7 shillings; 3 foxes, 18 pence each; 6 raccoons, 1 shilling each; 3 bears, at 4 shillings each; one dressed doe, at 3 shillings 6 pence. Another present from the Five Nations and the Delawares on their return was valued in all at £31 7s. 6d., and included: 5 bears, 7½ pounds, at 3 shillings 6 pence per pound; 25 bucks and does, at 3 shillings each; 2 bears, at 4 shillings 5 pence each. The Delawares gave: 49 bucks, at 5 shillings each; 71 does, at 2 shillings 6 pence. The Senecas: 15 beavers, 23½ pounds, at 3 shillings 6 pence; and 5 does, at 2 shillings 6 pence. In return, there was spent on these Indians by Mr. Farmer, £18 3s. 10d.; £50 6s. 6d. was given them in presents, and the bill for mending their guns was £2 6s. 5d. Besides, the treasurer showed disbursements on their account of £96 13s. 10½d.

Jones, John Flog, Thos. Miller, Wm. Say, John Haywood, Thos. Okley, Thos. Andrews, W. Powell, Anthony Duchee, Caleb Cash, Wm. Rudd, John Knowles, James Barrett, Francis Cook, Nehemiah Allen, Wm. Lee, Henry Badcock, Abm. Bickley, Peter Stretch, Joseph Peugh, James Bingham, Samuel Kenison Thos. Potts, Wm. Coxer, Wm. Powell, Thos. Bescham, Thos. Cheatham, Wm. Carter, Rob. Ashton, Edw. Shippen, Griffith Jones, Nathan Stanbury, Sam'l Preston, Antho. Morris, Thos. Treseo, John Cadwallader, John Price, Sam'l Chandler, Nicholas Ashmead, Joseph Yard, Daniel Wilcox, David Breintall, John Browne, Wm. Forrest, Solomon Cresson, Hugh Duxborrow, Jno. Maull, Andw. Sim, Arch'd Starr, Hugh Corder, Saml. Powell, Edw. Evans, Thos. Stapelford, Israel Pemberton, Chas. Reade, Thos. King, Abel Cottry, Will. Brownson, Benj. Chandler, Rich'd. Parker, Stephen Stapler, Isaac Ashton, Ralph Ward, Alex. Badcock, Thos. Peart, Tim. Stephenson, James Cooper, Jno. Furnis, Rich. Warder, Robt. Teap, Jacob Usher. A list containing nearly all the leading citizens of Philadelphia at that day.

	£	s.	d.
345 Raw fall deer-skins, weight 138 lbs., at 9d.....	5	3	6
8 Summer ditto, 16 lbs., at 13½d.....	0	18	0
53 Drest " 57 lbs., at 2s. 6d.....	7	2	6
84 whole foxes, at 1s. 6d. each.....	6	6	0
12 raccoons, at 1s. each.....	0	12	0
3 ordinary fishers, at 3s. each.....	0	9	0

was valued at nineteen shillings; a duffel match-coat, at twelve shillings; a blanket, thirteen shillings four pence; a shirt, eight shillings six pence; powder, at one shilling ten pence per pound; lead and tobacco, three pence each per pound; pipes, four shillings six pence per gross. These Indians appear to have become very drunk during their visit; they complained much of the sale of rum within their territory, and the Governor gave them a written permit to stave the casks, and destroy whatever liquor should be brought among them.

The regular annual disbursements on Indian accounts were about one hundred pounds, in addition to the incidental expenses such as have been enumerated, and the presents and entertainments by the corporation and the Friends, so that it must have cost the province between three and four hundred pounds a year to maintain pacific relations with the savages. Governor Keith's bills in 1717, when he went to visit them in Conestogo, were £41 1s. 4½d. In June, 1718, on the return visit, the Indians brought skins worth £8 6s., and received presents valued at £10 12s. 2d., besides cost of entertaining them and traveling expenses. In 1720, Logan had a conference with them, and some came to him at Philadelphia and Stenton. The bills were £16 18s. 1d.; presents from Indians, £10 5s., as a drawback. The negotiations at Conestogo in 1721 by Keith and Logan cost £156 12s. 9d. Several hundred pounds were spent for presents and entertainments during the remainder of Sir William Keith's stay in office, while under Governor Gordon the presents were much larger and more costly, and the expenses of some negotiations were quite heavy.¹

In regard to negroes, as has been seen, the Assembly of Pennsylvania seemed to view with concern, and perhaps apprehension, the introduction of so many slaves into the province, and the depression of labor consequent upon slave competition with wage-earning white labor. The House would not consider any proposition to free negroes, deciding that to attempt to do so would be "neither just nor convenient," but it did resolve to discourage the importation of negroes from Africa and the West Indies. It laid a tax of twenty pounds a head upon all such importations. This and other similar per capita taxes at different rates were made inoperative by the refusal of the queen and Royal Council to approve them.

The face of the British government was set like a flint against any provincial attempt to arrest the African slave trade or tax it out of existence—that trade was a royal perquisite. It was looked upon also as an imperial necessity, in order to enable the American colonies to produce largely for the benefit of British trade. The consequence was that every act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania which looked to the imposition of any sort of restriction upon slavery or the intercolonial traffic in negroes was promptly repealed by the sovereign and the Royal Council. There were many of these acts, but they all met the same fate.²

This matter of the Provincial Legislature's power to tax negroes and mulattoes, and its right to regulate their importation and that of white apprentices and servants was continually coming up. The Assembly persisted in its capacity and right to tax and regulate,

² The policy was an established one. The British Board of Trade, in April, 1708, in writing to Evans for details in regard to the slave trade, prices, number of vessels, etc., said explicitly, with respect to the African trade, that it was absolutely necessary "that a Trade so beneficial to the Kingdom should be carried on to the greatest advantage, and the well-supplying of the Plantations and Colonies with sufficient numbers of Negroes at reasonable Prices is, in our opinion, the Chief point to be considered in regard to that Trade." The English attorney-general, in the same way, when acts of the Pennsylvania Assembly and Governor and Council came before him to be examined for the benefit of the Royal Council, always objected to any attempt to put a duty on the importation of negroes. In 1713, for instance, he says, "I submit to your Lo^{pp}s (Lords) Considerations how far it may be proper for them at Pensilvania to lay a Duty on Negroes, Wine, Rum, and Shipping, etc., and how far it may affect her Majesty's Subjects here, of which your Lo^{pp}s are most proper Judges." Again, of the act "To prevent the Importation of Negroes and Indians into this Province," he says, "How far this Act may interfere with the British Interest as to their Trading in Negroes, your Lo^{pp}s are most proper Judges; But I observe this Act gives a power to break open houses to search upon suspicion of Negroes being there Generally, which extends to Night as well as day, which power is rarely admitted by our Law in offences of an inferior nature." It must be added that the queen and Council were justified in repealing much Pennsylvania legislation, because, like the above, it was loosely drawn, and offensive either to prerogative or individual right. Thus the act against riotous sports, plays, and games (of 1709) was liable to the objection that it restrained her majesty's subjects from innocent sports and diversions; an act for acknowledging and recording deeds prevented women from recovering their dower, or thirds, in property aliened without her consent during coverture; another act attempted to alter the value of coins as set by Parliament; an act about courts, it was clearly shown, would multiply suits and the law's vexatious delays; of "An Act for Priority of Paym^t of Debts to y^e Inhabit of this Prov.," the attorney-general says, sharply and well, that "I apprehend among Traders, in point of Reason, all persons who give Credit to & make Contracts with others should stand on y^e same foot as to the Recovery of their debts, and I conceive that such a preference of Creditors as is given by this Act may prejudice all the subjects of Great Britain who deal with the Inhabitants of Pensilvania, & therefore that this ought to be repealed." The act regulating party walls and buildings, again, is condemned, because it authorizes suit in court for recovery by suit of damages awarded by mayor and board of aldermen, thus multiplying suits and yet allowing no chance for a final appeal. The act for the better government of Philadelphia is found objectionable. "This act inflicts five shillings penalty on persons riding a gallop and ten shillings for persons trotting with Drays or their Teams in the Streets, and five shillings for allowing a Dog or a Bitch going at large, or freing a Gun without Licence, or if a Negro be found in any disorderly practices or other Misbehaviours may be whipt 21 lashes for any one offence or committed to prison, which words 'other misbehaviours' are very uncertain, and give very arbitrary powers where the punishm^t is great." It must be confessed such laws are repealed on sufficient grounds.

¹ We present a single account of Aug. 9, 1720.

	£	s.	d.
To Robert Miller, price of a cow killed and eaten by Indian	4	0	0
Robert Miller, provisions to Indians	0	16	0
Martin Jervis, horse-hire, etc., to Conestogo	4	0	0
Anthony Morris, beer for Indians	1	7	0
Sam'l Preston, Treas., presents	63	2	10
Less presents rec'd.	48	18	1
	—	—	14 4 9
Nicolas Scull, messenger, etc.	15	0	0
John Scull, " "	18	0	0
Anthony Zadonsky, messenger, etc.	7	0	0
John Jones, S. Cosen, John Phillips, Wm. Davies, "messengers"	10	0	0
Total	74	7	9

and the imperial government as regularly repealed all acts claiming such powers. In other respects also the relations of negroes to the community were anomalous; they were property and human beings at the same time, and the unsolved problem was how to punish the human part without robbing the master of the services of the slave part. The problem was not solved, but negroes were required to be tried by special commissions of the magistracy; they were sometimes ordered to be sold beyond his majesty's dominions, but were seldom executed, save for capital crimes, such as murder, rape, and arson. The status of indentured servants and apprentices became unsatisfactory likewise after population grew more dense and the drum and fife of the recruiting sergeant were familiarly heard. The apprentices and redemptioners belonged to their masters for a term of years, yet they would run away and enlist, and the recruiting officers would place them in the service, no matter what masters said. In the time of the old French war, and in that of Governor Hamilton, it was estimated that there were sixty thousand imported white servants of the several grades in the province, and sometimes as many as three or four thousand of these would be enlisted in the quotas of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. There was much dissatisfaction at this, considerable loss and disturbance of labor; the Assembly petitioned, protested, remonstrated; sometimes relief was given in the shape of bounty and drawback, sometimes the military leaders promised that the offense would be prohibited, but the grievance was not finally abated until 1776, after the outbreak of the Revolutionary war.

Towards the end of Governor Gookin's tenure of office, and in the beginning of Sir William Keith's, the province began to be uneasy at the large number of foreigners seeking refuge there. They came by shiploads, they could not speak a word of English, and they were averse to getting themselves naturalized. It was represented in Council that they were strangers to the Constitution and laws. They dispersed into the interior immediately after landing, without showing any credentials or evidence of who they were or where they came from. Captains were accordingly required to produce lists of the number and character of those imported by them, and the immigrants were notified to come forward and subscribe the proper oaths or affirmations. Logan, in one of his letters, speaks of the number of these incoming Palatines. They may be honest men, he said; but Swedes could come in in the same way, in like numbers, and Sweden has lately made pretensions of regaining her ancient possessions on the Delaware. In short, the province was in something of a panic in regard to what was becoming a leading source of its growth in wealth and other resources, and what furnished the sturdiest and most pacific part of its population.¹

¹ The extent of this immigration was indeed surprising, almost incredible, when we consider the defective means of transportation and

To facilitate the granting of lands, Penn left with his agents in the province a stamp of his signature, which was attached to a large number of patents for land instead of his written autograph. There is in the Ridgway Library a deed from William Penn to Samuel Barker, dated Nov. 22, 1682, signed with the stamped signature of William Penn.

Douglas, the historian, who wrote (or published) in 1755, in speaking of Pennsylvania, says, "This colony, by importation of foreigners and other strangers in very great numbers, grows prodigiously; by their laborious and penurious manner of living, in consequence they grow rich where others starve, and by their superior industry and frugality may in time drive out the British people from the colony. The greatest

the hardships of the long voyage. The pressure, however, of persecution for the faith, felt by generation after generation, the hopes of peace and every sort of betterments in a new land, were strong inducements, and it must not be forgotten that Penn himself and his family and representatives invited these people over, solicited them to come, and gave them every encouragement, for the sake of the added income in quit-rents derived from them. This they themselves understood, and claimed in specific terms when the Assembly sought to deal harshly with them in the matter of naturalization. Penn had made "particular agreements" with them, and they went to London to get their permits for occupying land and to find the vessels in which to embark. This land was sold to them in large tracts, apportioned and surveyed by Penn's commissioners of property. Thus, in 1710, a Swiss colony, headed by the Maylins, Kindigs, Oberholtzes, and others, took a body of ten thousand acres near Conestogo, for which they paid five hundred pounds sterling, in instalments running through six years, with twelve per cent. interest, and a quit-rent of a shilling sterling for each one hundred acres. The new settlers were Mennonites, Omishes, Dunkers, German Lutherans, etc., in companies. In one single volume of the colonial records we find the arrival of thirty companies of these immigrants. The average of heads of families was about one hundred to a vessel,—three hundred, including women and children,—so that in the four or five years covered by these entries there was an immigration of not less than ten thousand, or two thousand a year. In the naturalization papers of Martin Maylin it is distinctly expressed that these immigrants had "transported themselves and their estates" into the province "by encouragement given by the Honorable William Penn, Esq., and by permission of the king. They were generally quiet and well-behaved, peaceable to a degree, but in some instances were unruly. They had so many collisions with the Irish that the latter were persuaded to go westward and move into Cumberland County; and they were charged with rioting and seizing the ballot-box on election day in Lancaster. In 1753, Franklin seems to have become very apprehensive on account of these large accessions of aliens to the population. In a letter to Peter Collinson that year, he said that he feared "measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans;" they were indiscreet, dull, credulous, ignorant, and their prejudices were inaccessible. "Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it. They behave, however, submissively enough at present to the civil government, which I wish they may continue to do, for I remember when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties. . . . In short, unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other colonies, they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious. . . . Yet I am not for refusing to admit them entirely into our colonies. All that seems to me necessary is to distribute them more equally, mix them with the English, establish English schools where they are now too thick settled, and take some care to prevent the practice, lately fallen into by some of the ship-owners, of sweeping the German goals to make up the number of their passengers. I say I am not against the admission of the Germans in general, for they have their virtues. Their industry and frugality are exemplary. They are excellent husbandmen, and contribute greatly to the improvement of a country."

year of importation of Germans, Irish, a few Welsh and Scots, was from Dec. 25, 1728, to Dec. 25, 1729, being about 6200 people. In the year 1750, Germans imported into this province and territories were 4317; British and Irish passengers and servants, above 1000."

Lieut.-Governor Gookin, before the expiration of his term of office, became captious and unreasonable; quarreled with the Assembly about trifles, obstructed business, and came to be little regarded. It had been said from the first, in fact, that he owed his appointment to the fact that he was a "cheap" Governor. He was treated as such by the people, apparently, and when he threatened to demand his recall, if his requisitions were not complied with, the leaders in the province insisted that he should be recalled. He dined with the influential citizens at a banquet in honor of the new king's accession, and then spoke of some of them as traitors and hostile to a Whig government. He declared Richard Hill to be disaffected, and would not let him qualify by affirmation when elected mayor. He called Logan a Jacobite and a friend of the Pretender, and forced the House to declare that his strictures were unjustifiable. However, when his recall was assured, he became pacified and was glad to accept from the Assembly a vote of money.

Gookin's administration was not very eventful, except that the province and Philadelphia advanced very rapidly in the course of it. John Fontaine, an English traveler who visited the city in 1716, said that it seemed to be built very regularly, "the houses mostly of brick, of the English fashion. The streets are very wide and regular. There are many convenient docks for the building ships and sloops here. There is a great trade to all the islands belonging to the English, as also to Lisbon and the Madeira Islands. The produce of the country is chiefly wheat, barley, and all English grain, beef, butter, cheese, flax, and hemp. There are all sorts of trades established in this town. Money that is not milled passes for six shillings and fourpence the ounce."¹ In 1716 an iron furnace was set up near Germantown, by a smith named Thomas Rutter, and he is said to have produced a very good quality of metal. This Rutter was a member of the Assembly from Philadelphia County in 1715.

In 1713 the first almshouse was established. It was

determined by the City Council in July, 1712, that, as the poor of the city were daily increasing, a workhouse should be founded for employing the poor; the overseers to hire the house, and the Council to determine the rent and the pay of superintendence. The mayor, Aldermen Hill and Carter, and Councilmen Carpenter, Hudson, and Teague, were appointed to take the matter in charge. In the mean time, however, before the Councils acted finally, the Friends had founded their own almshouse. It was established in a small house on the south side of Walnut Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, where in 1729 the ancient, well-known building, called the Friends' Almshouse, was built, to stand until 1841. The lot belonged to John Martin and contained a small tenement. Martin was poor, and gave his property to the Society of Friends upon condition they would take care of him for the remainder of his days. A cluster



FRIENDS' OLD ALMSHOUSE.

of small houses was built to John Martin's tenement, and this was the Friends' Almshouse. In 1729 a front range of buildings was put up, connecting with the previous structures. It was a quaint pile, with an arched entrance, and all about the buildings looked antique and primitive. The Friends' Almshouse, at first in general public use, soon became a mere private retreat for indigent persons of the Quaker faith. Each family was separately lodged, and if any one had any trade or calling, he was expected to do what he could at it and so lessen the burthen of his expense to the Society.

In 1715 a ferry to Gloucester was established. "For convenience of exchange," and to prevent it from disappearing, English copper coin was ordered to be taken at the rate of three farthings for a penny, or three half-pence for two-pence; the system of recording deeds was improved; justices' courts were given power to give judgment in cases involving not over

¹ The imports of wines and liquors between March 25, 1711, and Feb. 6, 1713, not quite twenty-three months, were 459 pipes, 15 hogshheads, 25 quarter casks of wine, equal to 59,579 gallons; and 574 hogshheads, 360 tierces, 185 barrels, 1 kilderkin, 200 gallons, 1 pipe, 19 casks, 2 puncheons, and 4 gross bottles of rum, equal to 60,345 gallons. Later, the imports of rum ran up to 400,000 gallons a year, Philadelphia being the centre of supply for the Indian trade.

forty shillings; and the first challenge to fight a duel was passed. This case, which has already been referred to, was the cartel sent by Sheriff Peter Evans to Rev. Francis Phillips, Episcopal minister. There were indictments found both against Evans for the challenge, and Phillips for the libel, the latter being a message to the mayor, Richard Hill, and Robert Asheton, to the effect that they were "no better than rogues, villains, and scoundrels." Phillips was a pretender and a scamp, and the people of Philadelphia had a right to be angry with Governor Gookin for enabling him to protect himself behind an executive *not pros.* Later, when Phillips boasted of conquests among respectable ladies, he was sued, and Sheriff Evans would not let him to bail, whereupon there was a mob, the house where the witnesses lodged was pulled down and the jail would have followed it, had not Phillips been set free. He was soon found out, however, was dismissed from his curacy, and lost all his friends. Governor Gookin interposed a *not pros.* very offensively also for the protection of Hugh Lowden, who had tried to murder two of the Philadelphia justices, waylaying and threatening them with his pistols.

The corporation government attended to a number of small matters, in addition to those already enumerated, during the administration of Governor Gookin. Charges were imposed for wharfage, and the inhabitants were required to keep the streets swept clean in front of their houses. The mayor's court had jurisdiction in minor criminal offenses, and we find Caspar I. Lleinhoff praying to be relieved of a fine of nine pounds apiece "set upon him & his Now wife for fornication before their Inter-marriage," and five pounds was abated from each fine. The mayor acquainted the board that "he has frequently had in his Consideration the many Providences this City has Mett with in that fires that have so often happened have done So little Damage, And thinks it is our Duty to Use all possible means to prevent and Extinguish fires for the future by providing of Bucketts, Hooks, Engines, &c., which being Considered, it is the opinion of this Board that Such Instruments Should be provided, And the Manner of Doing it is Refer'd to the Next Council." This was the beginning of the Philadelphia fire department, though the Governor and Council had done something towards providing ladders and buckets a long time before this, and chimney-sweeping had been regulated by a previous city ordinance, all chimneys being required to be burnt out at regular intervals, under supervision, for which a fee was charged. The collector of stall rents in the market-house was also collector of "the money for chimney firing." On Aug. 14, 1713, the following ordinance was adopted: "It being very Difficult to Convict such as Suffer their chimneys to take fire, contrary to a law of this province, It is therefore ordered that if the Offender will Pay the forfeiture without further

Trouble, he Shall have Ten Shillings abated him." July 16, 1716, we find Alderman Carter presenting the following names of persons who had their chimneys fired: Anthony Morris, John Billing, John Crowwhite, Abraham Bickley, William Dixy, William Belleridge, John Jones Boulder, Enoch Story, Isaac Norris, James Logan, Sarah Ratcliff, Richard Robeson, Joseph Redman, Walter Griffith, Samuel Preston, Robert Assheton, Peter Stretch, William Lingard, William Philpot, John Price,—who paid their fines apparently in money; "Caleb Ranstead, p'd by a Ladder, And Lock p'd Ald. Carter & Ald. Richardson, Wm. fishbourn p'd by Bucketts, Jon. Vanlear p'd Ald. Carter & Ald. Richardson, Hen. Badcock p'd Ald. Carter & Ald. Richardson, Jacob Usher, p'd by a Ladder, Emanuel Walker p'd by a Ladder, Caleb Cash p'd by Bucketts, Theodorus Lord p'd Ald. Carter." In December, 1718, the treasurer of the city was ordered to prosecute several persons who had given their notes for chimney firing, but refused to pay.

And now we enter on a new era in the business of protection from fires. Dec. 8, 1718, "this Council having Agreed with Abraham Bickley for his fire Engine At y^e sum of £50. . . . It is Order'd that the Treasurer pay y^e S^d sum out of y^e Money Raised or to be Raised for chimney firing, with all Expedition possible." Mr. Bickley, however, had to wait for his money, for it was not paid on Dec. 19, 1719, when an engine-house was ordered to be provided. In January, 1721, a public chimney-sweeper was appointed, James Henderson by name. In December, 1726, the fire-engine is reported much out of repair, and a committee of aldermen are to view it and "think of a proper place to preserve it from the weather." Aug. 4, 1729, James Barrett was paid six pounds for satisfaction for twelve new leather buckets taken from him and used at the last fire on Chestnut Street. At the same time Richard Armit was ordered to collect the chimney firing money, and was also appointed engineer in place of George Claypool, who had hitherto "played the fire-Engine of this city." In April, 1730, after an ineffective discussion of a subscription, etc., the Common Council, having conferred with the assessors, "agreed that three Engines be purchased, one of the Value of about fifty pounds, one at thirty-five pounds, and the other at about twenty pounds, and Two Hundred Leather Bucketts, and sent for to England; and that two hundred Bucketts, Twenty Ladders, and Twenty-five Hooks, with axes, be purchased here, and that a Tax of Two-pence per pound and Eight Shillings per head be Immediately assessed on the Inhabitants of this City for purchasing the said Engines, Bucketts, Ladders, &c." In August, 1730, an ordinance was ordered to prevent joiners and carpenters from laying shavings or rubbish in any street or alley, or setting fire to the same within one hundred yards of any house. October, same year, a bargain was made with Thomas Oldman

for one hundred leather buckets at nine shillings apiece, as per sample, to be well painted in oil-colors. The engines and fire-buckets arrived from England in January, 1731, and it was decided to lodge one engine in a corner of the great meeting-house yard, another on Francis Jones' lot, Front and Walnut Streets, the old engine in the Baptist meeting-house yard, the buckets to be hung up in the court-house. Keepers for the new apparatus were appointed, and sheds directed to be thrown up over it. There are no further Town Council minutes relating to this subject of any consequence prior to 1750, save a few memoranda showing failures to collect money for purchase of engines, charges for repairing fire-buckets, etc. In 1735, Anthony Nichols built an engine in Philadelphia, which he wanted the mayor and Council to buy, the charge being £89 11s. 8d. But, when "viewed," the engine was found to be heavy, unwieldy, hard to work, and not likely to wear well, so Mr. Nichols was dismissed with a gratuity for his good intentions.

Returning to 1712, we find that "fire and candle" for the watch the previous winter only cost eight pounds. All were obliged to work at repairing the streets and highways, but a day's labor could be commuted by the payment of one shilling sixpence to the overseers.¹ An ordinance was directed to be drawn to oblige owners to pave the fronts of their tenements. It was a common practice with the Council at this time and later to abate or reduce the amount of fines for fornication, selling liquor, and keeping public-house without license, etc. The common jail was voted a nuisance, and ordered to be pulled down and another built in its stead on a lot already purchased. In June, 1713, an ordinance was passed for regulating the city water-courses, nearly all the small streams being directed so as to flow into "y^e Dock." Sept. 30, 1713, "William Hill, the Beadle of this City, having lately in a heat broke his Bell, & given out that he would Continue no longer at the Place, but now Expresses a great Deal of Sorrow for his so doing, & humbly Desires to be Continued therein During his Good Behaviour, And the Premises being Considered, And the Vote put Whether he should Continue the Place any Longer, It past in y^e affirmative."

In 1714 we find the Common Council remitting fines of sailors for assaults, pushing forward the work on the Bridge Causeway to Society Hill, and offering encouragement for the erection of pumps. The pump was to belong to the person putting it in, who should keep it in repair at his own expense, and charge water-rent to his neighbors. Afterwards he paid a shilling a year to the corporation for the privilege, and had to get leave to plant his pump in the spot chosen before breaking ground. An entry in the minutes of the date March 17, 1713-14, shows a cer-

tain thrift in Councils. Mary Perkins' husband had been arrested for coining or counterfeiting Spanish money and thrown in jail, his goods being seized also. His wife petitioned to have these restored, as she had three children to support and no stock to trade on. The appeal was granted on the ground that the petitioner was in great want, she and her children likely to become a charge upon the inhabitants, and the goods being generally lumber and of small value.

Sellers of meal and grain in market were ordered to keep the mouths of their sacks open, that the inhabitants may see what they buy; masters of vessels loading or unloading at the free wharves of the city were to pay a shilling per ton, the time allowed for unloading being five days, and for loading ten days; if they exceeded fifteen days, to pay two shillings a day. Staves lying on wharves more than twenty-four hours to pay a penny a cord per hour, and a wharfinger was appointed to see to the enforcement of this ordinance. William Fishbourne, appointed treasurer, was to receive ten per cent. for collecting and disbursing the corporation's money. A committee was appointed to adjust the salary of the recorder (Robert Asheton). They found the corporation one hundred and forty pounds in arrears to him, but as he left the settlement entirely to them, and did not press his claims, the committee consented, if he would abate all past demands, to pay him twenty-four pounds per annum thereafter promptly, and give him all arrears of fines and forfeitures; and he was requested to keep the accounts of those entered as freemen of the city, receiving two shillings sixpence for each freedom, out of which he is to furnish the freedom papers. The crier's fee was sixpence for each freedom proclaimed.²

² Beginning with April 22, 1717, and ending May 27, in the same year, we have a list of the freemen admitted in a little over one month. We omit the sums paid. The usual amounts were five shillings sixpence and fifteen shillings sixpence. The list is: Edw^d Roberts, Henry Jones, Hugh Parsons, Thomas Venn, Joseph Waite, John Knight, John Davis, Evan Owen, John Jones, "Tobaccoconess," Abram Cox, boot-maker; William Philips, shipwright; John Harcomb, taylor; Isaac Lenoir, Thomas Todd, Francis Knowles, Thomas Peters, jun., R. Peters, Henry Faulk, Thomas Lucas, Ishmael Rowland, Rob^t Bomel, Jacob Warren, John Blake, Nicholas Galleen, Benj. Pascall, Isaac L'Grou, weaver; William Pawlet, cryer; W^m Carter, jr., Thomas Bullock, Paul Preston, Thomas Armit, Joseph Calvart, George Hopper, John Lee, taylor; Edw^d Woolley, W^m Bowell, Rob^t Owen, John Cambell, Daniel Harrison, W^m Taylor, saddler; John Brown, George Calvart, George Clampton, George Shiers, Barnabas Talbot, Samuel Kirk, Theophilus Spurrier, Edward Warner, John Williams, W^m Harry, John Cumming, Edw^d Scull, sr., Loyal Brittain, John Smith, wheelwright; David Evans, Christopher Thompson, Giles Green, Daniel Ridge, Nicholas Crone, Samuel Massey, Henry Rothwell, cordwainer; Thomas Nevel, Thomas Oakley, Richard Willis, W^m Vallicot, Henry Paul, John Butler, Nicholas Ashmead, John Knowles, John Mason, Anthony Hartley, Phineas Boulton, Thomas Denton, Geo. Savage, Peter Allen, Thomas Stapleford, joiner; Rob^t Hubbard, joiner; Sam^l Shourds, cooper; James Tuthill, shop-keeper; W^m fisher, inn-holder; W^m Thomas, weaver; Joseph Kingstone, joiner; Robert Mullard, carver; W^m Pascoll, saddler; Thomas Cannon, tallow-chandler; John Dilling, saddler; Joseph Elford, maltster; John Lewis, fisher; Oliver Galtrey, barber; Roger Thorne, Geo. Allen, cooper; Peter Wishart, tallow-chandler; Samuel Ring, inn-holder; Hugh Hughes, carpenter; George Plumly, cutler; Geo. Sheed, barber; Evan Thomas, stable-keeper; Rob^t Hubbard, baker; Joseph Noble, cutler; John Widdifield, joiner; Rich^d Crookshanks, cordwainer; Nicholas Dowdney, wool-comber; W^m Dobbs,

¹ This was about twenty-six cents in our money, and shows the rate of wages. A laborer on the highway seldom received much less than regular rates for unskilled day labor—not over one-fourth less, that is to say.

The cost of an indenture of apprenticeship at this time was fixed at three shillings to the town clerk for the indentures, and one shilling sixpence for the record. This was high, as was the cost of freedom

papers, but high charges for records, papers, and all sorts of conveyancing and fees was a leading trait of proprietary provincial governments, which sought to make the support of their friends, kinsfolk, and retainers a regular and permanent tax upon their provinces. The Municipal Council was liberal to the poor of the city, but was careful in avoiding the burthen of maintaining the poor of other places. Neither did it tolerate begging. David Williams, of Abing-

soap-boller; Rob^t Hinds, carter; Nicholas Hitchcock, carpenter; Samuel Bennit, plasterer; Daniel Standab, bricklayer; Leeson Loftus, bolter; Charles Read, shop-keeper; W^m Powell, jr., John Read, carpenter; John Huddon, baker; W^m Fisher, carpenter; Walter Griffith, cordwainer; Joseph Davis, barber; Peter Taylor, shipwright; John Larach, merch^t; Weinty, Collet, shop-keeper; Rich^d Koer, sail-maker; Anth^d Duche, glover; John Masson, sail-maker; John Evans, felt-maker; Nath^d Allen, cooper; Stephen Symons, Dan^d England, sail-maker; Cha^d Paslear, barber; John Parsons, saddler; Matt Birchfield, cordwainer; Bernard Taylor, mariner; Geo. Yard, bricklayer; Isaac Leadon, mariner; Margaret Alyn, shop-keeper; John Henmarsh, carpenter; John Drago, shipwright; Hugh Tress, jr., slaughterer; Jacob Shoemaker, tanner; Joseph Taylor, brewer; Christian Crosthwaite, inn-holder; James Everet, pewterer; Gabriel Cox, saddler; Edm^d Jones, cabinet-maker; John Koster, carpenter; Matthew Ward, shipwright; John Clawson, taylor; Andrew Bradford, printer; Paul Morris, sail-maker; John Rakestraw, carter; W^m Rakestraw, carter; Th^o Robins, shipwright; Edw^d Bradley, glazier; W^m Wanless, taylor; Thomas Rutter, jr., blacksmith; Edw^d Keadwell, shop-keeper; Francis Richardson, goldsmith; Joseph Trotter, cutler; John Brooks, baker; Thomas Pearse, plasterer; John Heague, shipwright; W^m Pearl, merch^t; Geo. Coates, sadler; John Beer, cooper; Joseph Kent, blacksmith; W^m Lingard, smith; Martin Jarvis, shop-keeper; Daniel Lewis, taylor; John Colly, felt-maker; Daniel Darborow, felt-maker; W^m Harner, trader; Jos. Townshend, carpenter; James Moyse, rope-maker; Jacob Levering, joiner; Geo. Muller, cooper; Sam Robins, farmer; John George, paver; Stephen Jackson, shop-keeper; Mary Lock, shop-keeper; Thos. Carvel, slaughterer; W^m Class, cordwainer; John Dilworth, brewer; Jonathan Palmer, bricklayer; W^m Wilkins, taylor; Benj. Wait, taylor; James Bingham, saddler; Th^o Wood, cooper; John Hudson, chair-maker; Dennis Ratford, potter; John Potts, shipwright; Aaron Goforth, joiner; Aaron Goforth, jr., joiner; Edw^d Jones, cooper; Rich^d Gosling, cutler; W^m Forlune, rope-maker; Th^o Coates, brick-maker; Mark Dalmas, baker; James Brendley, felt-maker; Timothy Stevenson, smith; Isaac Ryall, blacksmith; Henry Livering, cooper; Th^o Broom, felt-maker; W^m Prestoun, shop-keeper; Hannah Pratt, shop-keeper; Th^o Pears, blacksmith; Sam^d Richardson, cooper; Anthony Stevens, cordwainer; Samuel Hudson, tanner; John Boyd, shipwright; Peter Worrell, glover; Thomas Owen, baker; Sarah Ratcliff, shop-keeper; Th^o Fisher, cordwainer; Austin Paris, founder; Benj. Peart, cooper; Rob^t Davis, inn-holder; Edw^d Hughes, potter; Rich^d Dansay, cooper; Hugh Lowden, shop-keeper; Owen Oneal, saddler; Rich^d Jueson, sawyer; Joseph Jueson, turner; Thomas Lindley, smith; John Milton, joiner; John Townshend, laborer; Nehemiah Allen, jr., cooper; Alex. Lindsey, sawyer; Th^o Chase, merch^t; Solomon Cook, smith; Th^o Denham, tallow-chandler; Philip Kearaty, shop-keeper; Rich^d Allen, shipwright; John Williams, jr., taylor; Susannah Crapp, shop-keeper; W^m Boll, inn-holder; Thomas Ridge, felt-maker; Eliz. Carman, taylor; Samuel Johnson, painter; Thomas Mitchell, Daniel flower, carpenter; W^m Moore, joiner; Philip Kenyon, carpenter; Benj. Peters, shoemaker; Jeremiah Gatchel, wheelwright; John Harrison, carpenter; Sarah Murray, shop-keeper; W^m Herbert, shoemaker; Edm^d Davis, cooper; John Leech, shop-keeper; Henry Elfreth, shipwright; W^m Rigby, cooper; John Richardson, cordwainer; W^m Budd, baker; James Tucker, slaughterer; W^m Bissel, blacksmith; Simon Edgell, pewterer; W^m Branson, joiner; John Lancaster, taylor; David Shearing, taylor; Benj. Oram, collar-maker; George Budd, saddler; Edw^d Bilkington, white smith; Jeremiah Snow, rigger; Alex. Hall, sail-maker; W^m Jones, innholder; Joseph Paide, barber; John Annis, taylor; Thomas Bibb, tanner; Th^o Rakestraw, carter; Th^o Lacy, glazier; Geo. Shoemaker, carter; Michael Coll, shipwright; Samuel Hastings, shipwright; Andrew Yousham, cordwainer; Daniel Meggs, weaver; Herman Casdro, shipwright; James Wood, shipwright; Samuel Mickle, merch^t; Geo. Mifflin, bolter; Matt. Hubbard, baker; Alex. foreman, turner; Joseph Smith, brewer; Jacob May, innholder; Robert Thompson, mariner; John Snowden, tanner; Philip Hilyard, cooper; Daniel Hood, cooper; John Price, shipwright; John Lloyd, blacksmith; Jeremiah Elfreth, blacksmith; Benj. Mather, cordwainer; Anthony Ward, clockmaker; Isabella Clubb, shopkeeper; Evan Thomas, joiner; John Harper, taylor; Thomas Shoemaker, carter; Anthony Peel, shopkeeper; W^m Jeeson,

leather-dresser; Wm. Coates, brickmaker; Rich^d Chiner, blockmaker; Peter Renear, shipwright; Thos. Mountford, shopkeeper; Samuel Stretch, watchmaker; W^m Chancellor, sailmaker; W^m Hawkins, carpenter; Th^o Ashton, shipwright; John Howard, blacksmith; Thedlock Riners, shopkeeper; Aaron Huliot, painter; Sam^d Davies, shipwright; Andrew Dahl, mariner; Joseph Richards, merch^t; John Samms, cordwainer; Joseph Humfrits, joiner; W^m Mason, turner; John Tomlinson, currier; Ralph Harper, carpenter; Ebenezer Large, currier; Thomas flower, cooper; Richard Walker, cordwainer; Th^o Elkington, sawyer; Wm. farmer, slaughterer; John Breintnall, cordwainer; W^m Philpot, currier; Thomas Wells, shipwright; Stephen Atkinson, clothier; Henry Munday, saddler; Joseph Wood, carpenter; Eliz. Carter, baker; James Bayles, mariner; Anthony Moore, blacksmith; John Basset, mason; John Newbury, carpenter; John Miffin, merch^t; Th^o Smallwood, shipwright; George Staonons, carter; Daniel Jones, taylor; John Bird, carpenter; Henry Kingston, slaughterer; Steph. Bayalie, blockmaker; George Wilson, shopkeeper; Th^o Brown, shipwright; Abram Frise, brickmaker; Th^o Pascall, jr., John Coates, brickmaker; Joseph Lynn, shipwright; Maimallon Lalous, Henry Stevens, mariner; Edw^d Hunt, goldsmith; Timothy Green, brickmaker; John Griffith, brickmaker; Griffith Marling, brickmaker; John Bird, carpenter; Henry frogly, joiner; James Wilkins, joiner; Daniel Wilcox, ropemaker; W^m Brown, cooper; John Ashmead, blacksmith; John Hastings, shipwright; John Hart, bricklayer; Isaac Merriatt, carpenter; Joseph Harper, carpenter; Jane Bing, shopkeeper; Isaac Hollingham, carter; Armstrong Smith, shipwright; Peter Steel, brazier; Adam Lewis, carpenter; W^m Hudson, jr., tanner; W^m Harris, shipwright; Geo. Emlien, innholder; James Winstauler, brazier; Alex. Gordon, shopkeeper; Rich^d Robinson, shopkeeper; Hester Syenter, shopkeeper; Thos. Tress, merch^t; Th^o Willard, shipwright; Moses Durell, shipwright; Sam^d Monchton, pharmacopoeia; Edw^d Soull, jr., joiner; W^m Tidmarsh, innholder; W^m Drason, mariner; Silvanus Smout, blacksmith; Th^o Taylor, mariner; Jao. Carter, brickmaker; W^m Dawardihausa, mariner; W^m Little, blacksmith; Edw^d Smout, barber; Bentley Cook, W^m Hill, porter; Grace Townsend, Mark Harrison, laborer; John Parsons, carter; Th^o Coates, shopkeeper; Rob^t Parker, Th^o Barger, Sam^d Jacobs, mariner; Sam^d Robinson, plasterer; Mary Broadway, Hannah Scott, Thomas Case, Evan Williams, taylor; Lawrence Sadler, porter; Rob^t Midwinter, shoemaker; Toby Such, Peter Cooper, painter; John Lock, porter; Th^o Ellwood, laborer; Everhalt Ream, baker; Peter Lucile, painter; Thomas Paglas, founder; Dan Jones, taylor; Th^o Walker, innholder; Th^o Cook, taylor; Oliver Whitehead, John Betinson, innholder; Benj. Duffield, W^m Thomas, cooper; John Winn, doctor; Israel Cox, Rich^d Tomlin, laborer; John Rile, cordwainer; Henry Hill, merch^t; Th^o Lloyd, merch^t; Th^o Martin, shopkeeper; John Harris, cordwainer; W^m England, goldsmith; William Cox.

Total number of freemen	424
Occupations not given	82
Carpenters and joiners	32
Tailors	18
Cordwainers, etc.	19
Shipwrights	27
Sailmakers, ropemakers, etc.	11
Innholders	10
Shopkeepers and merchants	35
Saddlers	10

Of all the trades and industries represented among the freemen of Philadelphia at this time, at least thirty per cent. were connected, more or less, directly with the commerce and navigation of the city, and about fifteen per cent. with the business of building.

There was not a middle name in all the four hundred and twenty-four. These entries are from minutes of Common Council. After May 27, 1717, such names were not put on record. Probably they were placed in separate record books. There must have been thousands of freemen admitted to the rights of citizens between 1717 and 1776.

ton, having had his stable, barn, and house burnt, prayed for leave to ask the charity of the people of Philadelphia, but his petition was "rejected as being of Ill Consequence" (i.e., establishing a bad precedent).

At a meeting of the City Council in August, 1717, various matters of municipal interest were transacted. The floor under the court-house was directed to be raised eight inches, and paved with brick, secured with posts to keep carts and horses out. Two aldermen were directed to continue their care of the bridge and causeway at the south end of the town. Overseers were appointed to superintend the work in repairing the two brick bridges,—one on Second Street, and the other on Walnut Street,—these crossed Dock Creek. And the grand jury in January made a presentment in relation to the nuisance of scolding women. A law was also passed directing that elections for coroners and assessors should be held at the same time as elections for members of Assembly, and by written ticket.

Sir William Keith landed at Philadelphia, May 31, 1717, and was at once proclaimed Governor in due form and with a good deal of ceremony. He had been received in great state and with much courtesy by Gookin, the Provincial Council, and the officers of the corporation. This was what Sir William liked. He was not young any longer, yet not so old as to be past the age of vanity. He was an adroit time-server, yet a shallow, flippant, insincere man in every regard. Franklin has given us the best description and the best character of him in his double capacity as quidnunc and busybody, and also as the misleader of the popular party. That is a rare picture, in the philosopher's autobiography, of the Governor, in his flowing wig and fine clothes, invading Keimer's dingy printing-office, effusively courting the young man's acquaintance, taking him off to taste some excellent Madeira at a tavern, vowing he should have a printing-office of his own and all the public business, and sending Franklin to Boston and to London on two separate fool's errands. His manner, said Ben, was "most affable, friendly, and familiar." It was his "known character to be liberal of promises which he never meant to keep." "I believed him one of the best men in the world." "No one who knew him had the smallest dependence on him." "Giving a letter of credit, when he had no credit to give." "It was a habit he had acquired. He wished to please everybody; and, having little to give, he gave expectations. He was otherwise an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good Governor for the people, though not for his constituents, the proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded. Several of our best laws were of his planning, and passed during his administration." It may be doubted, however, if Keith was really a "good Governor for the people." *Populus vult decipi. decipiat* seems to have been his motto. But, do the people profit really by being

deceived? He courted the Assembly and cajoled them also, profiting by the pitiful pretence to civil treatment they had thrown out at his predecessor, Evans. "Though we are mean men and represent a poor colony, yet as we are the immediate grantees of one branch of the legislative authority of this province (which we would leave to our posterity as free as it was granted) we ought to have been, and do expect to be, more civilly treated by him that claims the other branch of the same authority and under the same royal grant, and has his support from us and the people we represent." Keith never forgot that while he represented and owed his position to the proprietary, it was the Assembly that provided his salary and voted the supplies for his administration. He was poor and he was mercenary. As Franklin said in the Historical Sketch of Pennsylvania, he had a particular eye to his own particular emolument. Logan opposed him and countermined his intrigues; and Logan was deprived of office by him and sent home in disgrace, only, however, to overwhelm him in the end. When it was too late Keith attempted to regain favor with the proprietaries by betraying his allies, the Assembly. It did not save him, but it resulted in a mutual mistrust, coldness and disgust at parting, after a nine years' administration, during which, singular to say, there had not been a single flagrant breach between the Assembly and the Governor.

Keith had a happy address, his suave and courteous manners were all in his favor, and as soon as he met the Assembly they voted him a supply of five hundred pounds, with fifty pounds added for house-rent, taxing the public a penny in the pound and four shillings per head. The new Governor had secured all this by talking of economy and relieving the burthens of the people, and by refusing to listen to the complaints of ex-Governor Gookin. He spoke of the difficulties connected with an excessive influx of foreigners, appreciated the embarrassments of the public on the subject, and had written home for instructions. He went half way with the people in the troubles about oaths and affirmations, and was disposed to remove all the difficulties which were such a stumbling-block to the Quaker conscience, by restoring the laws as they were first framed under the original charter. He approved the amendments in the act relating to work-houses, which was essential both to the peace and the pauper system of the province. This act provided that a work-house and prison should be erected within three years in Philadelphia, at the charge of the city and county, to be controlled by the poor overseers and the city and county justices. He also favored the new and more comprehensive arrangements perfected for the management of the several ferries, and for enforcing reciprocity with conterminous provinces in the premises. At the first Assembly under Keith there was passed also an important act extending the liberties of women in business, and

another promoting the administration of justice. The adroit manner in which he obtained from the Assembly the creation of that Court of Chancery which had been denied to his predecessors has already been spoken of. He also promoted a general reconstruction of the courts, with a Quarter Sessions of four annual terms, a biennial Supreme Court sitting in Philadelphia, and a Court of Common Pleas under the Governor's commission. He fostered the establishment at Horsham, in Philadelphia County, of a settlement for the manufacture of the surplus grain received in the city, and the place was made easily accessible by laying out convenient roads to it.

It was Governor Keith who first introduced the people of Pennsylvania to the pleasures and benefits of an irredeemable paper currency. There had been great and long-standing complaint about the deficiency of a circulating medium, for the use of wampum had ceased, and foreign coin had never become plenty. The course of exchange ran heavily against the province, and those who possessed money made enormous profits by the purchase and sale of bills. The merchants of England did not ship bank-notes or coin to the province. They paid for the produce which they bought there with English goods, and settled the balances by shipments of sugar, rum, etc., from Barbadoes and other places in the West Indies, and by negroes and indentured servants. Yet there must have been more hard money in Philadelphia than in New England, for Franklin, a paper-money man, notes in his autobiography how his fellow workmen in Boston were surprised when he returned to his brother's place in 1724 from Philadelphia. "One of them asking what kind of money we had there," he says, "I produced a handful of silver, and spread it before them, which was a kind of *raree-show* they had not been used to, paper being the money of Boston." The peltries, grain, flour, ships, cooper-stuff, and lumber of Philadelphia were always good for hard money with a good mercantile system. But the people were not satisfied. It is likely that wages and small debts were paid almost entirely in the way of barter instead of money, and this, by the losses it occasioned, produced discontent. At any rate, the drift of facts is to show that while capitalists and men of wealth opposed a change in the currency, the farmers, laborers, and small tradespeople favored it. They contended that a deficiency of currency made trade decay and increased the rate of interest, and that the remedy was to keep money in the province by having a money of their own. In the language of petitions sent to the Assembly at this time, the friends of paper money contended that they were sensibly "aggrieved in their estates and dealings, to the great loss and growing ruin of themselves, and the evident decay of this province in general, for want of a medium to buy and sell with," and they therefore prayed a paper currency. The people of Chester County, on the other hand, asked to have the value

of the current money of the province raised, the exportation of money prohibited, and produce made a legal tender, so as to obviate the necessity for paper money. They did not want a regular State issue, but nevertheless they wanted an inconvertible paper money, as if that were a blessing.¹

Keith, in consenting to and promoting an experimental loan in 1722, had been encouraged by the popularity of a similar measure matured by Governor Burnett, of New Jersey. Pennsylvania was the last of the middle colonies to embark in the paper-money manufacture; but once embarked, she plunged rapidly and deeply in. A small loan of only fifteen thousand pounds was issued in 1722, to be redeemed within eight years. In 1723 thirty thousand pounds was issued. In 1740 the issue had reached the amount of eighty thousand pounds. Benjamin Franklin, who had encouraged and, indeed, almost brought to pass this utterance of irredeemable currency, by his writings and his personal influence,² became alarmed and wrote, "I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful." He was right. In 1775 Pennsylvania had one hundred and sixty thousand pounds currency out, or four hundred and twenty thousand dollars. In 1783 the State's irredeemable currency had been increased by various issues until it reached four million three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, a sum simply ruinous to all values.

The general plan of these loans was good and simple. It was as safe and as logical as any system without bottom could be. The theory was tersely stated by David Hume in a letter to the Abbé Morellet: "In our colony of Pennsylvania the land itself, which is the chief commodity, is coined and passed into circulation." The phrase had been borrowed by Hume from Franklin.³ The *modus operandi* of the

¹ Not only Pennsylvania of that day believed that limited circulation and non-exportability are good attributes of money; the fallacy has come down to our own day, and been entertained by two leading Philadelphians. Hon. W. D. Kelley said in the House of Representatives in 1870, "Beyond the sea, in foreign lands, the greenback is fortunately not money; but when we have had such a long and unbroken career of prosperity in business as since we adopted this non-exportable currency?" And Henry C. Carey wrote, in 1875, to Hon. M. W. Fields, saying, "Does or does not our duty to ourselves and the world at large demand that we maintain permanently a non-exportable currency? . . . The affirmative of this question is in harmony with the practice and experience of leading nations, and in harmony with the teachings of sound economic science."

² See the next chapter.

³ His tract, "A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency," contained the following: "For as bills issued upon money security are money, so bills issued upon land are in effect *coined land*." Professor Walker has noted that this was the theory also of law in his Louisiana bubble, and of the French assignats, quoting in regard to the latter the *mot* of Gouverneur Morris, who, when Short wrote to him, "There is a plan for paper money now before the Assembly. Some insist on calling it *papier terre*, and the idea was near passing," replied, "Apropos of this currency, this *papier terre*, I could tell them of a country where there is a *paper terre*, now *mort et enterré*." The land-banking systems of the West in more recent times have all been identical in principle with this system of colonial Pennsylvania. The fallacy is obvious: land is the best of securities, but it is a *statical*, not *dynamical*

Pennsylvania loan system—"the loan-office," it came to be called—was excellent. There was nothing fictitious about it. No bills were loaned but upon good security; interest was required, and the interest and principal were required to be paid back in yearly instalments. As the principal came in it was lent out again; but finally as the term of a loan expired,

the uses of an increasing country; that there never was a measure more steadily or more faithfully pursued for forty years together than the loan-office in Pennsylvania." In 1763 the whole paper-money system of the colonies, including that of Pennsylvania, was outlawed by act of Parliament, when Franklin wrote a pamphlet, protesting against the act.¹

² The issues were £15,000 in 1722, £30,000 in 1723, £30,000 in 1729, and in 1739 enough to make a total currency of £80,000 to remain in circulation for sixteen years. This last act perfected the loan-office system, and is the one by which its operations can best be judged. The money was called "proclamation-money." It was emitted to borrowers directly from the loan-office, there being a branch in every county. The notes or bills, in denominations of from one to twenty shillings, were printed and emitted under direction of five persons, who were "trustees of the loan-office," and who gave bond. They were only to lend on real security or plate, of double the value. The interest was put at five per cent., and one-sixteenth of the principal was to be repaid each year. This principal, during the first ten years, was lent out again (the interest being applied to the public service), but new borrowers could only get the money for the rest of the time the loan had to run, and their annual payments of principal were proportionately increased.

In the "Historical Review of Pennsylvania," by Franklin and Ralph, published in 1759 to influence Parliament in the contest between the majority of the Provincials and the proprietary government,³ it is clearly shown, and the letters of Logan corroborate the fact, that the proprietary government was at first bitterly hostile to any and every emission of paper money, only assenting to it finally when made participants of some of the peculiar favors the system could bestow. In the language of the tract referred to, "Discovered a repugnance to this measure, till they found themselves considered in it. Like the snail with his horns, they had no sensations for the province but what reached them through the nerves of power and profit." The consideration, in fact, was the continued payment of quit-

rents in sterling money, no matter what the depreciation of provincial currency; a consideration which the proprietary had a right to demand, and could in equity also do so, since they had nothing to do either with the emission of the currency or its depreciation.³

¹ See next chapter. This outlawing of colonial money had much to do with prejudicing the people of the colonies against the rule of Parliament.

² Franklin's Works, iii, 107, "An Historical Review, etc." See next chapter.

³ This depreciation got to be so great that it reached the ratio of 190.1, the value of a Pennsylvania pound currency being only \$2.71½. To conclude this matter, so far as it relates to the Philadelphia of the

Nº 3879

Ten Shillings



His Indebted Bill of Ten Shillings current Money of America, according to the Act of Parliament, made in the Sixth Year of the late Queen Anne, for Ascertaining the Rates of foreign Coins in the Plantations, due from the Province of Pennsylvania, to the Possessor thereof, shall be in Value equal

to Money, and shall be accepted accordingly by the Provincial Treasurer, County Treasurers and the Trustees for the General Loan-Office of the Province of Pennsylvania, in all Public Payments, and for any Fund at any Time in any of the said Treasuries and Loan-Office.

Dated in Philadelphia the Second Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty Three, by Order of the Governor and General Assembly.

Ten Shillings



Provincy
Arthur Morris
Secr.

PROVINCIAL CURRENCY.

the notes as they came in were canceled and burnt, and all accounts squared up. The friends of the system were many. "I will venture to say that there never was a better or a wiser measure," wrote Governor Pownall, "never one better calculated to serve

security; and the prime quality demanded in a currency is its capacity to circulate, a dynamical, not statical force. A redeemable bank-note can be put into land, gold, or any other commodities, and these again can be exchanged for it; it has therefore the value of all, besides its value as a medium of exchange, a tool, a convenience. A note which can only be put in land and must stay there, inert, for convertible purposes as the land itself, has but one value.

Keith, besides giving the province a paper currency, secured the confident establishment of Benjamin Franklin at the heart of the growing town, and it is around Franklin as a centre that the greater part of the public affairs of Philadelphia will be found to revolve. This will be demonstrated in a chapter to succeed the present one.

In 1717, and for many years periodically thereafter, pirates or else privateers on the coast were sources of alarm in Philadelphia. Logan, in the year named, said the pirates were fifteen hundred strong, and made many captures of vessels and seamen. In February, 1718, John Collison, Hance Dollar, John Rennolds, Benjamin Hutchins, and John Bell appeared before Governor and Council and made voluntary surrender as pirates, claiming to come in, however, under the late royal amnesty. In July, of the same year, Richard Appleton and a crew ran away with a pirate vessel and brought it as a prize into Philadelphia with much applause.¹

period concerning which we write, Logan notes that as early as 1724 the premium on specie was fifteen per cent. The *Gazette* of 1726 (Watson) notes the arrival of counterfeit colonial bills from Ireland. In 1729 Logan says, "I dare not speak one word against it. The popular phrensy will never stop till their credit will be as bad as they are in New England, where an ounce of silver is worth twenty shillings of their paper. They already talk of making more, and no man dares appear to stem the fury of the popular rage." Logan thinks the king should arrest the delusion by proclamation. Watson had seen an account current of the years 1730-31, by Andrew Hamilton, one of the trustees of the General Loan Office, "showing the operation in those days, when no banks existed, of borrowing money upon mortgages, deeds, and other securities. The account begins with a detail of securities received from the previous trustees, to wit:

" 61 mortgages on the £15,000 account, yet due.....	£930
228 " " £30, 00 " "	8,438
345 " " several " "	19,212
264 " " 2d £30,000 " "	26,000

"In 1730-31 the new trustees lent out—

" On 39 mortgages.....	£2546
" 77 "	5481
" a pledge of plate.....	24"

Hazard, in the additions to Watson, says that paper money was also issued by individuals. In May, 1746, Joseph Gray gave notice that Franklin had printed for him £27 10s. in notes of hand of 2d, 3d, and 6d, "out of sheer necessity for want of pence for running change. Whoever takes them shall have them exchanged on demand with the best money I have." In 1749 the Assembly was petitioned for an issue of twenty thousand pounds in small bills, and a committee appointed to bring in a bill, but there was no further action. In connection with this currency matter we produce, from Hazard's Register, a price current taken from the *Philadelphia Gazette* of Nov. 27, 1735, the provincial currency reduced to dollars and cents: Corn-meal, \$1.40 per hundred; white biscuit flour, \$2.40 (\$4.75 per barrel); middling do., \$1.73 per hundred; brown, \$1.47; ship do., \$1.60; muscovado sugar, \$4.27 per hundred; gunpowder, \$26.67; tobacco, \$1.87; loaf sugar (wholesale), 22 cents per pound; cotton, 13 cents per pound; indigo, \$1.33 do.; rum, 29 cents per gallon; molasses, 20 cents; pork, \$4.67 per barrel; beef, \$4 per barrel; wheat, 49 cents per bushel; corn, 20; flaxseed, 53, etc.; Madeira wine, \$58.67 per pipe. Either these prices were sterling, or the depreciation of currency still did not keep pace with the plethora of products.

The vessel carried ten mounted great guns, two swivels, three pateroscres, four chambers, thirty muskets, five blunderbusses, five pistols, six old pateroscres, four old chambers, ten organ-barrels, seven cutlasses, fifty-three hand-grenades, two hundred great shot, two barrels powder, four kegs "patridge," "one black flag, one red flag, two ensignes, two pendants, one Jack, and eight sloppers." To conclude this pirate business, Logan writes to the Governor of New York in October to notify

Small and remote provincial cities, in remote and provincial times, do not make much history. Their annals trickle along through lowly, hidden ways, like the brook that still flows but cannot be discovered, for that the grass through which it percolates hides it from sight and makes it inaudible. Take this year, 1718, for an example. William Penn is still proprietary, though it has been long since he and consciousness of human interests have parted company, and now he is on the eve of receiving the last summons, which will give him rest in the quiet burial-place at Jordans'. But his affairs do not suffer, for Hannah Penn, brave heart, clear eye, firm hand, controls all. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Keith, is just coming in; Jonathan Dickinson, Esq., is mayor; Robert Assheton, Esq., recorder. The aldermen are Richard Hill, William Carter, Abraham Bickley, William Hudson, Joseph Redman, Thomas Masters; the common councilmen are Richard Moore, Samuel Carpenter, Charles Read, Joseph Carpenter, Thomas Griffith, Owen Roberts, Nehemiah Allen, Thomas Bradford, Peter Stretch, Henry Badcock, John Jones, Daniel Radley, Thomas Wharton, George Claypool, James Parrock, William Fishbourne, John Warder. Each of these men had a history; it could be unearthed, and it would be far more interesting than that of the city represented by them, but still it would not be the city's history.

The Common Council of the city met Jan. 29, 1718, after a recess of three months and a half. "Edward Roberts, George Fitzwalter, and Evan Owen were now Qualified Common Councilmen and took their place at y^e Board. Ordered that William Hudson & William Fishbourne, Adjust the Accounts with the Clerk of y^e market ag^t y^e next Council. Upon Reading y^e Petition for Granting ferrys in this city,

him that a vessel had been sent out against them, because "we are in manifest danger here, unless the king's ships take some notice of us. They probably think a proprietary government no part of their charge." The pirates appear to have been under command at this time of the famous Teach, or Blackbeard, an outlaw who infested the commerce of the coast from Cape May to Cape Henry. Keith issued a warrant and a proclamation against him, neither being effective. There was great local interest in pirates at this time. Kyd was a sort of hero, and Bradford, the Quaker printer, in New York, in 1734, published a "History of the Pirates," which is said to be the original of the "Pirates' Own Book" of more recent times. Franklin claims to have made and published a song on the capture of Blackbeard. The latter free-looter used to be very familiar with the taverns on the water-front at Philadelphia, and he and his crew kept many a revel at Marcus Hook, at the house of a Swede woman. Teach was killed within the North Carolina sounds, and other pirates seem to have been captured about the same time. They had friends, and support also, on shore. Isaac Norris' son-in-law, Harrison, moving from Maryland, was captured between Aquominny and Newcastle and carried off. The grand jury in Philadelphia, in 1718, presented a lot of pirates, but no bill could be found. These men, John Williams, Joseph Cooper, Michael Grace, William Assheton, George Gardner, Francis Royer, and Henry Burton, are supposed to have captured and carried off from the Delaware a sloop of twenty-two guns. One of the party, Cooper, was afterwards captain of a pirate vessel, and blew himself up in the Bay of Honduras. After 1720, in which year Captain Low took a rich prize off the capes of the Delaware, the pirates seem to have been mostly driven to the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea, where, however, the commerce of Philadelphia still paid them toll.

The Mayor, Recorder, & Alderman Hill are Desired to Wait on y^e Assembly with a Peticon that a Bill may be brought in for Vesting the power of Granting the s'd ferries in y^e Corporacon of this City.¹

"Whereas, William Davis, of the County of Chester, & one Peter Devene, have Obtained the Gov^{rs} Lycence to ask the Charity of y^e Inhabitants of this City by occasion of Some Misfortunes they have faind under, And the Charge of this city occasioned by the Repairs of the Wharfs, Maintenance of the Poor, & other Incidents Laying Hard on the Inhabitants, It is Ordered that the Mayor, Recorder, & Alderman Hill, Do wait on the Governour and request him that he would be pleased to give the Magistrates of this City a Hearing in flavor of y^e Inhabitants before he Grants any pson Such a lycence for y^e ffuture." Upon the Peticon of Simon Edgill, that there is a vacancy in the office of sealing weights and measures and asking to be appointed to it himself, Master Edgill is referred to the next Council. Sarah Smith's fine of £10 for having a bastard child, and Francis Cole's fine of £5 for keeping a public-house without a license, are both abated one-half.

The next meeting of Common Council was on February 26th, when a fine of fifty pounds, laid on Nicholas Williams for beating his father, is remitted, and Peter Stretch is paid £8 18s. for work done by him on the town clock. On March 6th, Aldermen Masters Bickley and Redman are ordered to expedite matters at the market wharf, of which they are overseers, and to get more money, if needed, besides that thirty pounds

they have; Masters Redman, Bradford, and Claypool to inspect and appraise William Branson's work under the court-house. William Pawlet has had no pay for several years for summoning and attending the Common Council, and petitions to have his salary fixed, and his salary is fixed at eight pounds per annum "for his Sumoning of the Comon Council, Opening & Shutting of the Gates of the Court House, & keeping the same clean & the pavement clear of Horses." It is further "Ordered that no vendue or publick Sale of Goods be made under the Court House by any pson, Unless a Consideracon be paid to the Corporacon for the Same."

At the next meeting, May 13, 1718, Branson's *quantum meruit* is set at £32 10s. Thomas Redman is appointed inspector of water-courses, his pay being one penny per foot from the persons bordered by the stream; Pawlet is allowed five pounds for his past services; and, the tailors and cordwainers having petitioned for some regulations in regard to their trade-rights, the recorder was requested to inspect the books, and report a proper method of incorporating particular bodies within this corporation.² Three-fourths of Richard Keys' fine for keeping an unlicensed tavern is remitted, and the recorder ordered to draw a new ordinance for better regulating carters, cartmen, and draymen, and settling their wages.³

At Common Council's meeting July 14th, Benjamin Morgan and Edward Church's pump in the middle of Front Street, opposite Ewer's Alley, which they pray may be allowed to stand, is sternly condemned as being now, as it always has been, a public and common nuisance, but they can continue it until February, and no longer, to give them time to sink a new well. The vendue-master, John Leech, is required to pay ten pounds a year, in quarterly payments, for use of the court-house in selling goods, and Alderman Carter is ordered to collect three pounds per annum rent for each of the stalls under the court-house stairs, the payment of such rent securing the refusal of the stall to the lessee, but no arrears. Thomas Carvell is nine shillings behind-hand, and is bidden pay up on demand, or the beadle is ordered to "Pluck up his stall, he being only Tenant at Will." A paving ordinance was read on September 20th. October 7th was election day, and

¹ Not granted, but some of the public ferries were put under new arrangements. Armstrong Smith prayed that he might be granted the right of keeping two ferries in the Delaware, one to Cooper's, in West Jersey, the other to Gloucester; and John Walker wanted to establish a ferry from the middle of the city to West Jersey. These ferries to Cooper's and Gloucester were erected by the Assembly for a term of years, and because West Jersey put a duty on shallops, boats, and canoes coming from Pennsylvania, the Assembly proposed to retaliate. What else was done in this body? They met, and addressed the Governor on the alarm caused by the importation of so many foreigners; they agreed that their pay should be six shillings apiece per diem, and the Speaker's ten shillings; two bridges were ordered over the Poquessing and Cobb's Creeks; persons about to marry were ordered to put up a publication notice at some meeting-house thirty days beforehand, "and produce three evidences, at least, that they see it up three days of worship, with the fair publication side outwards, and the marriage to be performed by some justice in the same county;" the butchers petitioned against opening the market to meat from West Jersey; the Quakers petitioned for the right of affirmation, as they are still doing to-day in England; Andrew Bradford wanted a monopoly of the lamp-black manufacture for twenty years, he having "at considerable expense" found out for himself the right method of its manufacture; the several counties were ordered to erect suitable work-houses and yards, that in Philadelphia to be completed within three years; a law was passed to regulate the relief of the poor, requiring paupers to be lettered and wear a red P on their sleeves, indicating what town they lived in; other acts defining the rights of *feme-sole* and married women as traders, regulating the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors, putting in force in the province the statute of James I., chap. xii., against witchcraft were passed, and then the old Assembly adjourned, the new one met, and there was no more legislative business during the year 1718. The members of the Assembly who were elected and met Oct. 14, 1718, were, for Philadelphia City: Israel Pemberton, Isaac Norris; for the county, Speaker, Matthias Holston, Robert Jones, Edward Farnar, Richard Hill, William Fishbourn, Clement Plumsted, Morris Morris, and Jonathan Dickinson.

² The complaint was that notwithstanding tradesmen took out their freedom, strangers came in, settled and practiced their trades without being freemen. The trades were therefore authorized to get themselves incorporated after the manner of the English guilds, and have an ordinance prepared by an expert "Consonal Agreeable to y^e laws of England and this Government, and for a Publick Good."

³ Transportation of goods, persons, and news is, perhaps, the measure of civilization, modified by local circumstances in some degree. Jonathan Dickinson this year writes: "We have a settled post from Virginia and Maryland unto us, which goes through all our northern colonies, whereby all advices from Boston, in New England, to Williamsburg, in Virginia, is completed in four weeks from the latter end of March to the beginning of December, and in the winter season the double of that time." William Penn died July 30th, and Keith gave the news to Council November 30th.

Jonathan Dickinson re-elected mayor, and Thomas Griffith and William Fishbourn, aldermen; Israel Pemberton, John Carpenter, John Cadwalader, Joseph Buckley, Thomas Griffith, and Thomas Tresse, common councilmen. "Alderman Hudson, Alderman Redman, Benjamin Vinning, Edward Roberts, and Samuel Carpenter were Sent on a Message to y^e Govern^r to Acquaint him of their Choice of the Mayor and to Know when the Corporacon Should Wait on him to present the Mayor to be Qualified, and the Gov^r Appointed to Morrow morning at Tenn o Clock."

The new Common Council met Nov. 24, 1718, but there is no minute of Penn's death. Griffith and Pemberton qualify, and carters are forbid to cut up the streets, paved or graveled by individual enterprise, by carrying too heavy loads. Alderman Carter complains that tenants do not pay their stall-rents; the old fine of three shillings for neglect to attend by aldermen and councilmen is revived, and Bickley is ordered to be paid £50 for his fire-engine. At the meeting on Christmas-day the Common Council decline to permit Robert Wood to beg, though he has the Governor's brief for it; and on December 29th, Thomas Redman's plan for new market-stalls (contrived to punish tenants who sublet their stalls for more rent than they pay) is accepted.

Keith announced the death of Penn to Provincial Council on November 3d, and to Assembly on December 17th, in not unfitting phrase. Watson and the Logan papers both mention that he solemnized, with a military procession, the death of the great man of peace. William Penn, Jr., who claimed but never secured the succession, appears to have thanked Keith for this absurd and inappropriate display, but the most grateful testimonial came from the Indians in Pennsylvania, who, when they learned of the death of Onas, sent his widow a letter of condolence, with a present, a garment for their deceased friend, in which to journey safely through the wilderness to which they conceived him to have departed.¹

We have given in full, as a specimen, the annals of one year, not an exceptionally dull one. Such details must be subjected to condensation by hydraulic pressure and the residuum very lightly skimmed, if we would get from them the texture of history, so far as narrative of chronological progress and public event is concerned. Yet it is out of these faint, almost imponderable and impalpable fragments that the true history and mirror of any time must be composed. The pavements, the carters, the pumps, the market people, the ferries,—all these come up with regular frequency; there is little change, yet that is of growth; the present body of municipal ordinances in Philadelphia have been one hundred and eighty

years in forming. The mere fact of this perpetual motion of little change and amendment, however, is evidence of life and growth, and that is nearly all we can get from it.² We do find, however, in April, 1719, that an ordinance has been passed for paving the streets, and that the business of saddlers, cordwainers, and carriers was so important, or the price of leather so high, that an attempt was made to prevent tanners from exporting their products.³

This year, also, Dec. 22, 1719, the first newspaper came out in Philadelphia,—*The American Weekly Mercury*, "Printed by Andrew Bradford, and sold by him and John Copson." The first advertisement in this paper—in the second number—was of a runaway negro, a bright mulatto, Johnny, who ran away

This Day Run away from *John M^r Comb, Junier*, an Indian Woman, about 17 Years of Age, Pitted in the face, of a middle Stature and Indifferent fatt, having on hera Drugat, Wastcoat, and Kersey Petticoat, of a Light Colloour. If any Person or Persons, shall bring the said Girl, to her said Master, shall be Rewarded for their Trouble to their Content

American weekly mercury May 24 1726

A Servant Maids Time for Four Years to be sold by *John Copson,*

Ditto Jan 2 1721.

A Very likely Negro Woman to be sold, aged about 28 Years, fit for Country or City Buiness, Shecan Card, Spin, Knit and Milk; and any other Country Work Whoever has a Mind for the said Negro may repair to Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia.

A Young Negro Woman to be sold by Samuel Kirk in the Second Street, Philadelphia,

Ditto Oct . 6 1791

To be Sold, a very likely Negro Woman fit for all Manner of House Work, as Washing, Starching, Ironing, &c, Enquire of Andrew Bradford,

Ditto Dec. 24. 1723

from his master, Philip Ludwell, of Green Spring, Va.; coachman; five pounds reward. The second advertisement was that of John Copson, one of the proprietors of the paper, who had a negro boy for sale in High Street. By the price current it appears that flour is 28s. in Boston, 14s. to 15s. in New York,

² Except wages—evidence of man's condition and his betterment—they are always interesting. We find Pawlet, the beadle, getting better pay than he had been at first allowed, and June, 1719, the carters, draymen, and porters complaining, are allowed increased rates of compensation: 7½d. for each half-cord of wood hauled; pipe of wine, 1 shilling; hhd. of rum, sugar, or molasses, 10d. (lesser casks in proportion); to porters, for each pipe of wine, 8d.; each hhd. of rum, sugar, or molasses, 6d.; each 100 bushels of salt, 6s. 3d., etc., but carters were forbid to engross fire-wood.

³ Jonathan Dickinson wrote of manufactures this year that iron promised well; labor was well paid; "many who have come over under covenants for four years are now masters of great estates;" Philadelphia was furnishing the best bricks on the continent, with plenty of limestone, leading to solid building; "we have been upon regulating the pavements of our streets,—the footway with bricks, and the cartway with stone,—and this, with buildings, have made bricks so scarce that the inhabitants would go to the kilns and there strive for them at 28 per mill.; that is and will be the price here."

¹ Janney, *Life of Penn.*, pp. 533-34.

9s. 6d. in Philadelphia, showing a truly congested state of transportation.

With a newspaper local news becomes possible. We hear about the river front,—state of the harbor, and whether free from ice or not; about arrivals and departures of vessels, the cargoes they fetch and carry away; about thieves, highwaymen, and sales of property; the newspaper brings us right down to modern times, at once enables the past to talk to us in the language of to-day.¹

The Second Street road was this year joined to the Moyamensing road, and extended to the Delaware opposite Gloucester, and the first attempt was made at quarantine, the Provincial Council being notified by the Governor that Patrick Baird, chirurgeon, of Philadelphia, was appointed health officer, and required to board all incoming vessels and ascertain the condition of their bills of health; this being in consequence of the great increase of immigration. The troublesome matter of the market-stalls and of the Second Street bridge over the dock were also settled upon a satisfactory basis, and the wharves letted out by the year.²

¹ Feb. 23, 1720, river free of ice. Arr "Sea Flower," sloop, Lowes, Del., 700 bush. corn,—bbls beef and pork. Arrest.—Thursday, Mr. Bradford's two servants, who some time ago robbed him of £20 or £30 in cash, a watch and two spoons, were taken by him near Salem, and committed to jail in that place by Squire Rolf. Highway Robbery.—Ten days ago one Bradshaw, of Duck Creek, Kent Co., was riding on the road between Philadelphia and Darby, and was met by four highwaymen, two mounted, two on foot. One of them rid up to him and clapt a pistol to his breast and bid him to deliver his money or he was a dead man. The other three having surrounded him, and he seeing no way to escape, told them he had but two pistols, and he hoped they would spare him something to bear his expense on his journey. They bade him not to prate, but to deliver his money, or, damn him, they would shoot him immediately. The poor fellow was forced to comply. For sale.—Good long tobacco pipes sold at 4th per gross per single gross, and 3rd for a large quantity, by Richard Warder, tobacco pipemaker, living under the same roof with Philip Sing, goldsmith, near the market place, where also all who have any occasion may have their foul pipes burnt for 8th per gross. Lottery.—New brick house, east side Third St., cor. Arch St., 15 ft. front, 26 ft deep, large sash windows, and stories 9 ft. in the clear, lot 100 feet; also 80 ft. of Rachel Whitsoncraft's lot, divided into 16 foot lots; 350 tickets at 20th each; John Read and Henry Frogley have given £500 bonds to the mayor to see a fair drawing. Convicted, in October, Edward and Martha Hunt, of Counterfeiting Spanish silver coins; Edward sentenced to be hung, Martha fined £500. (Hunt was hung. He had been a Preston transported rebel, and made an entirely modern speech on the gallows, declaring his innocence and protesting he was a victim,—“May God forgive them that has a hand in taking away my life any manner of way, and that my blood be not required at their hands, for they know not what they do.”) Any reporter in Philadelphia would feel himself at home in the presence of such a thoroughly modern sheet. He would inquire for it as soon as he entered the coffee-house (on Front St.), but he would have been much more likely to find it, and to go hunt for it, at Robert Mills' Star and Garter Inn, or the Fountain Tavern, in Front St., or the White Horse, in Market St. This old journal gives us an inkling of the severity of the admiralty courts of the day, urged on, it is likely, by the prevalence of piracy. A case of mutiny tried before Judge Asheton resulting in conviction, the four culprits were ordered to stand in the pillory, with their ears nailed to it, in the market-place, for two hours each on two successive market days, on each day to have twenty-one lashes well laid on their bare backs, at eight several places in the city.

² The mayor, William Fishbourne, took Walnut and Chestnut Streets at six pounds per annum, Masters and Redman took High Street at six pounds, the leases being for seven years. With regard to the market-

The Assembly, in February, 1721, passed the law regulating party walls in Philadelphia, which is in force at the present day. The first regulators under the law were George Claypoole, Thomas Redman, Samuel Powell, and James Poole. The arch at Front and Mulberry Streets was pulled down and the rubbish carted away in April, 1721, and the same month the City Council leased to Ralph Asheton, for twenty-one years, at forty shillings per annum, the square between Sassafras and Vine and Sixth and Seventh Streets,—a test by which to measure the enhancement of values. Keith, wearying of the Assembly, perhaps, tried to make the City Council feel the weight of his authority, but the quiet burghers let him know they knew what they were at better than he did, and suggested to him to mind his own business. The rebuff was the more effective from being so mildly delivered. Roger Mompesson, judge of the admiralty, on the other hand, when two persons were convicted before him of “denying the King,” put them in the pillory under the court-house for one hour on two market days, each bearing the label “I stand here for speaking contemptuously against my sovereign Lord, King George,” one of them moreover paying a fine of twenty marks, the other being whipped, with forty lashes, at the cart-tail. Copson, the publisher, at this time opened an insurance office in High Street, “to prevent the necessity of sending to London,” and he guaranteed his patrons the most responsible underwriters in the province.³

Beer appears to have been liable to adulteration even at this early day, for we find the Assembly, while providing that every cask should be gauged before sale, anxious also to forbid the use of any foreign substance for sophisticating the good malt liquor. It appears by this act that among the things so used were molasses, coarse sugar, melada, honey, foreign grains, Guinea pepper, etc.

The City Council was anxious to get entire control of the public ferries, and the Assembly, without con-



stalls, Alderman Redman agreed to build thirty stalls for four hundred pounds, heightening the arches and pillars. The bridge, as wide as the street, was to cost one hundred and fifty-five pounds.

³ The “solid men” of Philadelphia of this day included John Cadwalader, Henry Hodge, Edward Roberts, Andrew Bradford, John Copson, Robert Ellis, Charles Reid, David Breintnall, Richard Glymar, John Hyatt, Thomas Trese, Oliver Gallerty, William Bowell, George Calvert, John Brooks, Benjamin Paschall, Thomas Nickson, William Branson, Anthony Morris, and William Bantofes. The names of these are all signed to an agreement to take Lyons dollars at 6s., English crowns at 7s. 6d., half-crowns at 3s. 9d., English shillings at 18s., English sixpence at 9d. in proclamation money, showing a premium of fifty per cent. on sterling at this time. The value of the Pennsylvania pound currency must therefore at this time have been \$3.33.

ceding this at once, did yield the Schuylkill ferry to the corporation, and set a new scale of ferry toll-rates, the key to which was :

1 person.....	1 penny.
1 horse.....	1 "
1 coach.....	1 shilling.
1 loaded cart.....	1 "
1 unloaded cart.....	6 pence.
1 head of cattle.....	3 halfpence.

The corporation contracted with Aquila Rose to keep the new Schuylkill ferry, giving him a twenty-one years' lease, provided he improved the approaches to the ferry with a causeway, a house, and a boat and ferry house.¹

Butchers were forbidden to kill animals in their stalls or in the streets, and it was made a finable offense for butchers or other persons to smoke in the market-house and stalls. It was already against the law, by act of Assembly, to smoke in the streets. Palatines at this time were imported in lots, and their services, for five years, were advertised at ten pounds per head. The manner of the advertisement makes it certain that the condition of these servants, until sold, was very similar to that of slaves or convicts. The negroes were perhaps worse off, but their benighted condition appears to have awakened compassion, for a person at this time offers in the *Mercury* his gratuitous services "to teach his poor brethren, the Male Negroes, to read the Holy Scriptures, &c., in a very uncommon, expeditious, and delightful manner."²



STONE PRISON, CORNER OF HIGH AND THIRD STS.
[From an old drawing in the Philadelphia Library.]

The Free Society of Traders, from which so much had been looked for and which yielded so little fruit,

¹ Aquila Rose was an early literary celebrity of Philadelphia, the friend of the Muses and of James Logan. Franklin relates in his autobiography that when he went to pay his first visit to Kelmer he found that worthy just setting up an elegy on Aquila Rose. He was a poet himself, native of England, came to Philadelphia, and died in August, 1723, aged twenty-eight years. His son, Joseph Rose, Franklin's apprentice, collected his verses and published them in 1740.

² This person, undoubtedly a Quaker, urged that his services should be adopted by falling into verse:

"The great Jehovah from above,
Whose Christian name is LIGHT AND LOVE,
In all His works will take delight,
And wash poor Hagar's BLACKMOORS white.
Let none condemn this undertaking
By silent thought or noisy speaking;
They're fools whose bolts soon shot upon
The mark they've looked but little on."

came to an end in March, 1723, an act of Assembly then having put its property into the hands of trustees for sale to pay its debts. The trustees were Charles Read, Job Goodson, Evan Owen, George Fitzwalter, and Joseph Pigeon. These soon disposed of the property. The municipal corporation also sold the old city prison for seventy-five pounds, the new stone jail and work-house, southwest corner High and Third Streets, being completed. Two prisoners attempted to break this jail soon after it was occupied, but failed.

The financial situation of Philadelphia at this time was not wholesome. Perhaps to some of the men in affairs to-day the following exhibit may appear trivial; it is still the fact that it gave the Common Council great concern, the more so that it appears to have been difficult to get at the figures, and only by repeated endeavors was the committee appointed to settle the public accounts of the city induced to report.

CORPORATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

Dr. 1723.	£	s.	d.
8 mo. 1, To Robert Asheton so much due him.....	71	7	4
12 mo., To William Nichols for Carting Gravel, Earth, &c., for paying abt y ^e Court House.....	7	8	0
" To Samuel Johnson for painting the Market House.....	7	2	0
1 mo, 1724, To Wm Wray's Acc ^t for paying 408 y ^d about the Market Stalls & for 6 Loads of Stones & haling for y ^e same.....	11	6	6
" To Wm. Fishbourn Ball ^s of his Acc ^t	76	14	8
" To Wm Pawlet.....	25	2	8½
" To Thomas Hill.....	70	0	0
	£209	1	½

CORPORATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

Cr. 1723.	£	s.	d.
8 mo. 1, By William Carter for Ball ^s of his Acc ^t	49	18	0½
" More for outstanding Debts due on the Stalls to be Accounted for when rec'd..... £37 4s. 10½d.			
" By John Leach for Rent to 1 8 mo, 1723.....	20	0	0
" By Sarah Redman for Rent to 24 4 mo, 1723.....	9	0	0
By estate of Thomas Masters, Do.....	9	0	0
By Owen Roberts for Ball ^s of his Acc ^t to the 5 mo., 1723....	78	9	9
	£166	7	9½
Ball ^s which is the present Debt of the Corp.....	42	13	5
	£209	1	½

As is apt to be the case, this deficit led to heroic financing, and the floating debt became a real one. The city treasurer was ordered to pay over to the treasurer of the city and county the avails from the sale of the old city prison; the mayor was ordered to pay off and take up the bonds given by ex-Mayor Fishbourn for the money lent for building the market-stalls; and the mayor was ordered to complete a loan of £300 granted by the Assembly to the city from the money in the hands of the loan-office, and another of the same amount, money granted for building roads and bridges. A committee was appointed to see to the erection of the new structures, and they were authorized to draw at once for one-third of the £300. Debts were then paid to the amount of £282 8s. 9d. permanent obligations, and £60 19s. 2d. floating debt, and so a bonded interest-bearing debt of £600 was created.

In the Assembly of 1725-26 some acts were passed showing the growth of Philadelphia in municipal quality; as, for example, one providing for inspecting and branding flour to prevent the export

of that which was not merchantable; one to provide for a powder-house on Pegg's property, north of the city, and *entailing* the office of keeper upon William Chancellor, and his heirs and assigns, upon condition of his erecting a proper structure. For keeping powder he was to collect 12 pence per barrel for the first six months, and 6 pence for each month thereafter. It was in this year also that we have the first intimation of a public conveyance for hire for the use of the citizens and strangers. It was advertised in the *Mercury* that "the four-wheeled chaise belonging to David Evans is now intended to be continually kept in order by Thomas Skelton, near the Three Tons, in Chestnut Street." From Philadelphia to Germantown, four persons, 12s. 6d.; Frankford, 10s.; Gray's Ferry, in the morning, 10s.; in the afternoon, 7s. 6d.

Keith left his place reluctantly, and his successor, Maj. Patrick Gordon, was qualified as Lieutenant-Governor June 22, 1726. Keith probably had some followers, but it is likely the greater part of the community beheld his withdrawal with a sense of relief. Beyond reinstating James Logan, Gordon made no changes, and announced a conservative and conciliatory policy. He stated that the home government were not content with the currency issues, but that gold and silver were not now at such a premium as had ruled a few months before. At the same time he thought that the inflation of the currency had stimulated industry to new enterprises, such as hemp- and silk-growing. Of the latter he seems to have had the most unbounded hopes, the cause of which probably is that Benjamin Franklin had begun to think much of silk-culture at this time. The province and city certainly were prosperous. The Assembly, in an address to the Governor, said, "There has been more goods imported and more ships built in this place on British account than was ever known of at any time before."¹

Gordon, frank, bluff soldier, kept the loyal anniversaries, and the people celebrated them with him; as, for instance, when the birthday of the Prince of Wales was made a festival at the Governor's house, with drinking of health, salutes of cannon from the decorated shipping, the Governor's house illuminated, and even a ball given, said to have been the first on record in Philadelphia. But there were riots, too, at a later date, in one of which the pillory and stocks in

the market-place were burned down by the mob, compelling the Governor to issue a proclamation.

New Castle and Kent Counties (Delaware) now had a currency of their own, uncurrent in Philadelphia unless by consent, and the following merchants are found advertising in the *Mercury* that they will take bills of these counties: James Logan, William Allen, William Atwood, White & Taylor, Israel Pemberton, James Baily, John Derper, Catherine Smith, Anthony Morris, Michael Downes, Joseph Barger, Philip Doz, William Masters, George Mifflin, Theodore Chase, Job Goodson, Thomas Peters, Matthew Birchfield, Evan Owen, Richard Preston, William Branson, Andrew Robeson, John Cadwallader, Francis Harding, Richard Parker, John Leech, Henry Hodge, Benjamin Paschall, Simon Edgell, Thomas Masters, Clement Plumsted, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Preston, Isaac Norris, Jr., Sarah Redman, Nathaniel Owen, Alexander Woodrop, Samson Cary, Robert Ellis, Joseph Turner, Samuel Hasell, George Claypoole, Charles Read, Joseph England, Rice Peters, William Moss, Mary Calvers, John Reeve, Casper Wister, Richard Robinson, Nathaniel Edgecomb, Edward Roberts, Boulah Coates, Ralph Sandiford, William Corker, James Tuthill, Martha Aspdin, William Till, Thomas Griffiths, Edward Farmer.

In March, 1727, occurred a great storm and flood, and the country was swept by such a raging sickness that the Assembly could not meet until the regular time for session had gone by. There was a conference, however, to enable the Governor to explain that the bills of the province would need to be called in, in consequence of the "horrid attempt of some of the wickedest of men to adulterate the bills of credit" of the province.² The bills were called in and counterfeiting made a capital crime. At the same time a memorial was prepared with a view to conciliate the hostility of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to the paper-money scheme. This memorial represented everything as *couleur de rose* in connection with the Pennsylvania scheme of finance. The lords probably were not convinced, but experience had taught them the futility of opposing paper-money issues in the colonies.

Stringent measures were adopted for the effective inspection of beef and pork for exportation; and the Governor and Assembly showed themselves in a complete panic in regard to the influx of Palatines and other foreigners, the redemptioners now including Swiss, Scotch, English, and Irish, as well as Germans. If the fear of the authorities had prevailed at this time, the bone and marrow of the population of Central Pennsylvania to-day would have been kept out of the province. The Common Council appears to

¹ Vessels built in Philadelphia.

Year.	Vessels.	Tons.
1722.....	10	458
1723.....	13	507
1724.....	19	959

Commerce of the Port.

Date.	Entries and Clearances.	Tons.
1719, November 1st.....	128	4514
1720, ".....	140	3982
1721, ".....	111	3711
1722, ".....	96	3531
1723, ".....	99	3942
1724, ".....	119	5450
1725, ".....	140	6655

² This attempt was apparently successful, so far at least as the spurious notes gaining circulation, for we find in the proceedings of Common Council, 6th Feb. 1727-28, a petition of John Hawkins, asking to be released of a fine of one hundred pounds "set upon him by a Court of Record of this City for Counterfeiting a Bill of Credit of this Province."

have been angry with Samuel Keimer, the printer, for attempting to get up a lottery; but it was more busy about the flagstaff on Society Hill, the Governor having presented the corporation with a new flag, made by William Chancellor, sail-maker, at a cost of £13 10s., and the celebrating the birthday of the son of the Prince of Wales. This—the prince was George III.—occurred on May 31st. It was Sunday, but the event was not neglected. There was a reunion at Governor Gordon's house, where the health of the king was drunk amid salvos of artillery. Next day the festival was renewed. The Governor kept open house to the gentry, and there was an entertainment and ball at night.

Old George I. died June 11th, and George II. was proclaimed in the market-place in Philadelphia, August 31st. The new king's birthday was celebrated in October, when Chancellor's (the sail-maker) house was availed of for a ship-owners' entertainment, with twenty-one pieces of cannon firing salutes in the garden; a ball at the Governor's following, and next day a feast by Mayor Charles Read, and a dinner by the grand jury on Wednesday. What the members of the Society of Friends said about these things is not put upon record.

At this time the Assembly sat in the house of John Eyer, paying him ten pounds per annum rent. We discover that the members already knew how to practice the device now known as a "dead-lock," absenting themselves so as to prevent a quorum when distasteful business was forced upon them. The controversy was as trivial as its cause,—the vagaries of Sir William Keith,—and no room need be made for it here, though it led to a war of pamphlets, and there were some constitutional questions involved. Keith, a member elect of the Assembly, absented himself and went to England. He did not return.

The first session of Assembly in 1729 was held at the house of Capt. Anthony, and was given chiefly to a consideration of the paper-money question. In April there was excitement in the city in consequence of the arrival in the Delaware of a vessel containing emigrants down with a malignant disease, probably ship-fever. It was the ship "Dorothy," John Bedford master; she was boarded by Health Officers Dr. Thomas Graeme and Lloyd Zachary, under direction of Governor and Council and of Mayor Thomas Lawrence and Recorder Andrew Hamilton; forbidden to come within a mile of the city or to land goods or passengers until the sheriff selected some safe place on shore for the sick. The spot fixed on was the Blue House Tavern, corner of Tenth and South Streets, and here quarantine was duly and safely performed, while the ship was effectually disinfected.

Governor Gordon, on returning from his successful visit to and conference with the Indians at Conestoga, was accorded a really flattering and handsome reception by the citizens of Philadelphia. "He was met by Richard Hill and numerous citizens at a distance

from the city and welcomed by a handsome collation served up in the woods. He was received at the boundary of the city by Thomas Lawrence, the mayor, and a number of ladies and gentlemen in coaches, and escorted to his mansion by a cavalcade of two hundred, 'the largest ever met in this province.'" It is quite possible this demonstration may have had some political significance. The Assembly was in session at the time; the Governor known to be opposed to a new issue of paper money; the majority of the Assembly, on the other hand, in favor of a very large issue, fifty thousand pounds. A compromise was effected by the Governor consenting to thirty thousand pounds, but not before much disorder, many "delegations" coming in from the country to compel the Assembly to grant the increased currency demanded. The riot act had to be proclaimed, and some of the bolder "lobbyists" were arraigned for contempt of the Assembly and trying to intimidate it. Samuel Mickle, George Claypoole, George Coates, and Jonathan Kempster were taken into custody and brought before the bar of the house, and the two latter were reprimanded by the Speaker and compelled to ask pardon on their knees. The Governor, in signing the bill, said that "so great and so indecent a noise has been made in some parts of this province that, to prevent the insults intended by some misled people spirited up to mischief, we were obliged to put a late act of Parliament in force amongst us."¹

The passage of the paper-money bill, however, put the Assembly in a liberal mood. It contained a grant of two thousand pounds for the building of a State-House, and the dolorous petition of the overseers of the poor of Philadelphia for relief on account of the destitutes thrown upon their charge through the great immigration opened the way to a loan of one thousand pounds to the mayor and commonalty for the building of an almshouse. The Common Council took possession of this money Oct. 12, 1730, and ordered a plan to be prepared. The Assembly also passed an act, the object of which was to prevent the immigration or importation of poor and impotent persons, with regulations very similar to those which are in force at the present time. Other acts were passed, requiring hawkers to give bond that the goods they sold were as represented; forbidding lotteries under a penalty of one hundred pounds; forbidding the holding of vendues at night, or in the streets of Philadelphia at any time, and giving the Governor power to appoint a vendue-master for Philadelphia. Patrick Baird was the first appointee. Edward Carter was allowed ten pounds for hoisting the flag on Society

¹ "The affairs of that year (1728) and the next, when the whole country was maddening about paper money, gave us a vast deal of trouble, and it was then thought that nothing but putting the English Act against riots in force here would have prevented the utmost disorders. This was most happily and seasonably done by Andrew Hamilton's means; but two days before two hundred men were, by an agreement, to come down out of the country and attack the opponents of a new emission of paper money, in which those of the town were to join."

Hill on Sundays and holidays, and the treasurer of the province was directed to get a new flag. At this time the Common Council ordered that the heirs of Joshua Carpenter should give up Potter's field,—its site is the inclosure now known as Washington Square. Jacob Shoemaker got the new lease. A number of new stalls were ordered to be erected in the market.

Punishments at this time were very severe, but the law was not equally administered. Glasgow, an Indian, convicted of larceny, was made to stand an hour in the pillory and then take twenty lashes at the cart's tail in six places in the city. A ship's captain, proven to have killed a passenger by barbarous torture and keel-hauling, is tried in Admiralty Court and acquitted. James Prouse and James Mitchell, convicted of burglary, are sentenced to be hung. Wednesday, Jan. 14, 1730, they are led out for execution. One is but nineteen; the judges have recommended to mercy, but the Governor's heart is steeled by remembrance of the frequency of crime and the increase of vagrants from Europe. An example is necessary. At one o'clock P.M. the bell tolls, a great crowd gathers at the prison; the irons are taken off the unhappy lads. Prouse cries hysterically; Mitchell, always calm, tries to comfort him in a tender, soothing way. "*Do not cry, Jemmy; 'twill soon be over, and then we shall both be easy.*" Seated on their coffins in a cart, they lead the procession to the gallows, Mitchell, always sustaining his weaker companion, bearing himself like a man. The tree is reached; they are asked to confess and speak to the people. Prouse mutters some remarks, but Mitchell only says, with serene face, "*What would you have me say? I am innocent of the fact.*" Told that his remark reflected on the jury, he repeats,—"*I am innocent, and it will appear so before God.*" and sits down. They are ordered to their feet again; the ropes are thrown over the beam, the sheriff begins to read. It is their death-warrant—but, why those words, *recommended to me for pity and mercy?* It is the reprieve! Mitchell's nervous tension yields to sudden collapse; he falls in a dead faint and scarcely may be recovered; but after a while reviving, falls to crying,—"*I have been a great sinner; guilty of almost every crime, but never of theft. God bless the Governor!*" And so they return again to prison, the weak man quite revived, the strong man still all a shiver with the nearness of the touch of death. Something dramatic in that scene, given, much abridged, from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Jan. 20, 1730, supposed to be from Franklin's pen. In the same number of the paper is an account of a duel. Two young Hibernians, Saturday last, on Society Hill, met at 9 A.M. and fought a duel before an array of spectators. Cause of quarrel not known, nor was it difficult to part them, so the whole scene is looked upon to be only a piece of theatrical representation. The same day one Sturgis, upon some difficulty with his wife, determined to drown himself in the river, she going with him, kind soul, to see it faithfully per-

formed, and indeed stood by silent and unconcerned during the whole transaction. He jumped in near Carpenter's wharf, but was timely taken out again, and so both went home disappointed.

In April this year the most serious fire since its foundation visited the city, breaking out in a store near Fishbourne's wharf, below Chestnut Street. It consumed all the stores on the wharf and some houses up King Street, during which it burnt the fine houses of Jonathan Dickinson and two others. Loss, five thousand pounds, heavy for the period. The engines were inadequate, and there was much thieving complained of in connection with this fire, a new proof of the immorality which was spreading. In fact, Philadelphia was now growing to be a city; 171 vessels cleared, 161 entered during the year, 622 votes cast, 227 deaths.¹

Another evidence that Philadelphia had become a city was the fact that William Fishbourne, ex-mayor, a man of many great trusts, and now trustee of the Loan Office, was this year declared a defaulter, some two thousand pounds of the public funds in his hands disappearing. He alleged robbery, but the Assembly did not believe, or, at least, would not relieve him. It required him to give security for the lost money, and made him ineligible to any office of trust or profit.

The City Council, March 3, 1731, decided to buy for the almshouse site the lot of Aldran Allen, near Society Hill, price two hundred pounds. This was a green meadow, the square now bounded by Third, Fourth, Spruce, and Pine Streets. The building seems to have been commenced without delay, and to have been completed by next year. We have no account of its appearance. The front was towards the east, entered by a stile from Third Street, the great gate being on Spruce Street. It was used for

¹ The merchants and others agreeing to take New Castle money at par this year were Andrew Hamilton, Clem. Plumsted, Sam. Hasell, Pat. Graeme, Arent Hassert, George McCall, Henry Hodge, Thomas Bourne, Mark Joyce, John Hyatt, Benj. Shoemaker, John Buley, Thomas Pryor, Blakston Ingedes, William Williams, Samuel Baker, Jonathan Palmer, Thomas Marriott, John Watson, Sam. Preston, I. Norris, Jr., Thomas Sober, John Richmond, George Claypoole, John Brighurst, Geo. Emlen, Thos. Holloway, John Heathcoat, Zach. Hutchins, John Kay, Dan. Hybert, Matt. Hewghes, Ab'm Chapman, Isaac Pennington, Isaac Norris, Thos. Lawrence, Peter Lloyd, Geo. Grownen, Jr., Ben. Godefroy, Ant. Morris, Charles Read, Ralph Ashteton, Wm. Rawle, Cassel & Maugridge, Michael Hulings, Richard Allen, Samuel Cooper, Francis Knowles, Joseph Hinchman, John Renshaw, Matthias Aspden, Jacob Shute, William Tidmarsh, Christian Van Horn, Jno. A. De Normandie, John Baker, George Clough, James Logan, Thomas Griffith, White & Taylor, James Hume, Alexander Woodruff, Thomas Willing, William Masters, James Parrock, John Bowyer, Josh. Maddox, Thomas Leech, Wm. Corker, Wm. Chancellor, William Carter, Edward Roberts, Lees & Parsons, Thomas Sharp, Arnold Cassel, Thos. Ashteton, Charles West, Robert Worthington, John Mason, John Warder, Simon Edgell, Paul Preston, John Stamper, Jers. Langhorn, Wm. Biles, Thos. Canby, Thos. Watson, John Hall, Joseph Kirkbride, Jr., Paul Blaker, Robert Edwards, Richard Sands, John Claves, William Fishbourne, Wm. Allen, Joseph Turner, Thos. Hutton, Wm. Atwood, Wm. Rabley, John Hopkins, John Cadwallader, Joseph Lynn, Thomas Chase, John Roberts, Joseph Pennock, John Wright, Samuel Gilpin, Geo. Rice Jones, Nath. Watson, Benj. Jones, Thos. Yardley, Wm. Paxson, Thos. Biles, Simon Butler, Tim. Smith, Niel Grand, John Bell.

sick and insane, as well as paupers. There was a piazza all around the building.

The trustees of the State-House fund were Andrew Hamilton, the Speaker of the Assembly, Thomas Lawrence, and Dr. John Kearsley. Oct. 15, 1730, they bought, through William Allen, a lot on the south side of Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, and some other adjoining lots. In February and June, 1732, more lots were bought and the building of the State-House was begun apparently in the summer of 1732. It seems that Kearsley and Hamilton were at cross-purposes in regard to the building. The matter was brought before the Assembly, and, after a full discussion, Hamilton's plans were fully approved and the execution of the work put in his charge. This building must thus be looked upon as entirely Hamilton's work, as old Christ Church is almost entirely Dr. John Kearsley's.

Andrew Bradford was at this time postmaster. In the *Weekly Mercury* of July 20, 1732, he explains that since Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, had become Postmaster-General he had actively sought to extend postal connections southward. Williamsburg was already connected, Edenton shortly would be, and next Charleston. To help this arrangement a distributing-office had been established at Newport, six miles below the falls of Rappahannock, Va. "Hues and cries (for runaways) may be dispersed at the stage-offices at the price of one penny-weight silver at each stage or office where dispersed." Bradford's mail arrangements were as follows: mail from New England, New York, etc., is received in Philadelphia each Wednesday; on Thursday morning it is forwarded to New Castle, arriving at eleven; departs at once to Susquehanna, reaching there at night and laying over until midnight Sunday, when it is forwarded to Joppa, getting there at 6 A.M.; Patapsco Ferry at noon; Annapolis, Monday night at 6 P.M.; lays over six hours, and at midnight starts for Marlborough, arriving at 5 A.M. Tuesday. It is expected in Williamsburg, Thursday, 6 P.M., and to be back in Philadelphia by three o'clock Wednesday. Travelers did not proceed as fast as the mail, but they had greater excuse to rest leisurely in their inns, for the justices of Quarter Sessions regulated ordinary rates, and did not scale them high. Wine, per quart, was 2 shillings; rum, 2 pence per gill; rum punch, with double refined sugar, 1 shilling 4 pence per quart; flip, 8 pence per quart; rum punch, single refined sugar, 1 shilling per quart; arrack, one quart, made into punch, 3 shillings; beer, per quart, 3 pence; best beer, 5 pence; oats, per bushel, 3 shillings 4 pence; cider, per quart, 3 pence; English hay for a horse, for a night, 8 pence; common hay, 5 pence.

In this year, 1732, the smallpox was so severe in Philadelphia that it was difficult to keep the Assembly in session. A deputation of Shawanese Indians

visiting the city, one of the tribe, Quassennungh, was taken down with the pestilence. He was well nursed, and recovered, but the speaker of the delegation, Opakethewa, who stayed with him, took the disease and died. He was given a ceremonious funeral by the authorities, and after he was buried Quassennungh had a relapse, died, and was buried with pomp and solemnity, the ships firing salutes, and two yards of black cloth being sent to the youth's father. A bridge was built by the Assembly this year over Cobb's Creek. The Common Council decided that none but freemen of the city should be eligible to election as common councilmen, and the Board also ordered an ordinance to be drawn to prevent the great nuisance of negro slave gatherings on Sunday, "Gaming, Cursing, Swearing, and Committing many other Disorders," and also to prevent children and white servants from forming crowds on that day, playing games, and making noise in the streets. Palatine immigrants, when they landed, were marched in line to the court-house, where they laid down their guns, met the Governor, subscribed the oaths, saluted the Governor with three volleys, the same to the mayor and sheriff, and so back to the ship.

In August, this year, Hon. Thomas Penn, one of the sons of the proprietary, came out to Philadelphia, receiving much honor and a procession of seven hundred horsemen, speech of welcome by Speaker Hamilton, addresses, reception, and a collation by Common Council. Keimer, in his Barbadoes paper, *The Caribbean*, laughs at the youth, and says he was frightened at the stalwart reception accorded him. The Assembly also gave him a banquet, the chiefs of the Five Nations a pow-wow, the fire-engines played for him, the freeholders feasted him, and the churchwardens and vestry gave him a notable dinner at David Evans' Crown Tavern. On the king's birthday Mr. Penn gave a return banquet, with many toasts, salvos from fifty cannon, and a ball at the Governor's house in the evening.

In 1733-34 a regular stage-line was established to New York, two stage-wagons, conducted by Solomon Smith and James Moore, running back and forth between Burlington and Amboy once a week. The poor-rates seemed to press heavily upon the corporation, leading to complaint of mismanagement at the almshouses and some changes in the system of overseeing, a superintendent being provided for. Public wood-corders were also appointed,—Richard Plummer and Peter Calahoon for High Street wharf, John Joyner for Mulberry Street, and Jeremiah Willis for Chestnut Street and Walnut Street wharves and Blue Anchor landing.

One cause of the high poor-rates was the severe winter of 1732-33. There was fifteen inches of ice in the Schuylkill, and when it broke up in February it caused great damage. Gray's Ferry was injured to the amount of one hundred pounds, two men were drowned at Andrew Robinson's, on Wissahickon, and

all the ferries were blocked. Men sleighed down the Delaware on the ice from Burlington, and it was common to cross to New Jersey in that way. This severe winter was succeeded by a hot, oppressive summer, in which many died from sunstroke.

John Penn, William Penn's oldest living son, with his brother-in-law, Thomas Frame, and the latter's wife, formerly Margaret Penn, together with their family, came to Philadelphia in September. They did not see Wait, the counterfeiter, standing patient in the pillory, nor the whale-cow and calf sporting in the Delaware, yet they saw a goodly sight. Men and women turned out to meet and welcome them, the mayor, recorder, corporation, and all. There was a cavalcade and coach parade, flags flying, and guns firing on Society Hill and from the ships in the river. There were addresses from all the official bodies, and the Common Council gave a banquet which cost £40 12s. 2d. Capt. Norris, with the English frigate "Tartar Pink," was in the harbor at the time, the captain's wife being with him, and the merchants gave the city's distinguished guests a banquet, in addition to the numerous private entertainments. The royal healths were drunk amid salutes of one hundred and forty guns. Possibly it may have been this redundancy of feasting which brought down Michael Welfare, one of the hermits of Conestoga, upon the city, in his linen pilgrim's garb, with his tall staff and long venerable beard, to stand in the market-place and announce the judgments of an offended Deity against the iniquitous place. He railed for a quarter of an hour vehemently, surrounded by a gaping crowd, then returned to his Patmos above the Wissahickon, probably expecting the earthquake to follow at his heels.

At this period population had begun to cross the city's restricted boundaries in more than one direction. There were many settlements in the Northern Liberties. Petitions were numerous to the Provincial Council for the regulation of the high roads to Germantown and Frankford. The lands of Daniel Pegg and William Coates were in part divided into town-lots and built upon, and further improvements were made on the highway from Society Hill towards Gloucester.

In 1735-36 we find further legislation intended to lighten the increasing burthen of keeping the poor and preventing abuses growing out of misconduct or neglect on the part of managers and overseers. In this latter year Anthony Benezet was naturalized, together with Abraham Zimmerman, Christian Weber, Nicholas Keyser, Martin Bitting, Conrad Keer, Conrad Kuster, Jacob Duke, Anthony Zadouski, Hans Pingeman, Andreas Keaver, and Lodowick Pitting. In January the west end of the State-House was ordered to "be wainscotted of a convenient height on three sides, and that the end be neatly wainscotted and finished the whole height for the use of the Assembly." The room thus designated as the chamber of the Legislature is Independence Hall.

John Penn made but a brief stay in the province. He looked after his property and some special industries, such as the manufacture of potash. In September he entertained the General Assembly at Shewbert's London Coffee-House, feasting the city corporation next day, and a short while afterwards set out for New Castle, where he took passage in the London packet, Capt. Budden, wafted eastward by light verses from local bards. His brother, Thomas Penn, remained in the province.

The Schuylkill fisheries had already required to be protected against the reckless and destructive methods of fishermen, their weirs and racks, and a judicious law on this subject had such a salutary effect that the Governor declined to consent to its repeal or modification. Under the old unchecked system the shad were actually hunted, by men on horseback and on foot, into the weirs, and the destruction was inexcusably great. In 1738 the enforcement of this law led to riots in Philadelphia County and on Mingo and Pickering Creeks.

Governor Gordon died Aug. 5, 1736, and was succeeded by James Logan in his capacity as president of Council. Maj. Gordon was exceptionally fortunate in being able to get along fairly well with the Assembly and people. He and his wife were buried in Christ Church, but there is nothing to mark the tomb.

When the new Assembly met, after Logan's accession, it was found necessary to petition the king to interpose to prevent unpleasant consequences pending the settlement of the disputed boundary with Maryland. The legislative body first occupied the State-House in October, 1735. In January, 1736, Province



THE STATE-HOUSE IN 1744.

Hall, the adjoining building, was completed, and the public officers were compelled to move in, with their papers and records, some of them taking it a great hardship, as hitherto people had gone to them and left documents with them at their own domiciles. The property on which the State-House stood had been held in the names of Harrison and Allen, and they were now required to convey it to John Kinsey, Joseph Kirkbride, Caleb Copeland, and Thomas Edwards, in trust for the representatives of the people and the public uses. This trusteeship continued until the Revolution. The lots on the southwest corner of

Chestnut and Fifth Streets and the southeast corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets, were appropriated for two public buildings,—one for the use of the county, the other of the city of Philadelphia, for courts and other public purposes. The accounts of the commissioners for building the State-House were audited in 1738. Hamilton had expended £4043 16s. 11d. on account of the State-House, and was allowed for commissions, services, etc., £402 3s. 9½d. There were still owing small bills amounting to £220 17s. 6d., making the whole of Hamilton's outlay £4666 17s. 11d. Among the credits was £17 "for an old house sold Caleb Ransted." Lawrence and Kearsley had each received their share of the first instalment of £2000 voted by the State for the conducting of the building, being £666 13s. 4d. each of that money. Lawrence had paid £399 19s. 3d., and Kearsley £550. Both of these gentlemen had money in their hands and were allowed a small commission.

There was a great treaty made this year with the chiefs of the Six Nations. The council was held in the Quaker meeting-house, corner of Second and Market Streets, in September and October, under the appropriate auspices of James Logan. One hundred of the chiefs were present, and Logan entertained them for three days at Stenton before the council. At the meeting-house the chiefs sat in the body of the house, the galleries crowded with spectators. The Seneca chief, Kanickhongo, was the principal speaker, and the object of the conference was the continuance of peace and friendship. Many presents were exchanged, and the conference gathered solemnity from the certainty in the minds of all that an Indian war was not far distant.

The commerce of Philadelphia at this time continued to increase. The arrivals between March, 1735, and March, 1736, were two hundred and twelve vessels, clearances two hundred and fifteen vessels, and the ports traded to included London, Antigua, Barbadoes, Bristol, Bermuda, Cadiz, Jamaica, Ireland, Lisbon, Fayal, Newfoundland, St. Kitt's, Turk's Island, Cape Faro, Curacao, Cowes, Dover, Falmouth, Genoa, Gibraltar, Guernsey, Monserrat, St. Eustatia, Tortugas, and Yrica.

The Common Council endeavored to derive a greater income from its stalls outside the court-house and to regulate the conduct of its markets better. It sought again to get control of the ferries, and the proprietary consented to vest in the corporation the ferry-right across the Delaware, foot of High Street, but required the land at Schuylkill ferry to be paid for.

An instance of rude and ungallant justice is afforded at this time in the punishment of Frances Hamilton, a woman caught picking pockets in the market. She was exposed at the top of the court-house steps, her hands bound to the rails and her face turned towards the whipping-post and pillory; after being kept thus for two hours, so that all might know her, she was taken down and publicly whipped.

On Dec. 7, 1736, the Union Fire Company of Philadelphia was established, the organization of which will be found fully treated elsewhere. It originated partly in a suggestion of Benjamin Franklin, and was in undoubted response to the popular need. The winter of 1736-37 was very severe, making the danger greater from fires. The newspapers contain accounts of many persons frozen to death and great injury done by floods when the ice broke in the Schuylkill. One fire during this weather occurred in the house where a strange guest was lodging, an alleged Eastern prince and Christian, Sheik Sidi or Shedi Alhagar, who came with his suite from Europe, taking Barbadoes on his route. James Logan conversed with him, furnishing up his Arabic and Syriac. The sheik was begging, and counted most upon the Friends. He was rather an adventurer, but not an impostor, as there is contemporary Eastern mention of him by travelers not likely to be deceived. His visit was contemporary with rather an alarming comet, but no attempt was made to connect the two.

In 1738 we find the grand jury presenting streets as impassable, as a preliminary to compel them to be paved. This was the case with parts of Front Street, Sassafras, and High Streets, etc., and in connection with this paving was begun the system of underground drainage by arched culverts which makes all the subsoil of Philadelphia so dry to-day.

James Logan's presidency terminated June 1, 1738, when he was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor George Thomas. The latter came in upon the edge of troublesome times, nor did he find the Assembly complaisant. He had an early collision with them upon the subject of increasing the paper-money issue, but yielded his judgment to theirs in time. In the summer of 1739 came news of difficulty with Spain about Campeachy logwood and Tortugas salt, and in August Governor Thomas issued his letters of marque to the first privateer which ever fitted out at and sailed from Philadelphia, the sloop "George," ten guns and ten swivels, William Axon, commander. Volunteers were invited to rendezvous at the Crooked Billet and sign articles. The "George" sailed in November, returning the next July with some cocoa and goods. The Governor was eager to put the province in a state of defense, but the Quaker influence frustrated him. He abounded in other suggestions, to which the House listened attentively, but no more. The House settled with Andrew Hamilton, then Speaker, for the completion of the State-House, and at the end of that session the old worthy withdrew from public life in a patriotic and stirring address.

Sanitary measures occupied the immediate public attention of Philadelphia at this time, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to compel the removal of the slaughter-houses, tan-yards, lime-pits, and skinner's yards, the offal of which polluted the dock, on the margin of which they were placed. The trades triumphed for a while, and made no little jubilee over

their success in frustrating "such a daring attempt on the liberties of the tradesmen of Philadelphia." It is amusing to encounter the same class of arguments precisely which are to-day heard under similar circumstances. The screen of abuses has been in use long enough to be well-nigh worn out now, one should think.¹

In 1740 the controversy between the Governor and Assembly on the public defenses grew angry. They fell out also about the proper plan of raising money in Philadelphia, the mode of levying taxes having caused discontent. There was an issue between the Assembly and the corporation upon the question of giving the levy-power to assessors and commissioners; the mayor and Council appealed to the Governor, and he sided with them. In fact, the new bill did impair some of the powers of the corporation under the charter, as it was meant to do, and the Governor stated the case. A constitutional question was raised on his authority to assign reasons for opposing a bill, and so a new ground of controversy arose. The Assembly, in fact, suspected the Governor of deliberate, preconceived intention to overturn the charter and subvert the liberties of the province. As Israel Pemberton said, "they knew what the Governor was before he came over," and were prepared for him.

April 14, 1740, war with Spain was proclaimed at the court-house; the Governor and corporation were present; salute of cannon upon Society Hill; liquor free to all, loud health-drinking to the royal family, and bonfires at night. The Governor at once issued proclamation authorizing a levy of troops for the expedition against Cuba, the following being the recruiting officers named for Philadelphia City and County: Capt. Palmer, Thomas Lawrence, Samuel Love, at Perkiomen; Marcus Huling, Manatawny; Owen Evan, Limerick; Alexander Woodrop, and James Hamilton. It was expected to find plenty of recruits among the continental foreigners in the province, but they did not respond. Many flattering inducements were thrown out, and when these failed the Governor countenanced the enlistment of foreigners, a practice very injurious and leading to serious trouble and vehement remonstrance. When the

Governor called for supplies the Assembly retaliated upon him, and thus the endless irritation was kept up.

1741 was an unhappy year for Philadelphia,—discontent, wars, rumors of wars, pestilence, famine and distress among the poor, dissensions among those in power and place. The currency was disordered, the home government and the city people differing about the rates to be paid for foreign coins.² There were large fires, the Governor's mills, on the Cohocksink, and "Hamilton's buildings," on the river front, being burnt. The severe weather of the winter caused so much distress among the poor that the regular resources were exhausted, and the Common Council had to make an additional appropriation and appoint a committee to solicit subscriptions for relief.³ There were riots (growing out of the scarcity of small change), so that the Common Council had to establish a rallying signal for the citizens to rendezvous at central points for the suppression of outbreaks, and order a sort of curfew to compel negroes to go home early and cease their riotous assemblages. There was a serious epidemic outbreak of yellow fever, the cause of which was either West Indies importation or the bad condition of the dock. The Governor and Assembly had a bitter quarrel about it, and the result was a heavy increase of mortality. There were seven hundred and eighty-five burials during the year, an increase of five hundred and five over the preceding year. The disease was called the Palatine fever, and

² Many merchants advertised their willingness to take English guineas at 34s.; French guineas, 33s. 6d.; moldores, 43s. 6d.; Arabian chequins, 13s. 6d.

³ Upper Delaware Ward, William Till, Thomas Bourne; Lower Delaware, John White, Richard Sowell; High Street, Nathaniel Allen and William Cooper; Chestnut, Joshua Maddox, Robert Strettle; Walnut, Samuel Mickle, Daniel Radley; Dock, Samuel Powell, Jr.; South Shippen; North, Benjamin Shoemaker, Samuel Parker; South, George House, James Bainbridge; Middle, John Warder, Hugh Roberts; Mulberry, Septimus Robinson, William Parsons. They raised in three days £204 14s. 1d. But there was a good deal of money in the community. There is extant an enumeration of taxables made this year, and for the city we have:

Dock Ward.....	183	High Street.....	151
Lower Delaware.....	115	Mulberry.....	309
Walnut.....	98	North.....	182
South.....	105		
Middle.....	236	Total.....	1621
Upper Delaware.....	89		

The Whole County,—forty-seven townships,—3442.

Amity.....	70	Moreland Manor.....	125
Abington.....	92	Maiden Creek.....	75
Allamingle.....	37	Merion, Upper.....	52
Byberry.....	52	Merion, Lower.....	101
Bristol.....	64	Manatawny.....	111
Buckley.....	72	Northern Liberties.....	151
Cresham.....	60	Norriton.....	25
Cheltenham.....	67	Oxford.....	78
Colebrook Dale.....	85	Olney.....	58
Douglas.....	58	Providence.....	146
Dublin, Lower.....	125	Perkiomen and Skippack.....	73
Dublin, Upper.....	77	Pasayunk and Moyamensing	78
Exeter.....	59	Plymouth.....	36
Francfort.....	76	Roxborough.....	48
Frederick.....	87	Salford.....	174
Germautown.....	168	Springfield.....	29
Gwynedd.....	93	Towamensin.....	55
Hanover, Upper.....	97	Whippan (Whitpain).....	56
Horseshoe.....	80	White Marsh.....	70
Kingsess.....	59	Worcester.....	89
Limerick.....	59	Wayamensing.....	25
Montgomery.....	54	Total.....	3422

¹ Franklin had his fling at them, of course; but, as his way was, anonymously. Speaking of the tanners' advocate at the bar of the Assembly, he said,—

"The youth that appeared for them said much about the sweetness and cleanliness of their trade, and said that he could smell no stink."

"That their trade was sweet, and affirmed that it was untrue to say otherwise."

"That what some people called a stink from the pits was a sweet smell."

"That the tanners were as healthy as other men; adding, Are we not healthy men?"

"The weight of these and other reasons, and the behavior and manner of their speaker, was very extraordinary and amazing, and drew the eyes of all that were present. He assumed a military air and strut, placed himself at the front of the tanners, putting one leg foremost; he drew his handkerchief, rolled it up in his hand, gave it a few elegant flirts and tosses, and, having gained a proper posture, he looked on the spectators with an air of grandeur, self-sufficiency, and contempt."

two hundred and six of these immigrants fell victims to it. The quarantine arrangements appear to have been defective. Dr. Graeme's bill for twenty years' services was rejected, and he neglected his duties in boarding entering vessels. He was superseded, and the Assembly elected Dr. Zachary in his stead,—another cause for quarreling.

The military and naval spirit rose high, however. Seven companies were recruited for Cuban service, a part raised in Philadelphia, and the little privateer "George" covered herself with glory. Her commander, Lieut. John Sibbald, beat off a superior force of Spaniards, and on his return was presented with a sword. The success of the "George" led to the dispatch of another privateer, the ship "Dursley Galley," Capt. Neate, twenty-two six-pounders and eight swivels, which had a severe contest off Jamaica with Spanish privateers, winning the battle after severe loss.

The pestilence and quarantine troubles of 1741 led to the establishment of a pest-house and quarantine station, the first motion for which came from the Governor, on petition of the German immigrants. The House appointed a committee to select a site, and this committee—Joseph Harvey, Thomas Tatnall, Joseph Trotter, James Morris, and Oswald Peel—chose a low island on the southwest side of the Schuylkill, near its mouth,—a double island, bounded west by Minqua's Kill, and at this time called Fisher's Island, from the owner. It was named Province Island, and contained three hundred and forty-two acres, with some buildings. It cost, with the negroes belonging to it, £1700, and was held by the committee named, in trust for the purposes designated, some of the buildings being used for hospital purposes, the others leased to a tenant. Six acres next to the Delaware were reserved for the new hospital to be erected. The Governor or any two justices of the peace could cause the removal to the island of any one imported into the province who was ill of an infectious disease, to be nursed and attended there at the expense of the owners of the vessel on which he was passenger. He could not leave without a permit, and there was a fine for harboring him if he escaped.

There was now a sharp drawing of party lines in the province and in Philadelphia. On the one side the Quakers, the country party, the majority in the Assembly, on the other the Governor's, or gentlemen's party. Both sides courted the Germans, grown strong and influential enough to hold the balance of power. The elections in Philadelphia for city and county were held at the court-house on High Street, and in October, 1742, both sides were excited and eager for the contest. Inspectors were usually chosen on election morning by a majority of citizens present. On this occasion the Governor's friends, expecting trouble, proposed overnight to choose equal numbers from each party. This was rejected by the country party, with whom the Germans sided.

In voting, the citizens went up the narrow outside steps of the court-house to the balcony, where their votes were taken in at the window. It was alleged that the country party had been in the habit of holding control of these steps, and thus, in some measure, regulating those who passed up and down. On this election day, early in the morning, a party of about seventy sailors, mostly strangers, from the vessels in the stream, and especially the ships "Hanover" and "Bath," marched noisily through the streets. The mayor and recorder spoke to them. They said they only meant a harmless lark, but that they had as much right to be at the polls as the alien Germans. When the polls were opened Recorder William Allen was defeated for inspector by Isaac Norris, and the sheriff announced the fact from the balcony, speaking, as was the custom, through his speaking-trumpet. The sailors at once began a sally with their clubs, but retired when the mayor read a proclamation against disorder. As soon as the voting began, however, they returned and took possession of the stairs. The country party at once fell on the sailors, and a general battle ensued with fists, sticks, stones, clubs, and whatever missile or weapon came to hand. There were the usual casualties of such a "free fight," the result of which was the sailors were driven to their vessels, fifty of them being captured, including Capts. Mitchell and Redmond, and committed to prison. After that the candidates of the country party were re-elected. Among those beaten badly were Anthony Morris, Sr., George Shed, Thomas Lloyd, William Fishbourn, Joseph Wharton, William Hudson, and Israel Pemberton, Sr. The members elected from Philadelphia County were Thomas Leech, Robert Jones, Isaac Norris, Edward Warner, Owen Evans, James Morris, Joseph Trotter, and John Kinsey, Speaker; for the city, Israel Pemberton and Oswald Peale, burgesses. A good deal of "investigating" was done, but nothing came of it.

There was a remarkable conference with the Indians this year at the Quaker meeting-house, but this has already been described in a preceding chapter. The privateer "George," Capt. Sibbald, with a consort, the "Joseph and Mary," continued her notable career on the sea, making profitable captures and performing daring deeds, but not preventing the Spanish from capturing seventeen vessels, bound to or from Philadelphia, close to the capes. On a second cruise the "George" and consort made many valuable prizes, their plunder being worth nearly one hundred thousand pounds. This success led to imitation. In 1743 the "George" and her tender were sold and the "Wilmington," a ship of three hundred tons, fitted out with a strong battery and a crew of one hundred and fifty men under Sibbald. Capt. Dowell commanded a schooner consort, and the two cruised on the Spanish Main, taking many prizes. Besides these other privateers were fitted out, "Le Trembleur" (the Quaker), Capt. Sears, fourteen guns, and the ship

"Tartar," thirty-six guns, Capt. Mackey. The latter capsized and sunk in the Delaware while going out, with her crew and many leading citizens on board, filling many houses with mourning.

At this time, during 1742-44, the municipality was active in paving and improving the streets, the system of taxing for such objects having become general. The *Gazette* describes a scene in the streets, during Quaker meeting, when Benjamin Lay attempted to bear a testimony against the vanity of tea-drinking by publicly smashing his late wife's china service. He had no sooner begun the work of destruction, however, than the crowd set upon him, overturned him, and broke or carried off the china he had refused to sell. In February, 1743, Tom Bell, a notorious swindler, known throughout the colonies, was arrested for representing himself to be Governor Livingston's son. He escaped, however, and indeed it was said of him that neither could bars or bolts hold him, nor was there a disguise which he would not successfully assume,—Bell, Livingston, Burnet, Rowland, Fairfax, Wentworth, parson, rustic, lawyer, merchant, doctor, sailor; everywhere he lived by his wits, and all the community were his gulls.

The Governor, in 1743, confessed himself starved out. There was no legislative work done, but the Governor had received no pay, and he sued for peace. A bargain was struck,—Thomas signed six bills, and he received fifteen hundred pounds "back pay." A war with France was daily looked for now, and all understood the need for harmony and wakefulness. Further progress was made in completing the State-House and court-houses, and the plan was now pretty well worked out, the building being finished in 1744. Some wharves of importance, such as Powell's and Nixon's, were built about this time, the corporation encouraging such work by giving a lease of twenty-five years to every one building an approved pier.

On 11th June, 1744, war against France was formally proclaimed at the court-house by the Governor, mayor, and corporation. The Governor, by proclamation, ordered every one capable of bearing arms to provide himself with firelock, bayonet, cartouche-box, and powder and ball enough to defend the province and annoy the enemy. When the Assembly met all talk took a material guise, and the Governor put many puzzling questions to a legislative body in which the Quakers were a majority. He recounted the insolence of a French privateer, the captain of which sent a message from the capes to the effect that he knew Philadelphia too well to be afraid they would send to pursue him, and announcing that he meant to stay there two weeks longer. The Assembly, however, said nothing, and the Corporation Council petitioned¹ the king to consider and relieve the defenseless con-

dition of the city, exposed to attack from its position on the seaboard, and undefended in consequence of the religious scruples of the inhabitants. The people, however, were not so peaceful as the Assembly. The streets were picturesque with war scenes. Troops were recruiting for several expeditions, and the privateersmen beat up the town for volunteers. Before the end of 1744 four vessels were added to the fleet of letters of marque. Futile attempts had been made to raise the "Tartar," but Capt. Christopher Clymer took command of the "Marlborough," 230 tons, 18 guns, 24 swivels; Capt. William Clymer, the barque (snow) "Cruiser," 200 tons, 14 guns, 14 swivels; Capt. Alexander Kattur, the snow "Warren," 220 tons, 16 guns, 18 swivels; and Capt. John Dougall reinstated the old sloop "George" among war vessels. The "Wilmington" took five vessels in September; the "Trembleur" secured four thousand pounds sterling aboard one French schooner. But Philadelphia commerce suffered in an equivalent degree. The American privateers sought for prizes in the West Indies; the French and Spanish privateers cruised off the Capes of the Delaware and Chesapeake; neither, pursuing fat merchantmen, had any particular desire to encounter the other.

Mordecai Lloyd was this year candidate for sheriff; openly soliciting votes, for the first time in the history of the city, his opponent, Nicholas Scull, the surveyor, addressed the freeholders in a card, saying, "Though it has not till this time been customary to request your votes in print, yet, that method being now introduced, I think myself obliged in this public manner to return to you my hearty thanks for the favors I have already received, and to acquaint you that I intend again to stand a candidate for the sheriff's office, and request your interest at the next election to favor your real friend." Being elected, Scull returned thanks in print also. The state of civic morals was not pleasant to think on, if a presentment made by the grand jury this year, and said to be in Franklin's handwriting, conveys a truthful picture. Unlawful bake-shops, cooper-shops, etc., are presented. Complaint is made of the vast number of tippling houses in the city, "many of which they think are little better than nurseries of vice and debauchery and tend very much to increase the number of our poor. They are likewise of opinion that the profane language, horrid oaths, and imprecations, grown of late so common in our streets, so shocking to the ears of the sober inhabitants, and tending to destroy in the minds of our youth all sense of fear of God and the religion of an oath, owes its increase in a great measure to those disorderly houses." The report claims that there are more than one hundred houses licensed, which, with the retailers, make the houses that sell strong drink near a tenth part of the city, and adds: "The jury observed with concern in the course of the evidence that a neighborhood in which some of these disorderly houses are is so generally thought to be

¹ From this petition we learn that, in 1744, Philadelphia was supposed to have at least fifteen hundred houses and thirteen thousand people.

vitiated as to obtain among the common people the shocking name of Helltown." Among the presentments made is "Samuel Hasell as magistrate, who not only refused to take notice of a complaint made to him against a person guilty of prophane swearing, but (at another time) set an evil example by swearing himself."

In 1745 came news of the capture of Louisbourg; source of much rejoicing, many bonfires, drinkings of the health of Governor Shirley, "immortal Gen. Pepperell" and Admiral Warren, with illuminations. The equanimity of the Assembly, however, was not much disturbed; they had been asked, and refused, to take part in the expedition; they declined to vote supplies. Vote, however, they did four thousand pounds to John Pole and John Mifflin, trustees, to be laid out for the purchase of bread, meat, wheat, flour, and other grain, for the king's service, as the Governor shall think best. Franklin says the Governor construed "other grain" liberally, as the casuistic Assembly intended, and bought "black grain"—gunpowder. The people took a closer interest in the affairs of the privateers,—those of the city, and those of the enemy, off the capes. The latter were troublesome, and tried to keep the former from coming out. Capt. Dowell, in the "New George," encountered the "Louis Joseph," of St. Maloes, Capt. Francois Piednoir, eighteen guns, frigate rigged. It was an obstinate fight, an hour long, Capt. Dowell losing two officers and fifteen men killed and fifteen wounded, and glad to draw the fight. A fortnight later the "Louis Joseph" met Capt. Kattur's "Warren" and his tender, the "Old George," fought them five hours, and, refusing to surrender, was taken by boarding, Capt. Piednoir falling, sword in hand, in a cutlass combat with Capt. Dougall, of the "Old George." The prize was valuable.

Capt. Bourne now commanded "Le Trembleur," Capt. Lister the "Wilmington," and Capt. Evans the "New George." "Le Trembleur," east of Bermuda, in June, cruising for the "Pandour" and "New George," her consorts, comes within pistol-shot of a ship and brigantine, when they hoist Spanish colors, showing themselves to be a thirty-eight gun frigate and a twelve-gun brig. "Le Trembleur" cripples the brig with a broadside, then gives the frigate a running fight, until the captain can manoeuvre her out of danger. In November the "Warren" and "Old George" fall in with and engage a twenty-eight-gun Frenchman, but the battle is marred by the explosion of a gun aboard the "Warren," compelling her to escape. The "Cruiser," Capt. W. Clymer, in May captured two ships, one of them worth thirty thousand pounds.

It was in 1745 that the second market-house in Philadelphia was established, to accommodate the already populous southern part of the city, the inhabitants of which found it a hardship to go beyond Dock Creek all the way to High Street to procure their marketing. They accordingly petitioned for a

new market-house on Second Street, south of Pine, where the market was established and the street widened to accommodate it. The stalls, sixteen in number, were built by Edward Shippen and Joseph Wharton, at their own cost, they to receive the rents until they were repaid the principal and interest of the advanced money. Mr. Shippen was at this time mayor. On retiring from office he gave a dinner at the Golden Fleece Tavern. Alderman Abraham Taylor, elected his successor, refused to serve, and was fined thirty pounds. Alderman Joseph Turner, elected *vice* Taylor, also declined and was similarly fined, whereupon Alderman James Hamilton was chosen and qualified.

There was an echo in the new hall of Assembly at this time which prevented members' speeches from being heard. The superintendent was ordered to break it. As an evidence of the growth of the Northern Liberties, we find the inhabitants protesting against Miss Elizabeth Chancellor's petition to have renewed to her the lease granted to her father, now deceased, for keeping the powder-house. The remonstrants said that many good tenements would soon be begun, with wharves and stores, contributing much to the additional beauty and advantage of the city and neighborhood, and the employment of laborers and artificers, if that obstacle were removed, and this would also expedite the erecting of a new market-house in the place laid out for that purpose, "to the great convenience of the neighboring inhabitants, now grown numerous, and of the country people, who would supply it with provisions."

The Assembly now secured a new issue of five thousand pounds paper money by offering to contribute so much to the use of government if it would be received in that medium. The Governor protested, but yielded. Four companies of volunteers were raised for the army, under Capt. John Shannon, John Deimer, William Trent, and Samuel Perry. Recruiting was also done in Philadelphia for Gen. Dalziel's regiment of foot for West Indies service and for Governor Shirley's Massachusetts regiment of foot. Thus about five hundred men were enlisted at one and the same time in Philadelphia for the military service in addition to the naval recruits. Each enlisted man had to be a Protestant, able and willing to take the oaths. He received a dollar on enlisting, and three pistoles for his family before marching. Tavern-keepers demanded twelve-pence per diem for a soldier's keep and board.

A new election law was passed in 1746, with the end of preventing riot and disorder. It provided for a primary election for inspectors. Another act was passed for suppressing cursing and swearing, with penalties of fine and imprisonment. Mayor Hamilton, at the end of his official term, remembering perhaps the difficulty of getting a successor to Mayor Shippen, after his costly entertainment, determined to establish a new and better precedent. Instead of

giving a banquet, he gave, in lieu thereof, "a sum of money equal at least to the sum usually expended on such occasions, to be laid out in something permanently useful to the city," to which use he proposed "the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds towards erecting an Exchange or some other public building." The money was put out at interest, and the example thus set was followed by many successive mayors.

In the spring and summer of 1746 an epidemic disease of great malignity raged through New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Dr. John Kearsley called it the *angina maligna*, or putrid sore throat, and the traits of the disease as described are similar to those of diphtheria. The doctors could do

prize in the French ship "Judith," which did not yield without a sharp fight. Capt. Clymer also retook a French prize and drove a Spanish privateer ashore at Porto Rico. On his return the "Marlborough" was sold, and Capt. Clymer raised a company of foot soldiers and marched them to take part in the conquest of Canada. In April, off the Havana, the "Cruiser," Capt. William Clymer, was attacked by two xebèques of twelve guns each, a complement three to one of his guns and men fit for service. The fight lasted four hours, and when Clymer was carried captive in triumph into Havana the enemy had thirty killed and sixty wounded. The men were confined aboard a prison-ship, and Clymer cast into a dungeon



OLD MARKET-HOUSE, SECOND AND PINE STREETS.

nothing with it, the more especially as they essayed to treat it with phlebotomy and the mercurials, and it almost depopulated some villages. Its epidemic character was due in the first instance to atmospheric causes.

The harvest of the privateers had grown light as the French and Spanish commercial marine withdrew from the ocean, and it was found that the larger letters of marque did not earn their expenses. The "Wilmington" returned to trade without surrendering her commission, and while making a voyage with a cargo to London captured a well-loaded barque, which she sent as a prize into Philadelphia. The "Marlborough," Capt. Clymer, in March, captured a rich

and afterwards sent to Spain. This was the only Philadelphia privateer captured during the war. Capt. Katur, in the "Warren," captured a French sloop of twelve guns off San Antonio in February, and cut out a schooner with a cargo of sugar in Basse-Terre in June. "Le Trembleur" took a Spanish schooner with a ballast of pieces of eight and silver bullion. Some other captures were made by the above vessels and by the "Pandour" and "New George."

In 1747 the French and Spaniards took their turn at retaliating. Two French frigates on the coast, after capturing many merchantmen, chased the "Pandour" and "New George" so hotly that they could only get away by throwing overboard their swivels.

By the end of May twelve Philadelphia merchant vessels had been captured. The "Warren" was fitted out by subscription to cruise between the Navesink and the Virginia capes as a *guard à costa*. She found no enemy, but "Le Trembleur" barely escaped capture off Hispaniola, and more Philadelphia merchantmen were taken. In the mean time French pilots, bringing in prisoners for exchange, had learned the navigation of the Delaware, and on July 12th a sloop, bearing English colors, appeared off Cape May. The pilot who went off to her found himself prisoner to a French sloop of ten guns, manned chiefly by Spaniards. The pilot-boat, with a privateersman crew, ascended the river four miles above Bombay Hook, landed at Listen's plantation in New Castle County, rifled the house and carried off four negroes. Thence they went to Hart's plantation, plundering the house, captured a pilot-boat, and next took the ship "Mary," of London, bound up, with a valuable cargo. The sloop and her prize then departed, taking another prize before reaching St. Augustine.

When the express bringing the news of these depredations reached Philadelphia a painful excitement was caused. Neither the Council nor the Assembly were in session, nor did consultation with the members make it probable they would sanction the money cost of extraordinary measures, even in such an emergency. When the Assembly did meet, in August, the plea for defensive measures was answered by, the danger is past, the Delaware is long, our principles will not let us consent to fortifications and ships-of-war. Before the month was out another French privateer entered the Delaware, and ten days later two more stood inside the capes and made three captures. It was not until these vessels left that any of the Philadelphia privateers could be got ready for sea.

Meantime, Governor Thomas, having fallen into bad health, resigned his office and went back to England, Anthony Palmer, president of Council, acting in his stead. President Palmer could get no hearing either from the old Assembly or from that elected in October, 1747, in regard to the defenses. The latter body, indeed, when it adjourned October 15th, did so to meet May 16, 1748, as if determined to avoid the annoyance of frequent appeals for military aid. The president called an extra session in January, but was able to accomplish nothing. The Quaker majority was resolved to contribute no aid to war. Their principle of non-resistance was like the books of the Sibyl,—they saw their tenure of it must be broken in a very few years, and it was proportionately precious to them. But, in fact, this headstrongness in the mort of peril to the city, when temporizing was the best policy, simply precipitated the overthrow of the Quaker policy and the Quaker régime. In the next chapter will be shown how much Franklin was able to accomplish by his able pamphlet of "Plain Truth." It is enough to say here that this opportune publication

had the effect to crystallize public opinion in the determination to adopt a policy of public defense. Those of Franklin's way of thinking struck promptly while the iron was hot. On Saturday, Nov. 21, 1747, a number of inhabitants met in Walton's school-room, and resolved to form an association for military purposes. A committee was appointed to draft a plan of an association, which was submitted to a subsequent assemblage, which met at Roberts' Coffee-House, in Front Street. The next day the articles were ready for signing "at the new building." In three days five hundred signatures were obtained, and the work of volunteering still went on, not only in the city, but throughout the province. On November 26th the Common Council took up the matter with a memorial and petition to the proprietary government to send over cannon, arms, and ammunition for the equipment of a battery. The Provincial Council met the same day, approving the action of the citizens and encouraging the purposes of the association, and the merchants of the city applied to the English Board of Trade to have a ship-of-war appointed on the New York station which might be ordered to come sometimes within the bay of Delaware.

All this marks the definitive and final break-up of the Quaker non-resistance policy in Philadelphia. Several times afterwards its friends rallied, but their prestige was gone, and they were never able to resume their ancient control of affairs. The epoch of William Penn's empire ceases with Nov. 21, 1747.

Franklin and the party of defense were determined to give their defeated opponents no time to recover. They at once projected a lottery to raise the three thousand pounds necessary for the erection of a battery. The price of tickets was forty shillings each. There were two thousand eight hundred and forty-two prizes and seven thousand one hundred and fifty-eight blanks. William Allen, Joshua Maddox, William Masters, Samuel McCall, Sr., Edward Shippen, Thomas Leech, Charles Willing, John Kearsley, William Clymer, Sr., Thomas Lawrence, Jr., William Coleman, and Thomas Hopkinson were managers. They, together with William Wallace, John Stamper, Samuel Hazzard, Philip Syng, John Mifflin, James Coultas, William Branson, Rees Meredith, Thomas Lloyd, and Benjamin Franklin, or a majority of them, were to have authority to appropriate the proceeds for the benefit and advantage of the province. The Common Council, to encourage this lottery, took two thousand tickets, and the note of the treasurer of the corporation was given for them, on promise that he should be indemnified by the corporation in case of loss. The city drew some prizes in the lottery, which were handed over to swell the sum of the association's fund. The co-operation of the fire companies was also asked and secured. "Plain Truth" led to a good many other pamphlets, pro and con; the bench took up the matter in their charges, and in the pulpit Rev. Gilbert Tennent preached three long sermons on the text

"The Lord is a man of war," which were afterwards published, and led to a new crop of pamphlets.

On December 6th six hundred of the associators met at the State-House, marching thence to the court-house, where they agreed to the division of the city into companies, according to wards and townships, President Palmer assuring them of the countenance and support of the government. In the beginning of January the associators met again, and elected the following officers:

Captains.—Charles Willing, Thomas Bond, John Inglis, James Polegreen, Peacock Bigger, Thomas Bourne, William Cuzzins, Septimus Robinson, James Coultas, John Ross, Richard Nixon.

Lieutenants.—Atwood Shute, Richard Farmer, Lynford Lardner, William Bradford, Joseph Redman, Robert Owen, George Spafford, William Clemm, George Gray, Jr., Richard Swan, Richard Renshaw.

Ensigns.—James Claypoole, Plunkett Fleeson, T. Lawrence, Jr., William Bingham, Joseph Wood, Peter Etter, Abraham Mason, William Rush, Abraham Jones, Philip Benezet, Francis Garrigues.

The officers being chosen, the companies marched to the State-House, where the president and Council were sitting. The officers then elected Abraham Taylor as colonel, Thomas Lawrence lieutenant-colonel, and Samuel McCall major. Then they marched through the town, and returned to the State-House, where they were drawn up in three divisions, and fired three volleys. Each company then marched off under the lead of its captain, some of them exceeding one hundred men in number. The companies of Philadelphia County chose the following officers:

Captains.—John Hughes, Samuel Shaw, Henry Pawling, Thomas York, Jacob Hall, Edward Jones, Abraham Dehaven, Christopher Robbins, John Hall.

Lieutenants.—Matthias Holstein, Isaac Ashton, Robert Dunn, Jacob Leech, Joseph Levis, Griffith Griffiths, William Coats, Roger North, Peter Knight, Joshua Thomas.

Ensigns.—Frederick Holstein, John Roberts, Hugh Hamilton, John Barge, William Finney, James Richey, John Pauling, Benjamin Davis, Philip Wyncoop.

Edward Jones was chosen colonel; Thomas York, lieutenant-colonel; and Samuel Shaw, major; Jacob Leech became captain of York's company; John Barge, lieutenant; and Jacob Naglee, ensign.

In April nearly one thousand associators were under arms. They were reviewed by the president and Council in the field. Col. Taylor made them a speech before dismissal, telling them that several country companies had offered to come to their assistance when needed; as there was no provision for such case or for their subsistence, he proposed that every householder of the city associators should entertain freely three or four of his country brethren until the threat-

ened danger passed, and that their horses be provided for gratis. The proposition was accepted with enthusiasm.

The first care of the associators, after organization, was the construction of proper batteries. The sites of these were selected by the lottery managers. There was a distressing scarcity of cannon. The old pieces lying about the wharves were overhauled, and seventy of different sizes pronounced fit for service in an emergency. Application was made to Governors Shirley, of Massachusetts, and Clinton, of New York, for the loan of some pieces. The latter lent eighteen pieces, eighteen-pounders, with carriages, which were brought overland from New York. The first battery was erected on Anthony Atwood's wharf, under Society Hill, between Pine and Cedar Streets, near the present Lombard Street. There was a timber and plank breastwork, eight or ten feet thick, filled in with earth



THE ASSOCIATION BATTERY.

and rammed down. The joining work was done gratuitously by the city carpenters, and the battery, begun Monday morning, was completed by Tuesday evening, with its armament of thirteen guns mounted. The grand battery was situated below the city and beyond the Swedes' Church, on ground afterwards occupied by the United States Navy Yard. In June the associators mounted guard there every night, and no boat or vessel was suffered to pass between 8 o'clock P.M. and 4 A.M. In case of any alarm at night, well-disposed persons were desired to "place candles in the lower windows and doors for the more convenient marching of the militia and well-affected persons who may join them." The managers of the lottery sent to England for the cannon for this battery. The pieces were received and mounted at the end of August. The battery was named "the Association," and the associators were saluted by it. There were twenty-seven cannon in it, and a gunner was hired at ten pounds a year.

The proprietaries responded to the request of the corporation for cannon from them, sending over thirteen pieces in November, 1750, which were mounted on the association battery. The *Gazette* said, "That battery now has upwards of fifty cannon, 18, 24, and 32-pounders. One of them, a new 32-pounder, was presented by the Schuylkill Fishing Company." The interest shown in the association was naturally shared

by the women, who prepared some beautiful flags and devices, with mottoes, for the volunteers. They also prepared the colors for the officers, half-pikes, spon-toons, halberds, drums, etc.¹

The foreign privateers in Delaware Bay had reaped such a harvest in 1747 that it was natural to expect they would return next year. The captured "Clinton," anyhow, was bound to come back, and return she did, in May, capturing the "Phoenix," a small schooner, bound to Bermudas, not far south of Cape Henlopen. The "Clinton" was now a French privateer, with fourteen guns and sixteen swivels, and a crew of one hundred and seventy-five men. The "Phoenix" was sent back to Delaware Bay and captured the brigantine "Tinker," but her captain got away with the "Phoenix" and sent the alarm to Philadelphia. The president of Council called the Assembly together, and demanded measures to restore the commerce of the port. The Assembly, however, had no measures to propose, but hoped that a ship-of-war might soon be found on the station. In fact, the "Otter" sloop-of-war, Capt. Ballet, arrived the next day, having been sent by the admiralty with orders to protect the trade of Philadelphia. The news was very gratifying; the Provincial Council gave Capt. Ballet and his officers a handsome entertainment at Roberts' Coffee-House, and the Corporation Council added a pipe of wine, eight loaves of sugar, and twenty

gallons of rum to his sea stores. The "Otter," however, came not for a cruise, but to heave down and careen; Capt. Ballet had been killed in a sea-fight. During this process several Philadelphia vessels were taken by the active enemy, and a Spanish brigantine, the "St. Michael," Don Vincent De Lopez, commander, ascended the Delaware as high as Elsenburgh. A large Jamaican was lying at New Castle, and Capt. Lopez determined to try to capture her. He was under English colors; no suspicion had arisen, but George Proctor, an American prisoner on board, escaped, swam ashore to Salem and gave the alarm. The New Castle battery and the Jamaica ship opened fire, and the Spaniard, hoisting his true colors, cheering and firing a gun, sailed down the river again. This was a piece of genuine bravado, the effects of which upon the unwarlike community were increased by the privateer captain's declaration that he meant to rob, burn, and destroy wherever he could, and that, with his consorts, he would soon visit Philadelphia. As Capt. Ballet could not get the "Otter" ready to drive off the enemy, the association batteries were manned and put in a state of defense. A company of artillery was formed, under command of the old privateersman, Capt. John Sibbald, to work the guns of the batteries, and a guard was set for the protection of the powder-house. A day was set for the meeting of the Assembly, and two "intelligence boats" were commissioned to cruise in the bay and report every suspicious circumstance.

The Assembly met and adjourned forthwith without any attempt at defensive measures, but, on the contrary, with such an answer to the Governor as could not fail to cause exasperation. On June 17th the captain of a small sloop, captured in the bay by a Spanish privateer, reported in the city that, besides his captor, there were in sight when his vessel was taken a fleet of two ships, three brigantines, and a sloop, one of the ships, very large, mounting thirty guns. Capt. Ballet, of the "Otter," consulted the Council as to whether it would be prudent for him and the convoy of merchantmen, waiting for his escort, to go to sea under such circumstances. In fact, he did not go for some weeks, and then it was discovered that the supposed hostile fleet was an English frigate and consorts.

The preliminary peace at Aix-la-Chapelle was signed on April 19, 1748, and the news arrived in Philadelphia August 24th. The cessation of arms was immediate, the privateers were sold to take on commercial cargoes, and officers and crews returned to peaceful occupations. The bold rover, Capt. Obadiah Bourne, established himself at the corner of Market and Water Streets, thence called Bourne's corner, and dispensed punch and ale beneath his memorial sign, Le Trembleur. The war was over.

In September, 1747, the Corporation Council for the first time voted a salary to the mayor,—one hundred pounds per annum,—but even then it was diffi-

¹ DEVICES AND MOTTOES FOR THE ASSOCIATOR REGIMENTS.

I. A lion erect, a naked scimitar in one paw, the other holding the Pennsylvania escutcheon. Motto, *Pro Patria*.

II. Three arms wearing linen, ruffled, plain, and chequed. The hands joined by grasping each other's wrist, denoting the union of all ranks. Motto, *Unita virtus habet*.

III. An eagle, emblem of victory, descending from the skies. Motto, *A Deo Victoria*.

IV. Liberty seated on a cube, holding a spear, the cap of freedom on its point. Motto, *Inextimabilis*.

V. Armed arm, the hand grasping a naked falchion. Motto, *Deus adjuvat fortē*.

VI. An elephant, emblem of the warrior always on his guard, as that creature is said never to lie down, and hath his arms always ready. Motto, *Semper paratus*.

VII. A city walled about. Motto, *Salus patrie, summa lex*.

VIII. A soldier with his piece recovered, ready to present. Motto, *Sic pacem querimus*.

IX. A coronet and plume of feathers. Motto, *In God we trust*.

X. A man with a drawn sword. Motto, *Pro aria et focis*.

XI. Three of the associators marching with their muskets shouldered and dressed in different clothes, intimating unanimity of the different sorts of people in the association. Motto, *Via unita fortior*.

XII. A musket and sword crossing each other. Motto, *Pro rege and grege*.

XIII. Representation of a glory, in the midst of which is written *Je-hovah Nissi*; in English, "The Lord our Banner."

XIV. A castle, at the gate of which a soldier stands sentinel. Motto, *Cavendo tutus*.

XV. David, as he advanced against Goliath and slung the stone. Motto, *In nomine domine*.

XVI. A lion rampant, one paw holding up a scimitar, another on a sheaf of wheat. Motto, *Domine protege alimentum*.

XVII. A sleeping lion. Motto, *Rouse me if you dare*.

XVIII. Hope represented by a woman standing clothed in blue, holding one hand on an anchor. Motto, *Spero per deum vincere*.

XIX. The Duke of Cumberland, General. Motto, *Pro Deo et Georgio Rege*.

XX. A soldier on horseback. Motto, *Pro libertate patrie*.

cult to get the right man to serve. When Alderman Anthony Morris was elected he could not be found so that notice might be served upon him, and it became so evident at last that his absence was intentional that a new election was had, and William Atwood chosen in his stead.

This year was attended with another outbreak of the yellow fever, and the inhabitants seem to have traced it to the condition of the swamps of Dock Creek, between Budd's buildings and Society Hill. The Common Council, in October, long after the outbreak of the fever, appointed Samuel Powell, John Stamper, Samuel Rhoades, Edward Warner, Benjamin Franklin, and William Logan to consider a plan for the removal of the nuisance.¹ Secretary Peters, writing to the proprietaries, September 4th, stated that the fever was not so bad as in 1741, but sufficiently dangerous still. "Mrs. Kearsley, Young Joseph Turner, Mr. Jesse McCall, Mr. Andrew Hamilton, and Mr. Curry were all attacked Sunday or Monday, and they all died and were buried within the week except Mr. Curry, who is since dead. Mr. Allen was seized with the fever on Monday morning, and is in a fair way of recovery." Secretary Peters is clearly of opinion that the distemper was due to the filthy condition of Dock Creek. The Penns did not accept this view of the case, but the Provincial Council was driven by the public danger to act boldly. A captain from Barbadoes attempted to defy the city's quarantine regulations, when he was promptly arrested and cast into jail, and all intercourse forbidden with his ship and crew. In December the Provincial Council called for a solemn fast on Jan. 7, 1748, "on account of the mortal sickness in the summer past," and because "there is just reason to fear that, unless we humble ourselves before the Lord and amend our ways, we may be chastised with yet heavier judgments."

The lottery for the use of the association was so successful, that in 1748, after the news of peace, another was had to raise nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five "pieces of eight" for the public use. A systematic arrangement about wood-corders was made this year, Owen Roberts and John Pickle, for a rent of fifty pounds per annum, securing a four years' lease of the public wharves at the end of Vine Street, Penny-Pot Landing, the wharves at foot of Sassafras, Mulberry, High, Chestnut, and Walnut Streets, and the public wharves at the end of Dock Street, and the public wharf at the end of Spruce Street, adjoining Samuel Powell's, they to have the fees, profits, fines, and penalties imposed by the ordinances for cording wood, etc., and to keep the wharves in good repair. A private subscription provided for clearing out Dock Creek, walling it, and extending some of the sewers leading to it further inland, but want of co-operation,

especially on the part of the proprietary, prevented this voluntary plan from being fully carried out.

On Nov. 23, 1748, James Hamilton, son of Andrew Hamilton, having been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, was proclaimed; the City Council congratulated him, and his accession was welcomed with a public dinner. His administration began auspiciously. There was a complaint from the county of the too free licensing of public-houses, and a suggestion that it would be better for the county justices to have the power to grant such licenses than that it should reside in the Governor. The trustees of Province Island were ordered to expend one thousand pounds in the erection of pest-houses on that island, for the reception of strangers coming into the province. The superintendents of the State-House were ordered to build a structure on the south side of the building for the staircase and bell; and also, in August, to find a place for entertaining visiting Indians. A petition was received and a law passed against the entailing of lands. Another petition, received at the October meeting of the Assembly, protested against the overcrowding of immigrant vessels, and the consequent mortality and suffering, the introduction of epidemic diseases, etc. In fact, the ships "Francis" and "Elizabeth" had arrived in September from Rotterdam with Palatines, many of whom were down with eruptive fever. The sick had to be accommodated in tents and temporary shelter on Province Island, and there can be no doubt that the evil complained of was a very serious one.

Much trivial municipal business was transacted in the course of this year by the Municipal and Provincial Councils, but little of which is of a nature to need repeating here. The mayor's salary was repealed, upon the ground that "the business of the mayoralty had *grown more profitable*;" a census of the city was taken, the details of which have already been given, and an attempt was made to repair the inefficiency of the city watch. The Common Council was of opinion that the only effectual remedy for the evil was to obtain an act of Assembly for raising money by tax for supporting a regular and stated watch, as was done in Europe. Meantime some temporary improvements were made, and citizens agreed to put lamps at their doors and windows to aid the watch and relieve the unlighted streets. These seem to have been really unsafe at this time, in consequence, perhaps, of the number of disbanded soldiers and sailors, and the large and miscellaneous immigration. Highway robberies appear to have been very common in the neighborhood of the city in the fall and winter of 1749. Two highwaymen, Fielding and Johnson, arrested for some of these offenses, made some daring attempts at escape. They sawed off their irons, and planned to seize the jailer and force their way out. They were frustrated, when they turned back, unlocked the cell-doors, and held the gaol against all comers during the night, but were next day overpowered, taken to court,

¹ Such a plan was reported in February, 1748, but thought too costly to be then undertaken.

and sentenced to death. They were hung on the Commons.

The grand jury presented, in 1750, not only the night-watch and their bad regulations, but "the extreme dirtiness of the streets, not only for want of pavement in some places, but through the disorderly practice of throwing out all manner of dirt and filth without any care taken to remove the same, whereby the streets that have been regulated at a public expense are rendered exceedingly deep and miry in wet weather." The mayor issued his proclamation against these practices, which must have been very filthy—water-courses filled up two or three feet with dirt, hatters casting felts, tails, and offals into the kennels, shoemakers their ends and scraps, etc. The proclamation, however, did not cure the evil, and it was resolved to petition the Assembly.

That body passed an act to regulate the importation of immigrants, allowing each passenger six feet in length and one foot six inches in breadth of space, in the vessel in which he came, and compelling sufficient food and drink to be carried for all.

In 1749 Parliament passed the notable act to suppress iron manufactories in the colonies. This act required a return of existing mills to be made, and we learn from it that on June 24, 1750, Stephen Pashall was operating a steel-furnace at the northwest corner of Walnut and Eighth Streets, built in 1747, at which blistered steel was made; William Branson had a steel-furnace in the city (site not returned); and John Hall a plating, tilt-hammer forge at Byberry, in Philadelphia County.

On Dec. 21, 1750, there was a meeting at Widow Pratt's tavern of those who had or intended to put lamps in their doors, and the result was an agreement among the subscribers to pay a man three shillings nine pence per month for lighting these lamps regularly every night.

At the election in October this year the vote was as follows:

Assembly.			
Isaac Norris.....	1799	Evan Morgan.....	1236
Edward Warner.....	1790	John Smith.....	1230
Owen Evans.....	1760	Thomas Leech.....	562
Joseph Trotter.....	1474	John Naglee.....	284
Israel Pemberton, Jr.....	1445		
Sheriff.			
Isaac Griffith.....	1169	William Biddle.....	961
Edw. Collins.....	1033	Edw. Scull.....	845
Coroner.			
William Trotter.....	1072	Thomas James.....	947
George Heap.....	1070	William Gray.....	793

CHAPTER XIV.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND PHILADELPHIA.

FROM 1723 to 1776, Benjamin Franklin, printer, was the largest man in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. He was not the best man by long odds; he was only

the greatest man when we eliminate some moral traits of the first importance to the perfect man, but in which he was deficient to a degree approaching littleness; he was not a great genius, for his leading excellence was a certain calm and luminous mediocrity, in the centre of which sat Common Sense, enthroned as the Supreme Being—we cannot apply the term divinity to such clay images—of the entire equable structure, and of that common sense "Poor Richard" was himself the incarnation. But he was the largest man in the province and the city,—the man who originated the most measures, wielded the greatest influence, and, as even those who do not like Franklin cannot help admitting, accomplished the most good. Franklin was really a much greater man than his indiscriminate admirers can make him out, or than the casual student of his career may be able to discover; for it was his foible to conceal his connection with the springs of action, as he was apparently indifferent to the authorship of his best writings, and equally was it his foible, by sedulous seizing of the opportunity, to seem to accomplish great ends by small means. Great ends, however, he did accomplish, often after long waiting, and he possessed, in a remarkably perfect degree, that sublime quality of patience which is itself, if not genius, at least its nearest of kin and best substitute.

Franklin's autobiography and the leading facts of his long and useful life are so commonly known that there is no need to dwell upon them here; yet it is not so generally known how completely and at all points he touched the public and private life of Philadelphia, and was the political, literary, scientific, and industrial mainspring of the city and the province during upwards of fifty years. After the outbreak of the Revolution, and until the formation of the Federal Constitution, his intelligent and devoted service was given to the cause of the Republic of the States, an arena to which we will not follow him, but where better, more needed, and more opportune service was never rendered. It is the Franklin of Philadelphia, however, whom we are called upon to portray in this place.

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, Mass., on the 6th of January, old style (the 11th of January, new style), 1706, in a house on Milk Street, nearly opposite to the Old South Church, and on the site now (1884) occupied by the *Boston Post* newspaper. The house in which Franklin was born remained standing until December, 1810, when it was destroyed by fire.¹

¹ Its appearance at the period of the philosopher's birth is thus minutely described in "Shurtleff's Description of Boston":

"Its front upon the street was rudely clapboarded, and the sides and rear were protected from the inclemencies of a New England climate by large rough shingles. In height the house was about three stories; in front the second story and attic projected somewhat into the street, over the principal story on the ground-floor. On the lower floor of the main house there was one room only. This, which probably served the Franklins as a parlor and sitting-room, and also for the family eating-room,

Notwithstanding Franklin was born in New England, he was only half a Yankee. His mother, his father's second wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, "one of the first settlers of New England, of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton



FRANKLIN'S BIRTHPLACE.

Mather in his ecclesiastical history of that country, entitled 'Magnalia Christi Americana,' as 'a godly and learned Englishman,' if I remember the words rightly."¹ This was the New England strain in Franklin's blood. His father was a true-born Englishman, of the old Northamptonshire yeomanry stock who had lived in the same village, Ecton, on a freehold of thirty acres, for at least three hundred

years, the eldest son always pursuing the trade of the smith.

was about twenty feet square, and had two windows on the street, and it had also one on the passage-way, so as to give the inmates a good view of Washington Street. In the centre of the southerly side of the room was one of those noted large fireplaces, situated in a most capacious chimney. On the left of this was a spacious closet. On the ground-floor, connected with the sitting-room through the entry, was the kitchen. The second story originally contained but one chamber, and in this the windows, door, fireplace, and closet were similar in number and position to those in the parlor beneath it. The attic was also originally one unplastered room, and had a window in front on the street and two common attic windows, one on each side of the roof, near the back part of it."

¹ Folger came from Norwich, England, with his father, in 1635, at the age of eighteen, and they settled at Martha's Vineyard, where John, the father, died, leaving Meribell, his widow, who survived him three years. In 1644, Peter married Mary Morrell, one of the family of the celebrated Hugh Peters, and in 1663 he went to Nantucket, one of the first settlers of that island. Peter Folger was a man of integrity and reading, a land surveyor, whose word was accepted as final in all cases of disputed boundary and title; a student of the Indian tongues, much valued as an interpreter; a catechist of the savages also, greatly esteemed by the missionary, Rev. Thomas Mayhew. Peter Folger died in 1690, father of two sons and seven daughters. He published a volume of devout poetry, "A Looking-glass for the Times, or the Former Spirit of New England revived in this generation," a plea for liberty of conscience and against persecution, which he looks upon as the cause of war and all the other calamities distressing the people.

years, the eldest son always pursuing the trade of the smith.

Benjamin, who made some search into parish registers while visiting England in 1758, learned that he himself was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. His grandfather had four sons,—Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Josiah. Thomas, bred a smith, passed the bar and became a man of consequence in the county; John was a wool-dyer; Benjamin, a dyer of silk, and, in his way, something of a poet. Josiah Franklin married young, and came to New England with wife and three children in 1685, a non-conformist seeking freedom of worship, a dyer by trade like his brothers. He changed his business when he came to Boston to that of tallow-chandler and soap-boiler, and he was the father of seventeen children, nine by his second wife, to whom he was married in 1690. Benjamin was the fifteenth child and youngest son. The boy was meant for the church, or, rather, the non-conformist pulpit; showed himself precocious, was sent to a grammar school, and in a year got head of his class. But his father had too many children to think of sending one of them to college. Benjamin was put at a writing and ciphering school, and at ten years old was taken to learn soap-boiling,—that is to say, to help make the soap-kettle and the family pot boil by cutting wicks, filling moulds, minding shop, and running errands.

The trade suited the youth so ill he proposed going to sea, but the father forbade. He was a stout, strong man, this father, of sound, solid sense, could draw well, and knew a little music; had a good, resonant voice, played and sung to the violin, and was skilled with tools. He was a good adviser to friends, managed his own affairs discreetly, was noteworthy for his solid, sturdy understanding and his prudential tact. Such a man, while not apt to yield to a boy's whims,—and he knew that Benjamin was notional,—would still find out if he were really unfitted for a trade. Accordingly, he took the boy around with him to see different sorts of work done, in order to detect if he had any especial aptitude, ending, when he found out the boy's taste for reading, by binding him apprentice to his eldest son, James Franklin, the printer. James had learned his trade in England, and came out to Boston in March, 1717, with a press and new fonts of type. At first he did only job work, but in 1719 a new postmaster was appointed, who established a second newspaper, *The Boston Gazette*, and James Franklin was employed to print it. In August, 1721, the *Gazette* having passed to another printer, Franklin began to publish *The New England Courant* at his own risk, which was the fourth newspaper printed in America. It was a weekly, a foolscap half-sheet, sometimes enlarged to a whole sheet; the contributors forming a sort of club, furnished the articles, essays or letters, there being little news and few advertisements.

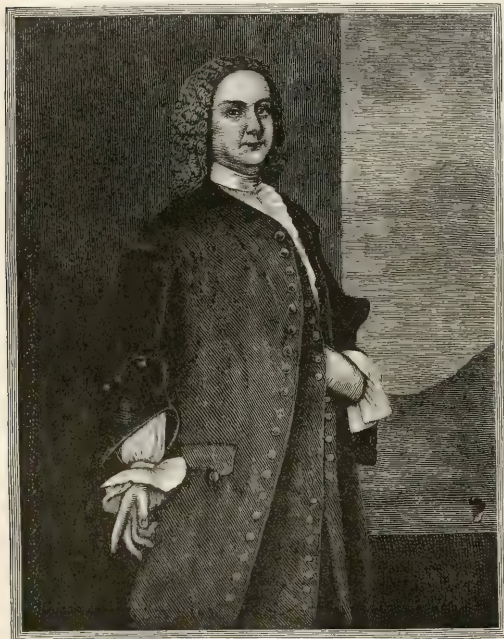
The story of Benjamin's verses and how he hawked

them about the streets; of his brother's harshness; of the youth's anonymous contributions to the paper; of the paper's suppression and its reissue in Benjamin's name; of the latter's escape to Philadelphia, of the voyage, the three rolls, the interview with Bradford, Keimer, and Keith, are too familiar to need to be retold here. The printer was but seventeen and a half years old when he came to Philadelphia. He was but twenty when he returned from London, an accomplished printer and a man of the world. This was in 1726. Franklin had already printed a deistic work; he confesses to have practiced some libertinage;

mental, — he had said, long years before, that he would rather find a recipe for Parmesan cheese in his readings of Italian travels than the most venerable of inscriptions of the antique world, — and he nursed no illusions now. He resolutely allied himself with the party of action. He became chairman of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety. Congress appointed him postmaster-general, with a salary of one thousand dollars, and practically unlimited power and discretion. He was at the head of the commission for Indian Affairs in the Middle Department. He was a commissioner to the army of Boston, chief of the

important Committee of Secret Correspondence, and commissioner to Canada. He was one of the five to draw up the Declaration of Independence, and was president of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention. Finally, Oct. 26, 1776, he sailed for France aboard the sloop-of-war "Reprisal," with almost unlimited discretionary power, as agent for the colonies, reaching Paris December 21st. He did not return again to Philadelphia until Sept. 14, 1785, when he was seventy-nine years old. He lived to be eighty-four, dying April 17, 1790.

Jared Sparks describes him as "well formed and strongly built, in his latter years inclining to corpulency. His stature was five feet nine or ten inches; his eyes were gray, and his complexion light. Affable in his deportment, unobtrusive, easy, and winning in his manners, he rendered himself agreeable to persons of every rank in life. With his intimate friends he conversed freely, but with strangers and in mixed company he was reserved and sometimes taciturn. His great fund of knowledge and experience in human affairs contributed to give a peculiar charm to his conversation, enriched as it was by original reflections and enlivened by a vein of pleasantry, and by anecdotes and ingenious apologies, in the happy recollection and use of which he was unsurpassed."



FRANKLIN AT THE AGE OF TWENTY.

he was as unlikely a man to get advancement in a staid Quaker community as could be imagined. In 1730 he had a printing establishment and newspaper and stationer's shop of his own, was married, and was already pressing upon public opinion with a powerful leverage.

We will return to this part of his career again. When Franklin returned to Philadelphia on May 5, 1775, after his fruitless negotiations in England, the die of revolution was already cast. The day after his arrival the Assembly of Pennsylvania elected him delegate to the second Continental Congress, and so he began his national career. He was never a senti-

Benjamin Franklin arrived in Philadelphia in October, 1723, and forthwith applied to Andrew Bradford, the printer, son of William Bradford, for employment. There was a sort of propriety in this step, both of coming to Philadelphia and applying to Bradford, of which Franklin was probably not aware. For he was the ostensible proprietor of his brother's *New England Courant*, which was then under the ban of official censure, and it was Bradford's paper, the *American Weekly Mercury*, which had raised its voice in manly defense of the per-

secuted printer and in rebuke of his persecutors.¹

It is proper now to inquire, before setting forth what Franklin did, what sort of a field to work in he found in Philadelphia, what was the state of printing, science, letters, and the liberal arts at that time. The Quakers were not learned, as a sect,—the social rank from which their earliest members were chiefly recruited would have made this impossible,—nor were they inclined, by their tenets and the precepts and practices of their faith, to the cultivation of literature and the liberal arts. They were naturally almost entirely excluded from the professions. A Quaker would hardly take a degree in medicine without doing violence to his conscience. He could not pass the bar nor practice in the courts of England. But the Quakers were not illiterate, nor were letters neglected in the colony of Friends on the banks of the Delaware. Penn himself, as has been sufficiently shown, was a man of as much reading as penetration. Barclay was both scholar and logician. Story was a scholar. Logan was profoundly read, a man who would have excelled at Oxford and Cambridge and shone in a German university. George Keith was a scholar. It is probable that in the Philadelphia of 1723 there was a larger proportion of persons with some knowledge of Latin, and a much larger proportion of good Latinists, than there are in the Philadelphia of 1883. In the decorative part of polite learning the early inhabitants of the city perhaps did not shine, but in its solid endowments they were not remiss. It is certain they did not undervalue learning and knowledge, nor neglect the means to secure them. They endowed schools at the outset, and in the very beginning took their stand for the liberty of the press as a thing as important as liberty of conscience. Enoch Flower was teaching school in 1683, Bradford's press was at work in 1686.

Bradford's was the first printing-press in the middle colonies, and the second in the British colonies. It is a subject of pride to Pennsylvanians and Philadelphians that, while the printing-press was not set up in Massachusetts until eighteen years after its first settlement, in New York seventy-three years, in Virginia more than a hundred years, and that the Governor of Virginia, fifty years after the planting of the colony, hoped that the press would not be set up for a hundred years more, because it favored sedi-

tion and libels upon the church and the king, in Philadelphia Bradford's press was at work within four years after the foundation. We have already, in a preceding chapter, spoken of Bradford and the reasonable doubts for including him among the "Welcome's" passengers, or the first colonists. To this it may be added that while there is little probability of his having, as conjectured, dwelt or practiced his art between 1682 and 1685, either in Kensington or New Castle, there is a possibility of his having done so in Burlington, N. J., in that interval. That town was an older settlement and more considerable place than Philadelphia, and it shared with Salem and Amboy the honor and the importance of being the residence and seat of a royal Governor. Anyhow, Bradford was in London "6th month, 1685," as we know from Fox's letter, just about to sail for Philadelphia. He must have arrived in the latter town early in the autumn of that year, for he printed his almanac for 1686,—*Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense* or *America's Messenger*, an *Almanac*, edited by Samuel Atkins, the first work ever printed in Philadelphia.² In April, 1692, filled with a sense of unjust treatment at the hands of Philadelphia Friends, Bradford secured a release from his obligation to do their printing for them, intending to return to England. In March, 1693, the Council of New York passed a resolution to the effect that if a printer would come to that province to print the acts of Assembly and other public documents, he should be paid a salary of forty pounds a year, "and have the benefit of his printing besides what serves the public." Eighteen days later Bradford's presses were set up in New York.³

² One copy of this very rare work is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

³ Some of the work done by him in Philadelphia, according to Mr. Westcott, consists of the following (in addition to a tract, title not given, said by H. Stevens, of London, to be in the library of the Friends, London, dated 1686): (1) *The Kalendarium*, etc., 1685; (2) *An epistle from John Burnyeat to Friends in Philadelphia*, etc., 1686; (3) *An Almanac*, calculated for the meridian of Burlington, by Daniel Leeds, student of agriculture, etc., 1687; (4) *Almanac for 1688*, by Daniel Leeds, 1688; (5) *Almanac for 1688*, by Edward Eakin, 1688; (6) *Broadside in relation to keeping Fairs at the Centre*; (7) *The Temple of Wisdom, for the Little World*, in two parts, etc. (a book, the first ever printed in Philadelphia, a compilation, apparently by Leeds, the almanac-maker, containing, among other things, extracts from Burton's *Anatomic*, George Withers, Francis Quarles, and Lord Bacon), 1688; (8) *Broadside proposals for printing a large Bible*. ("Proposals for the Printing of a Large Bible, by William Bradford. These are to give notice, that it is proposed for a large house Bible to be printed by way of subscriptions (a method usual in England for the printing of large volumes, because printing is very chargeable); therefore, to all that are willing to forward so good (and great) a work as the printing of the Holy Bible, are offered these proposals, viz.: 1. That it shall be printed in a fair character, on good paper, and well bound. 2. That it shall contain the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocrypha, and all to have useful marginal notes. 3. That it shall be allowed (to them that subscribe) for twenty shillings per Bible (a price which one of the same volume in England would cost). 4. That the pay shall be half silver money, and half country produce at money price, one-half down now, and the other half on the delivery of the Bibles. 5. That those who do subscribe for six shall have the seventh gratis, and have them delivered one month before any above that number shall be sold to others. 6. To those which do not subscribe, the said Bibles will not be allowed under 26s. apiece. 7. Those who are minded to have the Com-

¹ *Mercury*, Feb. 26, 1723: "My Lord Coke observes, that to punish first, and then inquire, the law abhors; but here Mr. Franklin has a severe sentence passed upon him, even to the taking away part of his livelihood, without being called to make an answer. An indifferent person would judge by this vote against *Courants*, that the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay are made up of oppressors and bigots, who make religion the only engine of destruction to the people, and the rather because the first letter in the *Courant*, of the 14th of January, which the Assembly censures, so naturally represents and exposes the hypocritical pretenders to religion. . . . Thus much we could not forbear saying, out of compassion to the distressed people of the province, who must now resign all pretences to sense and reason, and submit to the tyranny of priestcraft and hypocrisy."

From 1693 to 1699 there is no evidence of a printer being in Philadelphia, but on the contrary evidence that there was none, since Daniel Leeds, the almanac-maker, a strong Keithian, had to go to New York to get a brace of pamphlets printed that he himself had written upon the points of the controversy.¹ Meantime, in spite of Gabriel Thomas, learning and the learned professions were not unrepresented in Philadelphia. We have already, in a preceding chapter, said something of the earliest doctors and lawyers. With Penn came over Dr. Thomas Wynne, of Flintshire, Wales; Dr. Griffith Owen, of Wales; Dr. Nicholas More and Dr. John Goodson, both of London. Dr. Edward Jones, of Bala, Merionethshire, Dr. Wynne's son-

in-law, was a first purchaser, and came over about the same time; Dr. John Le Pierre, who died in 1729, is also thought to have come with Penn. He bore the character of an alchemist. Dr. Wynne settled in the lower counties, and died in 1691; Dr. Nicholas More, president of the Society of Free Traders and founder of the Manor of Moreland, does not seem to have been in practice, nor was Dr. Goodson, who was one of Penn's commissioners of property and held other political places of trust; but Dr. Edward Jones was an active physician. There were four other physicians or "chirurgeons" among the first purchasers,—Drs. Charles Marshall, of Bristol; William Russell, of London; Robert Dimsdale, of Middlesex; and Hugh Chamberlain, of London; but there is no evidence of their having emigrated.

mon Prayer, shall have the whole bound up for 22s., and those that do not subscribe, 28s. and 6d. per Book. 8. That encouragement is given by Peoples subscribing and paying down one-half, the said work will be put forward with what expedition may be. 9. That the subscribers may enter their subscriptions and time of Payment at *Phemeas Pemberton's* and *Robert Hall's*, in the County of Bucks; at *Malen Stacy's* Mill, at the Falls; at *Thomas Budd's* House, in Burlington; at *John Hastings'*, in the County of Chester; at *Edward Blake's*, in New Castle; at *Thomas V. Woodrooff's*, in Salem; and at *William Bradford's*, in Philadelphia, printer and undertaker of the said work, at which places the subscribers shall have a receipt for so much of their subscriptions as paid, and an obligation for the delivery of the number of Bibles (so printed and bound as aforesaid) as the respective subscribers shall deposit one-half for. Also, this may further give notice that *Samuel Richardson* and *Samuel Carpenter*, of Philadelphia, are appointed to take care and be assistant in the laying out of the subscription money, and to see that it be employed to the use intended, and consequently that the whole work be expedited. Which is promised by WILLIAM BRADFORD, Philadelphia, the 14th of the 1st month, 1688." This offer was seven years before Cotton Mather's Bible.) (9) Frame of Government of Pennsylvania, 1689; (10) A Tract by Gershom Bulkeley, 1689; (11) Presbyterian and Independent Visible Churches in New England. By George Keith; (12) The People's Right to Election; or, Alteration of Government in Connecticut. Arranged in a Letter by Gershom Bulkeley, Esq., of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace of the County of Hartford, 1689; (13) Blood Will Out, or an Example of Truth by Plain Evidence of the Holy Scriptures, viz.: Pardon Tillinghast, B. Keech, and Cotton Mather, and a few words of a letter to Cotton Mather. By George Keith, 1690; (14) A Confession of Faith, by George Keith, etc.; (15) A General Epistle to Friends, by George Whitehead, 1691; (16) Reasons and Causes of the Late Separation, by George Keith, 1691; (17) Anti-Christ and Sadducee, 1691; (18) Presbyterian and Independent Churches in North America brought to the Text, by George Keith, 1692; (19) A Refutation of the Three Opposers of Justice, etc., etc., together with thirteen or fourteen more pamphlets for and against Keith's heresies; (20) A Short Description of Pennsylvania; or, A Relation of What Things are Known, Enjoyed, and like to be Discovered in the said Province, etc., by Richard Frame, 1692; (21) The Christian Faith of the People called Quakers in Rhode Island vindicated from the Calumnies of C. Ludowick and Cotton Mather, 1692; (22) A Confession of Faith in the most Necessary Things of Christian Doctrine, Faith, and Practice, according to the Testimony of Holy Scriptures. Given Forth from the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, the 7th of 7th mo., 1692, by the despised Christian People called Quakers. Published by William Bradford, Philadelphia, 1693; (23) Spirit of the Hat, by James Claypoole, 1693; (24) A Paraphractical Exposition in a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in Boston, concerning a certain person who compared himself to Mordecai, 1693 (a poetical attack on Samuel Jennings against the practice of slaveholding given forth by the appointment of the meeting held at Philip James' house, in Philadelphia, says Wharton). Morgan Edwards, in his "Materials for a History of the Baptists," enumerates nine or ten other tracts or pamphlets which were published at this time in relation to the Keithian controversy, the most of which it is fair to presume were published by Bradford.

¹ One of these tracts was called "News of a Trumpet Sounding in the Wilderness," etc., 1697; the other "A Trumpet Sounded Out of the Wilderness in America," etc., 1699.

Of the early lawyers of Philadelphia, apart from their political associations, little is known. Charles Pickering, prosecuted in 1683 for coining or counterfeiting Spanish money, was one; he died in 1695. Patrick Robinson, clerk of the Provincial Court, and register of wills, was an attorney; he died in 1701. In 1685, by order of Council, Samuel Hersant was appointed prosecuting attorney, and held his office fifteen months, until elected sheriff of Philadelphia. David Lloyd became attorney-general of the province in 1686. John Moore was king's attorney in 1700. Of other attorneys we know little more than the names of John White (1685), and that Penn's cousin, William Assheton, clerk of Councils and City Council, and subsequently judge, was in Philadelphia as early as 1700.

In his inaugural address of 1872, John William Wallace discourses eloquently of the early and substantial efforts made in Philadelphia to found schools and provide the means of education to all. The encomium is not undeserved. The school was provided for when there was scarcely a single house built along the river front. We have already spoken of Enoch Flowers' and George Keith's schools, the former set in motion by Council regulation, Dec. 10, 1683, the latter provided for soon after. Flowers' terms, as has already been noted, were four shillings to eight shillings the quarter, according to grade, and both in his school and the grammar school ("a school of arts and sciences," say the Council minutes) they whose parents were too poor to pay the fees were not deprived of the means of getting knowledge. In 1698, when Gabriel Thomas wrote, Flowers' and Keith's schools were not the only ones in the province, for he expressly says that in Philadelphia "are several good schools of learning for youth, in order to the attainment of arts and sciences, as also reading, writing, etc." Says Thomas I. Wharton,² "Hardly had the emigrants sheltered themselves in their huts—the forest trees were still standing at their doors—when they

² "Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania," by Thomas I. Wharton.

established schools and a printing-press, to teach and to be enlightened, literally *inter silvas querere verum*." The grammar school was founded in 1689, and formally and liberally chartered in 1701. Keith's salary was fifty pounds per annum, with dwelling-house, school-house, and all the profits of the school besides, a guarantee up to one hundred and twenty pounds per annum for two years. At the end of that time he was succeeded by Thomas Makin, also clerk of Assembly, some of whose uncouth hexameters have been quoted already, and more may be found, if the reader wishes to see them, in the appendix to the second volume of Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," where also a translation in Proud's manner may be seen.¹

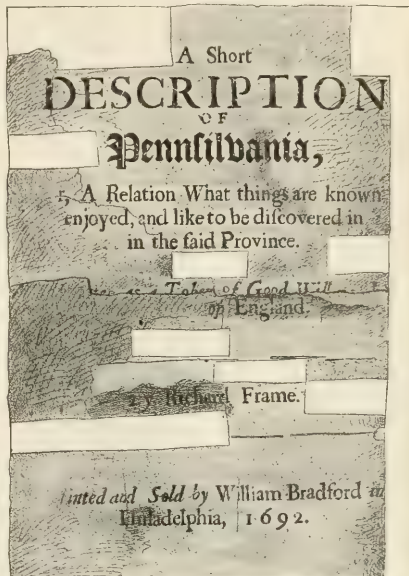
Makin was not the earliest Philadelphia poet. In the list of publications by Bradford, in a foot-note just above, it will be seen that there was a satire published in 1693, of which Joshua Francis Fisher, in his admirable paper on "Early Poets and Poetry in Pennsylvania," says that it was the earliest rythmical production of our province which was committed to print; at least of which we have any notice, . . . a small quarto of eight pages. It is to be regretted that neither the name of the author nor of the printer is attached. The piece is of extreme rarity, and all the criticism I am able to furnish is "that it was a bitter attack upon Samuel Jennings, and that the lines are destitute of the spirit, and almost without the form, of poetry."²

Two poems were published by Bradford in 1692 and (as is conjectured) in 1696, which establish the fact of the existence of Rittenhouse's paper-mill on the Wissahickon, in Roxborough township, as early at least as 1690.³ In this mill Bradford had a considerable interest, and probably instigated its establishment. When it was carried away by the floods in 1700, William Penn interested himself greatly in promoting its reconstruction. The first of the poems referred to was that of Richard Frame, "A Short Description of Pennsylvania; or, A Relation What things are known, enjoyed and like to be discovered in the said Province."⁴ The other poem was that of the Hon. (or Judge) John Holmes, a city magistrate, who was on the bench when Bradford was tried for publishing Keith's pamphlet. It was entitled "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania."⁵ Mr. Westcott has quoted several passages from this poem. All that is necessary to

give here is his reference to the Rittenhouse paper-mill:

"Here dwelt a Printer, and I find
That he can both print books and bind;
He wants not paper, ink, nor skill,
He's owner of a paper-mill;
The paper-mill is here, hard-by,
And makes good paper frequently."

This was indeed the fact; the paper was far better than Holmes' poetry.



FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF FRAME'S POEM.
[In Ridgway Library, Philadelphia.]

Of the other publications by Bradford which have been named, his "Burnyeat's Epistle" was the circular of a traveling Quaker minister after the order of George Fox, an Englishman, of whom Fox himself wrote that "he traveled and preached the Gospel in Ireland, Scotland, Barbadoes, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and up and down New England, and had many disputes with priests and professors that opposed the truth. But the Lord gave him dominion over all, and to stop the mouths of gainsayers, and he turned many to the Lord and was a peacemaker." He appears to have been Fox's companion in his journey to America from Barbadoes, through Virginia and Maryland, into New Jersey. The epistle printed by Bradford, one of twenty-three uttered by this very Quaker St. Paul, was brief, four pages in small quarto. Bradford's almanacs, edited by Leeds, rude as they were, were the forerunners of "Poor Richard." They mingled in their miscellany the times of holding courts and fairs with moral maxims,

¹ Makie's Latin poems, his "Descriptio Pennsylvaniae," and his "Encomium Pennsylvaniae," were found among other MSS. in the papers of James Logan.

² This was forty years in advance of the first mill of the kind in New England, at Milton, Mass. (See Horatio Gates Jones' paper on the Rittenhouse paper-mill.)

³ The only copy of this poem known to be in existence is in the Ridgway Library of Philadelphia.

⁴ Holmes came from England in 1686, and was a constituent member of the Philadelphia Baptist congregation. He married the widow of Dr. (and Chief Justice) Nicholas More, and afterwards settled in Salem, N. J., dying about 1701.

religious homilies, and practical, pithy rules of husbandry. The calendar was by no means a Quaker one, but gave all the fasts and festivals of the established church and even of the Catholic Church; but this was perhaps needful, for men were very much used in these times to make bargains and set engagements by "Lady day," "Michaelmas," "Innocents," etc. The printer's first real volume, the "Temple of Wisdom," was a duodecimo of some size, and a work most creditable to Bradford. The printer, indeed, was a man of estimable character. Franklin describes him as being cunning and not very nice in his self-seeking; but he was perhaps less so than Franklin. In his letter to the Burlington Half-Yearly Meeting, February, 1688, in which he first opens up his Bible scheme, he speaks of having laid out nearly all his capital in the purchase of the materials for his art, and as being content to get a livelihood for himself and family while printing anything "serviceable to truth." Such was the character of this book, the "Temple of Wisdom," for which no great sale could be expected, for Bacon's "Essays" and Quarles' "Emblems" are not of the books that sell well. "Poor Richard" was a much more profitable venture, and it is doubtful if Franklin ever read Bacon's "Essays," much less thought of printing them. He had, however, much shrewd mother-wit which was highly characteristic, as he showed in his examination before the Governor and Council when interrogated about printing the charter, and he had perhaps a spice of malice in his disposition. It seems highly probable that he either wrote himself, or procured the writing of the above-mentioned satire on Samuel Jennings, who was one of the justices of the peace that delivered him and his printing-office into the custody of the sheriff for printing George Keith's first pamphlet.

The next printer in Philadelphia was Reynier or Reynier Jansen, who succeeded Bradford, but, as has been said, after an interval of some years. Not much is known of Jansen. It has been conjectured he was Bradford's apprentice, and succeeded to some of his old type, but we should rather look to the Germantown colony for his starting-point, and, if there were any original connection between him and Bradford, expect to trace it through the latter's relations with Rittenhouse. At any rate, the earliest publication of which anything is known bearing Jansen's imprint is in 1699, and he may have come over to the province with Penn and Logan in that year. He seems to have been a Dutchman. Dying in 1706, he left a will which refers to a son of his, Liberius, in Amsterdam, and to two married daughters. The first book published by him was called "God's Protecting Providence Man's Surest Help and Defence," etc., a long title. The book, by Jonathan Dickinson, was a narrative of the sufferings of some shipwrecked people, Friends and others, cast away upon the coast of Florida in 1696, and exposed to many dangers and hardships, but finally rescued by the Governor of St.

Augustine and sent to Philadelphia. Dickinson, his wife, and six months' old infant were among the sufferers. Jansen also printed a number of tracts, as "Truth Rescued from Forgery and Falsehood" (an answer to "The Case Decided"), 1699; "A Seasonable Account of the Christian and Dying Words of Some Young Men, by Thomas Trafford," 1700; "Satan's Harbinger Encountered," etc., by C. P. (Caleb Pusey), 1700; "Jesus the Crucified Man the Eternal Son of God, by William Davis," 1700; "Jacob Taylor's Almanac," 1702; "A Letter from a Clergyman in the Country," etc., 1702; "Proteus Ecclesiasticus," "George Keith Once More," "The Bomb Searched," and several more controversial pamphlets by Keith, Pusey, and others, between 1702 and 1706.

Jansen's printing-office, after his death, seems to have been taken by Jacob Taylor, the almanac-maker, but his work is of no consequence, and there is no proof of his having been even a practical printer. In May, 1712, the Assembly determined to print the laws, and sent for Taylor and "the other printers in town," to confer with them on the subject. The price set was one hundred pounds for five hundred copies, and the printers could not be induced to underbid one another. In 1713 the project, abandoned for a time, was resumed, and in November of that year we find Andrew Bradford, son of William, a competitor with Taylor for the job. This was his first appearance, and his type was vastly superior to that of Jansen and Taylor, so that the latter disappears from the scene as a printer, though "Taylor's Almanac" continued to be published. In July, 1714, we find Andrew Bradford asking the Assembly for relief. He had printed the laws, but the English Council of State, board of trade, and king had repealed them and prevented his sales. The House paid him thirty pounds for fifty bound copies of the work, and he also printed sixty copies of the laws of that year for £34 7s. 6d., a similar contract being made with him in 1718. Bradford also printed the usual number of tracts and pamphlets to be expected from a printer in his position, including an essay on hemp culture, a tract in Welsh, by Elias Pugh ("Ammerch in Cymri"), Lord Molesworth's "Independent Whig," Taylor's, Jacob Leeds', John Hughes', and John Jerman's Almanacs, etc. Franklin calls him illiterate, and says his office was badly equipped, but we must not forget that Franklin and he were rival printers.

In 1722, Samuel Keimer came to Philadelphia and established himself, either bringing type of his own or succeeding to those used by Taylor and Jansen. Franklin makes him the subject of as many jokes in his autobiography as he appears to have of pranks during their intercourse, and Keimer was no doubt half an oddity and half an adventurer. Yet it is not unlikely, after all, that Keimer, with his living to make, and scant means for it, thought far less of the "main chance" and far more of the way to work himself up than Franklin did. He was a braggart and a

pretender. Joseph, successor to Jacob Taylor, in a severe attack upon him in the *Mercury*, in 1726, ridicules his charlatanism and boasting, saying, "Thy constant care and labor is to be thought a finished philosopher and universal scholar, never forgetting to talk of the Greek and Hebrew and other oriental tongues, as if they were as natural to thee as hooting to an owl." He was a bad business man, and not over-scrupulous about either debts or business relations, but he was at least genuine in his enthusiasms, and Franklin had none. He was a London printer, and he used to promise his readers "to present to the world, for its entertainment, an account of his sufferings under the character of 'the white negro.'" He left his wife; he had probably suffered some of the slavery of a debtors' prison; he was an early dissenter, a preacher among the "French prophets," and had always two or three plans of his own for bettering the world, Franklin's plans of the sort being generally for the simple bettering himself. When he arrived in Philadelphia, in February, 1722, he at once inserted an advertisement in the *Mercury*, a part of which has already been quoted, to the effect that there had lately arrived in the city a person who tendered his free services to "teach his poor brethren, the male negroes," to read the Scriptures, in "a very uncommon, expeditious, and delightful manner," without any cost to their masters. All serious persons, of no matter what denomination, were asked to call and advise with him at his lodgings, "at the dwelling-house of John Read, carpenter, in High St., Philadelphia, every morning till eight of the clock, except on the Seventh Day." This shows that Keimer worked at his trade during the day. The advertisement ends in a canto of Keimer's poetry:

"The Great Jehovah from above,
Whose Christian name is Light and Love,
In all His works will take delight,
And wash poor Hagar's Blackmoors white.
Let none condemn this undertaking
By silent thoughts or noisy speaking;
They're fools whose bolts soon shot upon
The mark they've looked but little on."

And we know, from Taylor's satire, that Keimer did not give up this plan of his for several years, whether he was ever able to put it into execution or not. He was always poor, always the subject of ridicule, as a man must be who thinks of other concerns before his own. As he himself said, he had been the butt of slander for twenty years, three times ruined as a master-printer, nine times in prison, once for six years at a time, "and often reduced to the most wretched circumstances, hunted as a partridge upon the mountains, and persecuted with the most devilish lies the devil himself could invent or malice utter."¹ Perhaps, after all, this man's chief crimes were that he was impractical and did not succeed,—did not "get

on" in life. It is characteristic of him that, when Franklin first called to see him, he was composing and "setting up" at the same time an "Elegy upon Aquila Rose." Among the things printed by Keimer were a tract by Thomas Woolston, a treatise, "The Curiosities of Common Water, or the Advantages thereof in Preventing and Curing many Distempers. Written by John Smith, C.M. To which are added some rules on Preserving," "A Parable, etc.," 1723 (a tract of Keimer's, which induced the Friends to give notice that he was not of their sect), and "The Craftsman. A Sermon, etc., by the late Samuel Burgess." In 1725 he published "Taylor's Almanac," interpolating some irrelevancies of his own, which led to Taylor's satire upon him, and to an advertisement by Adam Goforth, in the *Mercury*, to the effect that it was a lying and libelous almanac, and its publisher a man whose "religion consisteth only in the beard, and his sham keeping of the seventh day Sabbath, following Christ only for loaves and fishes." Sooth to say, he did not get sufficient of these to compensate him for any sort of sacrifice, much less that of conscience and principle.

What Joshua Francis Fisher says of the early poets of Philadelphia will apply to early authors of all kinds. There were none in the first twenty years of the colony, the struggle with nature being too imperious and exacting for any to have leisure for any sort of elegant recreation whatsoever. "But the second generation, relieved from the toils of settlement in the forest, reposing under liberal establishments and laws framed by the enlightened wisdom of the founder and his companions, and reaping plenty from rich and beautiful fields, cleared by the labor of their fathers, first turned their eyes to Heaven in thankfulness, and then to Parnassus for inspiration to celebrate the beauty and delights of their happy country. Although it cannot be denied that the tuneful inhabitants of that sacred hill rarely descended into the green valleys of our province, or that '*erubuit sylvas habitare Thalia*,' still their smiles were not altogether withheld from their mystic votaries, and this was quite encouragement enough." The early poets of the eighteenth century in Philadelphia, Mr. Fisher notes, did not print much, and he fancies that what they printed was not their best. James Logan, for instance, wrote Latin verses and Greek odes, while the only poetry of his in print is an English version of the Distiches of Cato, made for his daughter. Mr. Fisher adds that we must look for the works of these earliest writers "in the almanacs, a strange place to seek for poetry. But at that early day they were the only publications to which rhymes could obtain admittance, and certainly never since have almanacs been embellished with better verses. They are for the most part greatly deficient in poetic graces, but some of them may certainly wish justice be commended for sprightliness and grace. The want of a periodical sheet was felt by those modest geniuses,

¹ M. Laboulaye conjectures Keimer to have been a Camisard, or Protestant of the Cévennes.

who, not confident of the intrinsic merit of their pieces, would have been happy to trust to the generosity of the public an unfathered offspring which might not obtain favor for an acknowledged author. The invitations of the editors of our two earliest newspapers were eagerly accepted by a score of nameless sons of Apollo. Scarcely a week passed that some new attempt at rhyming was not made, or, to speak more appropriately, that our ancestors did not hear some young Orpheus beginning to take lessons on the lyre. These first strains certainly were not always melodious. The first poetry of Pennsylvania may generally be characterized as inelegant, unharmonious, and spiritless; yet there were several brilliant exceptions, which surprise us by their sweetness and vivacity, and were beyond a doubt the productions of cultivated and refined minds. There are many verses which would not discredit any English author of the last century, and still may be read with pleasure; and although, perhaps, they have not enough of originality or brilliancy to deserve a reproduction in an age overstocked with all the lighter kinds of literature, may certainly be noticed with satisfaction and referred to with pride."

Of the satire upon Samuel Jennings mention has been made already. In 1707 there was another satirist, William Rakestraw, who assailed the proprietary both in prose and verse, and who was judicially punished for what Logan styled his "scurrilous libels and rhymes." Aquila Rose was the first poet of Philadelphia who gained anything like reputation. He came from England young and very poor, found employment in Bradford's office, took a wife, got a lease of the High Street ferry, became clerk of Assembly, and died June 24, 1723, aged only twenty-eight years. Franklin speaks of the high esteem in which he was held, and three elegies that have come down to us were occasioned by his death. One of these, as has been said, was by Keimer, one by Elias Bockate, of London, and the third is anonymous, an "Elegy on the sight of Myris' tomb," not a bad attempt, by the way, at a strain in which even Milton was stilted and artificial, and only Shelley and Tennyson, among moderns, have excelled. Mr. Fisher does not seem to have been aware that Joseph Rose, Aquila's son and Franklin's apprentice, collected his father's verses and printed them in a slim pamphlet of fifty-six pages, in 1740, with the following preface: "The good reception the poetical manuscript writings of my deceased father, Aquila Rose, have met with in this province, from men of wit and taste, with a desire of some of these to see them printed, induced me to collect what I could." Mr. Rose adds that many of the best poems had been "lent out" and could not be recovered. In an introductory poem we learn of Rose that,—

"Albion his birth, his learning Albion gave;
To manhood grown, he crossed the stormy wave;
More arts, and Nature's wondrous ways to find,
Illuminate and fortify his mind," etc.

"And now a greater task he takes in hand,
Which none but true proprietors understand.
What pity 'tis they seldom live to taste
The fruits of those pure spirits that they waste!
For works so hard and tedious, was it known
A poet e'en did poetry disown?
Or for a distant livelihood give o'er
Those instant pleasures that he felt before?
Yet so Aquila did,—the rustic toil,
To make firm landings on a muddy soil,
Erect a ferry over Schuylkill's stream,
A benefit to thousands—death to him!

* * * * *

He saw his causeways firm above the waves,
And nigh the deeps unless a storm outbraves;
When gusts unusual, strong with wind and rain,
Swell'd Schuylkill's waters o'er the humble plain,
Sent hurrying all the moveables adrift,
And drove afar the needful 'st thing, the boat,
'Twas then that wading thro' the chilling flood,
A cold ill humor mingled with his blood.

* * * * *

Physicians try their skill, his head relieved,
And his lost appetite to strength retrieved;
But all was flat'ry—so the lamp decays,
And near its exit gives an ardent blaze."

Which reads as if it might have been composed by the attending physician. Rose's poems, says Duyckinck, "display skill and ease in versification." A specimen, quoted in "Duyckinck's Cyclopædia," "To his Companion at Sea," is a graceful reminiscence of Horace. A copy of verses written by him in 1720, in the shape of a carrier's address for New Year's day, shows the antiquity of that now obsolete custom.¹

¹ These verses seem worth preserving here for the local references:

"Full fifty times have rou'd their changes on,
And all the year's transactions now are done;
Full fifty times I've trod, with eager haste,
To bring you weekly news of all things past.
Some grateful notice is due for such a task,
Tho' modesty itself forbids to ask;
A silver thought, express'd in ill-shap'd ore,
Is all I wish; nor would I ask for more.
To grace our work, swift Merc'ry stands in view;
I've been a *Living Merc'ry* still to you.
Tho' ships and tiresome posts advices bring,
Till we impress it, 'tis no current thing.
Copson may write, but Bradford's art alone
Distributes news to all th' expecting town.
How far remov'd is this our western shore
From those dear lands our fathers knew before;
Yet our bold ships the raging ocean dare,
And bring us constant news of actions there.
Quick to your hands the fresh advices come,
From England, Sweden, France, and ancient Rome.
What Spain intends against the barbarous Moors,
Or Russian armies on the Swedish shores.
What awful hand pestiferous judgments bears,
And lays the sad Marcellus in death and tears.
From George alone what peace and plenty spring,
The greatest statesman and the greatest king.
Long may he live, to us a blessing giv'n,
Till he shall change his crown for that of heav'n.
The happy day, *Dear Sir*, appears ag'in,
When human nature lodg'd a God within.
The angel now was heard among the swains;
A God resounds from all the distant plains;
O'erjoyed they haste, and left their fleecy care,
Found the blest Child, and knew the God was there.

The elegy to Rose, under the name of Myris, has a certain pleasing warmth:

"With pleasure we behold, O Delaware!
Thy woody banks become the Muse's care;
Thy docile youth were with her beauty fired,
And folly, vice, and ignorance retired;
And had but Myris lived, we hoped to see
A new Arcadia to arise in thee."

Keimer's elegy was coarse and extravagant, like the man, but it contains some really valuable illustrations of manners and customs, to which reference may be made hereafter. Of Rose's character, says Keimer,—

"He loved plain Truth, but hated formal Cant,
In those who Truth and Honesty did want.
A curious Artist at his Business, he
Could Think, and Speak, Compose, Correct so free,
To make a Dead Man Speak or Blind to see."

Keimer wrote other verses, but they are not worth quoting.¹

Yet whilst, with gen'rous breath, you hail the day,
And, like the shepherds, sacred homage pay,
Let gen'rous thought some kindly grace infuse,
To him that brings, with careful speed, your News."

It is evident from the above that Copson, the publisher, was also the man who gathered the news, edited, and "made up" the *Mercury*; Bradford was only the printer.

¹ Excepting the parts in his "Sorrowful Lamentations of Samuel Keimer, Printer of the *Barbadoes Gazette* (May 4, 1734), which refer to Philadelphia. This lamentation begins:

"What a pity it is that some modern bravadoes,
Who dub themselves gentlemen here in Barbadoes,
Should time after time run in debt to their printer,
And care not to pay him in Summer or Winter."

He adds, as a contrast, that,—

"In Penn's wooden country, type feels no disaster,
Their printer is rich and is made their Post Master;
His father, a printer, is paid for his work,
And wallows in plenty just now in New York,
Tho' quite past his labor, and old as my grannum,
The Government pays him pounds sixty per annum."

* * * * *

Keimer's elegy shows that all the literary characters of Philadelphia of the day were gathered around Rose's grave at his funeral, including Governor Keith, James Logan, Thomas Chalkley, the Quaker minister and writer, and all the circle of wits, scholars, and writers shortly afterwards united by Franklin in the club of the Junto.

Andrew Bradford's *American Weekly Mercury* began to be printed Dec. 22, 1719. It was on a pot half-sheet (fifteen by twelve and a half inches), about a page of ordinary letter-paper, in other words, and bore the imprint: "Philadelphia: Printed by Andrew Bradford, and sold by him and John Copson." In 1721 Copson's name was dropped, and the imprint altered to "Philadelphia: Printed and sold by Andrew Bradford, at the Bible in Second Street, and also by William Bradford, in New York, where advertisements are taken in." William Bradford's *New York Gazette* was not begun until 1725. In Mr. Westcott's words, "The *Mercury* sometimes appeared on a whole sheet of pot, in type of various sizes, as small pica, pica, and English. It appeared weekly, generally on Tuesday; but the day of publication was varied. Price ten shillings per annum. Editorial matter seldom appeared, and so little notice was taken of passing events in the city, with which at that time everybody was supposed to be acquainted, that little information with regard to local affairs is to be found in the paper. It was principally made up of extracts from foreign journals several months old, with a few badly-printed advertisements. Two cuts,

En type at Jamaica, our island's reproach,
Is able to ride in her chariot or coach;
But alas your poor type prints no figures like Nullo,
Curs'd, cheated, abused by each pitiful fellow,
Tho' Working like slave, with zeal and true courage,
He can scarce get as yet ev'n salt to his porridge."

The AMERICAN Weekly Mercury,

December 22, 1719.

From the NORTH.

HAMBURG August, 20. All Our Letters from Sweden, are full of the Dismal Ravages committed by the Muscovites there, Those Semi Christians have burnt the fine Towns of Ny-Arping, Nordkopping, North Telle, South Telle, Gerall, Gshammer, Overgrund, Forstenar, Ortel, &c. with all the Castles and Gentlemens Seats near them & ruined all the

Stock, has brought the Company in such an immense sum in specie, that it is to wonder they should be able to pay off the King's Debt of twelve hundred Millions, seeing they are Gainers by the particular Subscription, no less than four hundred and fifty Millions at one Blow in ready Money, and this now said they will still have Leave to advance and enlarge their Subscription for fifty Millions more, and so on to fifty more, if they please, in which Case they may easily pay twelve hundred Millions; and it is said already from Paris, that they have eighteen hundred Millions in Cash

coarsely engraved and intended as ornaments, were placed at the head, one on each side of the title; that on the left was a small figure of Mercury, represented on foot, with extended wings and bearing his caduceus. The other was the representation of a postman riding at full speed. These cuts were sometimes shifted, and, for the sake of variety, Mercury and the postman exchanged places."¹

The *Mercury* did publish an occasional bill of mortality, says Mr. Wharton, and some of its advertisements were characteristic of the times and manners. This was the only newspaper in Philadelphia until Keimer began his rival sheet, *The Universal Instructor in All Arts and Sciences, and Pennsylvania Gazette*, which Franklin utilized as the germ of his *Gazette*.

If we could determine exactly when Aquila Rose died we would know when Franklin came to Philadelphia, for Keimer's elegy was palpably put in type immediately after the funeral. But one authority says June, another August, and we cannot decide between them, though June is the preferred date. He himself, in his autobiography, says he reached New York in October on his way to Philadelphia; but he was not accurate as to dates. He was recommended by William Bradford to seek work with his son Andrew, in place of his principal hand, Aquila Rose, then just dead,—so recently dead that the place, William Bradford thought, was not yet filled. Franklin indeed found the place filled when he reached Philadelphia, but this did not prevent him from getting work and good wages from both Bradford and Keimer, so that when he returned to Boston in April, 1724, besides his traveling expenses, he had good new clothes, a watch, and five pounds sterling silver in his pocket.

Franklin began at once his career of influence in Philadelphia. He relates how gracious Governor Keith was to him, though not yet eighteen years old, making him take wine with him and often inviting him to dinner. As he himself says, as soon as he got lodgings at Mr. Read's, "I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town, that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly, and gained money by my industry and frugality." The young men of his acquaintance whose names he gives were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph, "all lovers of reading." The first two were clerks to Charles Brockden, a leading conveyancer; Ralph was a merchant's clerk. Osborne he sincerely admired and loved; he admired Ralph's talent. "I think I never knew a prettier talker," yet contrives to belittle his character. Ralph probably was somewhat of a Bohemian, and borrowed Franklin's money; but Franklin was his debtor, for all that, for Ralph wrote for him that "Historical Sketch of Pennsylvania" which did so much to give him prominence with the British gov-

ernment, and eventually led to his becoming American agent in France for the United States. Ralph went to England with Franklin in 1724, and became a professional *littérateur* of London in the very darkest days of Grub Street, when Samuel Johnson had often to write himself *impransus*, and Goldsmith was more than once in pawn to his landlady. Yet Ralph contrived to make his way, after a fashion, though Pope put him in the "Dunciad," along with many better and many worse men, and now he is chiefly known through the waspish little poet's couplet:

"Silence, ye wolves, while Ralph to Cynthia howls,
Making night hideous,—answer him, ye owls!"

But Ralph had some energy and did some creditable work. Between 1730 and 1745 he printed several plays, some of which were acted at Drury Lane,—*"The Fashionable Lady," "Fall of the Earl of Essex," "The Lawyer's Feast,"* and *"The Astrologer."* These yielding no profit, he turned to satire, to pamphlets, to political libel; he was one of Bub Doddington's scribblers; he was one of Frederick, Prince of Wales', "literary bureau," and he forced Pelham at last to purchase his silence or hire him to support the New Castle administration. Then he turned to epic verse and satire, and finally to history, which he wrote, as Fox said, with "acuteness and diligence," while Hallam, not given to excessive praise, says his history of William, Anne, and George I. was the best that had been produced. Ralph died at Chiswick in 1762, his attainments in the latter part of his life being of no mean order, and this is no small compliment to a man who rose from the counter of a Philadelphia country store, and made his way through all the slat-tern miseries of the hack-writer's life in London.

Franklin and Ralph sailed together for London in 1724 to seek their fortunes, the former relying upon the false and illusory credentials given him by Governor Keith, and which he found to be utterly worthless on reaching London. This was a good sort of discipline for Franklin, who could live anywhere and anyhow. It made a good printer of him, and cleansed off all his New England rusticity. When he came back, in 1726, to Philadelphia he was quite competent to fill the part set for him in the province. That part was a great and distinguished one. Penn had founded a Quaker commonwealth. Franklin undertook to divest it of its sectarian garments, to modernize it, to give it a place in contemporary politics,—history, science, and art. He made war on the proprietary government and pulled it down; he laughed and ridiculed the Quakers into a minority; he united Quakers, churchmen, and German and Irish settlers in opposition to British pretensions and in sympathy with American ideas and principles. And, without enthusiasm, without idealism, without morality, or great command over or respect from men, he made Pennsylvania the foremost American colony at the outbreak of the Revolution by being himself the best public business man who ever lived.

¹ Westcott's History of Philadelphia, chap. lxxvii.

Franklin's autobiography always fascinates; it is one of the most charming narratives ever written, but it is the worst possible book in which to study him in his relations to public affairs. In the first place, he prefers to give his interior, individual history, rather than his exterior, public history, for which we owe him unending thanks; in the second place, it was always his idiosyncrasy to conceal the amount of pressure he himself exerted personally upon the springs of action, and to let such things seem to come about by chance—he feared to let his influence be known, lest he should so impair it; and, in the third place, he is not entirely frank at any time, and when he seems to be most ingenuous is the time to suspect him of being most *ruse*. The end was what he concerned himself about, and he did not care to betray his means, for he might want to employ them again to secure a similar end. So he often made it seem as if things came about by simple means or by pure accident, when he himself had worked up to them through long stages of preparation and by setting a hundred snares and gins. This was the philosopher's nature to act thus, and people suspected his sincerity very often. In the latter part of his life they used to call him "old lightning rod," and probably respected his talents much more than his character. In the earlier part of his life the Quakers, especially, both hated and feared him, and showed it by attacking him politically whenever he gave them a chance, which was not often, for he did not care much for popular favors, and had so little of the demagogue in his composition that he was suspected and accused of being both an aristocrat and a Tory. He was far from being either, for his patriotism was sound to the core, if not very exalted in kind, and a purer democrat in thought and mode of action never lived.

Franklin returned to Philadelphia from London, Oct. 11, 1726. In the spring of 1727 he was again at work for Keimer. Before the year was out he had printed currency notes for New Jersey, and became acquainted with the leading men of that province in so doing, and had agreed with Meredith, Keimer's apprentice, to set up a rival job office. In the winter of 1726-27, also, he had founded the "Junto," became a Freemason, and learned how to act upon the little community in which he lived for the accomplishment of his purposes, personal and political. The difficulties in his way in doing this were enhanced by the fact that he was a tradesman, a mechanic, and the lines were much more distinctly drawn then than now between "gentlemen" and artisans, even in Philadelphia and New England, especially in all matters of social intercourse and correspondence. But Franklin, never ceasing to be a tradesman and mechanic, but rather glorying in it, in fact, still made all classes own his superiority and bend to his influence. His mind was as active and busy as his hands, he had an insatiable curiosity, and he loved influence because he had a natural benevolence of character over and above his

self-seeking. These traits betrayed themselves very early, but are much more noticeable in his correspondence than in his autobiography. His letters illustrate fully his kindly disposition, especially to his family and friends, his whimsical, semi-humorous benevolence as fully as his memoirs do, and they bring us much closer to the philosopher in other regards.



FRANKLIN'S PRESS.

He wrote to his father, mother, sisters, nieces, nephews, cousins, to antiquaries, philosophers, and public men the civilized world over. He was a born reporter, because, a news-gatherer upon instinct, he not only heard everything which was passing, but was bound to investigate it. He had, besides, something of the *quidnunc* and the "old granny" about him, although frequently disclaiming such qualities.

A glance at his correspondence is full of suggestions of character. The first letter in Sparks' collection is one written in London offering Sir Hans Sloane a purse made of asbestos, which, as he notes, is provincially denominated "salamander cotton." The next is to his favorite sister, Jane, telling her that, hearing she was grown a beauty, he was minded to send her a tea-table for a present; but knowing her purpose to become a notable housewife, he would substitute a spinning-wheel for the ornamental piece. He writes to her again, when Mrs. Mecom, giving an account of the great mortality from smallpox in the family of George Claypoole, his neighbor, who, he notes, was a descendant of Cromwell. Eight had died, the cause being, he thinks, the imprudent use of mercury to extirpate the itch, the smallpox attacking them while their systems were debilitated by the mercurial poison. He regrets to hear that sister Holmes has a cancer of the heart, a disease thought to be incurable, but there is here in town a kind of shell, "made of some wood cut at a proper time by some man of great skill (as they say), which has done wonders in that disease among us, being worn for some

time on the breast. I am not apt to be superstitiously fond of believing such things, but the instances are so well attested as sufficiently to convince the most incredulous." This he will procure for her if he can, and it will do no harm to try it. His father (says another letter, anno 1738) has been writing to him about his religious belief, or rather his want of it, his mother grieving that one of her sons is an Arminian, another an Arian, and that he has become a Freemason. He would like to please his father by changing his opinions if he could, but a man cannot help his thoughts any more than his looks, and it is his idea that opinions should be judged by their influences and effects. He thinks that vital religion has always suffered when orthodoxy is more regarded than virtue, and he really does not know very well what an Arminian or Arian really is. "As to the Freemasons, I know no way of giving my mother a better account of them than she seems to have at present, since it is not allowed that women should be admitted into that secret society." If she will suspend her judgment, however, until she is better informed, she will probably learn that they are a very harmless sort of people. Another letter to Mrs. Mecom about apprentices, showing that Franklin knew the gauge of boys exactly, and had taken their measure. "I have frequently observed," he says, "that if their shoes were bad, they would say nothing of a new pair till Sunday morning, just as the bell rung, when, if you asked them why they did not get ready, the answer was prepared,—'I have no shoes;' and so of other things, hats and the like; or, if they knew of anything that wanted mending, it was a secret till Sunday morning, and sometimes I believe they would rather tear a little than be without the excuse. As to going on petty errands, no boys love it, but all must do it." He writes to his father of remedies for stone and gravel, and of his friend Bartram's discovery of "the famous Chinese ginseng;" to his brother John about the expedition to Cape Breton, in which he anticipates Professor Tyndall's prayer-gauge. Taking strong places, he says, is a particular trade, but some seem to think forts are as easy taken as snuff. "Father Moody's prayers look tolerably modest. You have a fast and prayer day for that purpose, in which I compute five hundred thousand petitions were offered to the same effect in New England, which, added to the petitions of every family morning and evening, multiplied by the number of days since January 25th, make forty-five millions of prayers, which, set against the prayers of a few priests in the garrison to the Virgin Mary, give a vast balance in your favor. If you do not succeed, I fear I shall have but an indifferent opinion of Presbyterian prayers in such cases as long as I live. Indeed, in attacking strong places, I should have more dependence on *works* than on *faith*, for, like the kingdom of heaven, they are to be taken by force and violence."

In another letter we find him advising a cousin in some matrimonial trouble, humorously, but wisely; he writes to Cadwallader Colden about defenses against the French and Indians, about a book of Osborne's, about Kalm the botanist, his own desires for greater ease and leisure, about colleges and schools, and classical culture, about electricity, the Abbé Nollet, Dalibard, Beccaria, trade with the Indians, union of the colonies, etc.; with James Logan he corresponds about the fortifications on the Delaware, about the Swedes and Kalm, etc.; with his mother, about domestic affairs and Philadelphia incidents, such as the yellow fever in 1749. He sends her a moidore, "which please accept towards chaise hire, that you may ride warm to meetings this winter. Pray tell us what kind of a sickness you have had in Boston this summer. Besides the measles and flux, which have carried off many children, we have lost some grown persons by what we call the *yellow fever*."¹ He corresponded with Revs. Samuel Johnson and William Smith on education in general, and on particular schemes for Philadelphia; with Jared Eliot, on meteorology and agriculture as well as general ethics; with George Whitefield, on religious and theological subjects; with Peter Collinson, on scientific and American subjects; he notes the fact, as observable to-day as it was then, that English laborers show less industry in new countries in proportion as labor is better paid, but German laborers "retain the habitual industry and frugality they bring with them, and, receiving higher wages, an accumulation arises which makes them rich." This difference he attributes to the effect of the British poor laws, but says man is naturally lazy. This he thinks is the cause of the failure to civilize the American Indians, who do not value the products of civilization enough to toil for them. Franklin, however, did not like the German immigrants, because they were not readily naturalized and did not care to acquire English speech and manners. "They import many books from Germany, and of the six printing-houses in the province, two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English." Franklin himself owned one of the half German half English offices.

Franklin corresponded with Governors Shirley and Thomas Pownall on public and political questions; he was writing to George Washington as early as 1756. When he undertook his first mission to England, in 1757, his circle of correspondents naturally widened in every direction. He wrote to family and friends and authorities at home about the greatest variety of topics; his European friends and corre-

¹ The correspondence with Logan, and the notes of the latter to Peter Collinson and others, will illustrate what was said above about the differences in social rank which stood in the way of Franklin in extending his influence. He always addresses Logan "Sir," in the most respectful and distant way. Logan, writing to Collinson, speaks of "our most ingenious printer and postmaster, Benjamin Franklin, who has the clearest understanding, with as extreme modesty, as any man I know here."

spondents included such men as William Strahan, Lord Kames, David Hume (to whom he wrote about history, philosophy, and literature), Baskerville, the printer (on typography), Galloway, Bartram, Dubourg, Benezet, etc. His letter to Joseph Priestley after the outbreak of the war is very significant: "Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head; during the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America." In another letter, probably to David Hartley, he gives the key-note of the separation: "But you will goad and provoke us. You despise us too much; and you are insensible of the Italian adage, that there is no *little enemy*."

Such is the character of Franklin's correspondence throughout. Intensely practical, each letter has some point of its own, conveys some piece of valuable information, condenses some result of careful observation, makes some pregnant inquiry, and is enlivened by an epigram, a sarcasm, a bit of humor, or a touch of kindly affection. Sentiment the philosopher had none; he seemed to be incapable of getting very angry; his sole complaint against Arthur Lee was that Lee was captious, suspicious, and quarrelsome; but he was a dangerous man to assail, because he was armed at all points, and welcomed the attack like the skillful chess-player, who is confident, as soon as his pieces are deployed, that his opponent will be annihilated. In many of his little schemes of morality and utility his ideas did not seem to rise above a very low scale, and they had a sort of wooden dullness which is vastly unpleasant. "Honesty is the best policy" was his favorite maxim, as if there were nothing of decorum and beauty for its own sake. So he got nothing out of his electrical experiments and discoveries but the lightning-rod; he drew up his rules for "moral perfection" as one might set types in a composing-stick; his inventions were a stove, an artificial arm and hand, an easy-chair, a swimming-pad, etc.; in war matters he was so absurd as to propose going back to bows and arrows, and he wished to have the copper coins of the country stamped with maxims out of "Poor Richard's Almanac," with the view to promote public frugality and honesty. If he had been a poet he would have anticipated Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy."

But this was one of the reasons why he was so influential and useful to Philadelphia from the time he became a citizen there. His mind was intensely active, he seldom thought much above the level of the crowd, he thought and expressed himself with wondrous clearness and plainness, and he was always planning some new thing which would advance Philadelphia's interests, and Franklin's along with them. Such, for example, was his "Junto," or "club for mutual improvement," into which, as he said, he "formed most of his ingenious acquaintance." The club met on Friday evenings. The rules, drawn up

by Franklin, required "that every member in his turn should produce one or more queries on any point of morals, politics, or natural philosophy, to be discussed by the company," with an essay from each once in three weeks. But the rules of the club really had a practical end in view, as the following, selected from among the "previous questions, to be answered at every meeting," show plainly enough:

"(1) Have you met with anything in the author you last read remarkable or suitable to be communicated to the Junto, particularly in history, morality, poetry, physic, travels, mechanic arts, or other parts of knowledge?

"(2) What new story have you lately heard agreeable for telling in conversation?

"(3) Hath any citizen in your knowledge failed in his business lately, and what have you heard of the cause?

"(4) Have you lately heard of any citizen's thriving well, and by what means?

"(5) Have you lately heard how any present rich man, here or elsewhere, got his estate?

"(10) Whom do you know that are shortly going voyages or journeys, if one should have occasion to send by them?

"(12) Hath any deserving stranger arrived in town since last meeting that you have heard of? and what have you heard or observed of his character or merits? And whether, think you, it lies in the power of the Junto to oblige him or encourage him as he deserves?

"(13) Do you know of any deserving young beginner lately set up whom it lies in the power of the Junto any way to encourage?

"(14) Have you lately observed any defect in the laws of your country of which it would be proper to move the Legislature for an amendment, or do you know of any beneficial law that is wanting?

"(15) Have you lately observed any encroachment on the just liberties of the people?

"(16) Hath anybody attacked your reputation lately, and what can the Junto do towards securing it?

"(17) Is there any man whose friendship you want, and which the Junto, or any of them, can procure for you?

"(18) Have you lately heard any member's character attacked, and how have you defended it?

"(19) Hath any man injured you from whom it is in the power of the Junto to procure redress?" etc.

Here was a secret association, of people from the several ranks of society, which was at once an intelligence office and a star chamber, a business protective union and an inquisition, a gossip club and a propagator of political opinion, a whispering gallery and a *vehmegericht*. It is easy to conceive how many advantages a skillful and plausible man like Franklin could secure to his business through such an association, in addition to the stores of useful knowledge about men and things he would be able to accumulate through it.

The Junto, founded in 1727, became forty years later the basis of the American Philosophical Society, of which Franklin was the first president, an association which has probably contributed more than any other to the advancement of science and the diffusion of knowledge in the United States. The Junto was not a very solemn club at first. It had a song or two of its own, it celebrated itself in an anniversary banquet, and it used to have a good many picnic meetings in rural places, "for bodily exercise." The membership was never very large. Franklin mentions only eleven persons, and Roberts Vaux has added about a dozen more names to the list,—all persons of great

respectability, few of any special prominence.¹ From the literary standpoint, besides Franklin, George Webb and Breintnal have come down to us most pleasantly. The latter, besides his verses, wrote good prose, and continued the series of essays styled "The Busy Body," begun by Franklin in the *Mercury*, and Webb says of him,—

"For choice of diction I should Breintnal choose,
For just conceptions and a ready muse—"

Webb himself described his companions and their characters and pursuits in a pleasing poem called "Bachelor's Hall." Webb was an Oxford scholar, a redemptioner, bought by Keimer for a four-years' term, his exile the fruit of a boy's London frolic. It is not known what became of him, but his "Bachelor's Hall" shows the wit and the man of culture. Franklin makes no mention of Henry Brooke, a young gentleman of much talent and good education, a baronet's younger son, and the author of a squib called "A Discourse on Jests," addressed to Franklin's friend, Robert Grace. But Webb refers to Brooke in tones of exalted panegyric:

"In Brooke's capacious breast the muses sit,
Eurobed with sense polite and poignant wit;
His lines run smoothly through the currents strong;
He for me with ease, with judgment sings the song.
Oh, would he oft'ner write; so should the town,
Or mend their tastes, or lay the muses down;
For, after menna, who would garlidge east,
That hath a spark of sense or grain of wit?"

The Junto was influential from the start, prosperous, popular, and profitable to Franklin and his associates. The philosopher had just gone into business for himself, with Meredith for partner, and their object was to break up Keimer, and divide the job work of the town with Bradford. All was fish, therefore, which came to his net, and, as he says of his Junto friends, "every one exerted themselves in recommending business to us. Breintnal, particularly,

¹ The names given by Franklin are Thomas Godfrey, Nicholas Scull, William Parsons, William Mangridge, Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, George Webb, Robert Grace, and William Coleman. Mr. Yanx's list of additional names includes Hugh Roberts, Philip Syng, Enoch Flower, Joseph Wharton, William Griffith, Luke Morris, Joseph Turner, Joseph Shippen, Joseph Trotter, Samuel Jervis, and Samuel Rhoads. It will be noticed that neither Osborne nor Watson, Franklin's early companions, with Ralph, in literature, are named. It is not known what were the fortunes of Watson. Osborne went to the West Indies and became a rich lawyer. It is noteworthy also that no professional men of consequence were members. Breintnal was a conveyancer's clerk, a sort of a poet; Godfrey, a self-taught mathematician, who, encouraged by James Logan, invented the well-known nautical instrument called Hadley's quadrant; Nicholas Scull was a leading surveyor and map-maker, afterwards surveyor-general; William Parsons was a literary shoemaker, who advanced from a mathematical smattering and studies in astrology to become surveyor-general; "William Mangridge, joiner, but a most exquisite mechanic, and a solid, sensible man;" Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, and George Webb were printers, associated with Franklin; "Robert Grace, a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively, and witty, a lover of punning and of his friends;" William Coleman, a merchant's clerk, afterwards provincial judge, a man whom Franklin sincerely loved, and to whom he gave a very high character for "the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals of almost any man I ever met with."

procured us from the Quakers the printing of forty sheets of their history, the rest being to be done by Keimer." Next year, remembering how well the paper-money printing job at Burlington had paid Keimer, and having got rid of his partner, Meredith, Franklin started the paper-money subject in the Junto. There was only fifteen thousand pounds of that sort of currency in the province; thinking people and men of property opposed its increase, but the popular cry was for more, and Franklin started a discussion of the subject in the Junto. Having gathered all the views and opinions he could in regard to the matter, he embodied them in his anonymous pamphlet on "The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency." It was a piece of special pleading, full of fallacies, but it accomplished its purpose; the addition to the currency was voted, and as Franklin says, "My friends there, who considered I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable job, and a great help to me." He also got the printing of the paper money issued at this time by the New Castle Legislature, and the laws and votes also of the Delaware Legislature.²

The Junto seems to have been the first society of a literary or philosophical character in Philadelphia, but it was so instantly successful, prosperous, and influential that it had imitators forthwith, besides the five or six subjuntos formed by its members at different times, and known as "the Vine," "the Union," "the Band," etc. The Carpenters' Company, founded in 1724, was indeed older, but that was, at first at any rate, strictly in the nature of a trade-guild, and the social feature was accidental. Its trade-union character was very strongly marked. The "Bachelors' Club," occupying "Bachelor's Hall," on the Delaware, north of Gunner's Run, was extant in 1728, but we have no evidence of its earlier existence. Watson mentions Robert Charles, William Masters, John Sober, Patrick Graeme, and Isaac Norris as members of the club. They lived well and feasted much. The club existed until 1745, when the building was bought by Isaac Norris, and served for picnics and tea-parties until it was burned, in 1776.

In 1729 some of the Welsh citizens of Philadelphia formed themselves into the "Society of Ancient Britons," meeting on St. David's day, March 1st, at the Queen's Head Tavern, kept by Robert Davis, in King Street. From thence they walked in procession, with leeks in their hats, to Christ Church, where a sermon was preached to them in the original Cymric by Dr.

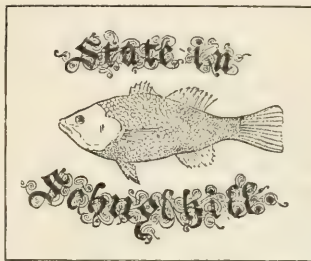
² Franklin's profit was greater from this note printing, because he had taught himself to do the ornamental and copper-work part, the vignette, press-plates, etc. In fact, he did all his own work and made his own tools. It was about this time, also, says Watson, that Franklin introduced the cultivation of the osier, or basket willow, in the Delaware lowlands; but it must have been years later when he first encouraged the use of gypsum as a fertilizer of grass-lands and broad-leaved plants. This he did in a characteristic way by writing the plaster's credentials in a clover-field.

Weyman. After the sermon the society returned to the tavern and dined with ceremonious form, the chief notables of the province being present. This society celebrated St. David's day in this way for many years. The English this same year formed a St. George's Society in Philadelphia, holding their first meeting at the Tun Tavern, Water Street, April 23d. They met annually afterwards, and had a dinner on either the king's birthday, or St. George's day, or some equivalent occasion.

There are some burlesque allusions in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in December, 1730, which point to the existence of the Masonic order at that time in Philadelphia, but the first public notice of a Grand Lodge is found in 1732 in the same journal, when the election of William Allen as Grand Master was announced. The meeting-place then was at the Tun Tavern, on King (now Water) Street, at the corner of Tun Alley, the landlord being Ralph Basnet. The lodge of 1730 received its authority under Col. Daniel Cox, of New Jersey, who, by the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, was constituted Provincial Grand Master of the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania by deputation June 5, 1730. The lodge which met at the Tun is believed to have been called "the Hoop." The Masons were not in very good odor in these early days, an unfortunate burlesque initiation having resulted in a tragedy. Some young men not Masons at all attempted to play their pranks upon a foolish apprentice, they representing that they were Masons and this a regular initiation, in the course of which he was burned to death. No Masons had anything to do with this, but the odium of the homicide still attached to them, and it was probably the talk about this affair which caused Franklin's mother to be so solicitous in regard to his connection with the order.

In 1732 a club was formed calling itself the "Colony in Schuylkill," a fishing club. This ancient and venerable society, which still exists, assumed to itself from the first, and in the most lordly way, the power of eminent domain and uncontrolled legislation over the fields and waters within its own jurisdiction. It was *imperium in imperio*, a republic of Andorra in the heart of Penn's kingdom. It had its governor, assembly, council, sheriff, coroner, and its citizens, and there were all the forms of a real government in this well-contrived sportsman's club. In 1732, Thomas Stretch was governor; Enoch Flower, Charles Jones, Isaac Snowden, John Howard, Joseph Stiles, members of assembly; James Coultas, sheriff; Joseph Stiles, secretary and treasurer; William Hopkins, coroner; William Warner, baron. The baron was the owner of the estate on which the club was permitted to erect their fish-house, his rent being the first perch caught at the opening of the season. This was taken to the baron's mansion (which was upon the Eggesfield estate, now part of Fairmount Park). In 1732 the members of the Colony in Schuylkill

were John Leacock, Thomas Tilbury, Caleb Cash, Philip Syng, William Plumstead, Peter Reave, William Ball, Daniel Williams, Isaac Garrigues, Isaac Stretch, Hugh Roberts, Samuel Neave, Joseph Wharton, Joseph Stretch, Cadwalader Evans, James Logan, William Parr, Samuel Garrigues, Samuel Barge.¹ Franklin, like Horace Greeley, had no time to go fishing, but he did not belong to the same social stratum as the members of the Colony in Schuylkill.



EMBLEM OF THE SCHUYLKILL CLUB.

The society was frolicsome, but not extravagant, and its expenses were regulated by moderation, the most formal ceremony being the election dinner, where substantial joints and rounds were flanked and supported by dishes of game and fish in profusion, and washed down with libations of punch, Madeira, etc., followed by pipes and tobacco. In 1747 the colony erected a court-house on Baron Warner's estate, at a cost of £16 7s. 6d.

The Society of Fort St. David's was a rival fishing company, founded about the same time as that of the Colony in Schuylkill, its members being Welshmen, of the order of Ancient Britons. Their "fort" was on a broad, high rock at the Falls of the Schuylkill, on the east bank, a rude timber shanty, but roomy and convenient. The Schuylkill was famous for its blue catfish, upon which the St. Davidians made war.

In 1743, when the Junto members had grown to be solid men, and Franklin began to turn from money-getting to science, he drew up and issued from the club the circular which led immediately to the birth of the American Philosophical Society. The title of this circular was "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America." He suggested the existing title and proposed an association of *virtuosi* in the several colonies who should maintain regular intercourse with one another by correspondence, Philadelphia to be the home and centre of the society, with seven resident members,

¹ In 1748 the following new members were added: Luke Morris, James Wharton, Robert Greenway, John Jones, Jacob Lewis, Isaac Walter, William Fisher, Samuel Mifflin, George Gray, Joshua Howell, Joseph Reduan, Edward Pennington, James Saunders, Samuel Shoemaker, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Thomas Wharton, Jacob Cooper, Henry Harrison, Samuel Wharton, Henry Elwes, Joseph Shoemaker, and John Lawrence.

besides officers, meeting once a month or oftener, for the interchange of observations and communications. The society, which went into full operation in 1744, had the following original members: Dr. Thomas Bond, as physician; John Bartram, botanist; Thomas Godfrey, mathematician; Samuel Rhoads, mechanician; William Parsons, geographer; Dr. Phineas Bond, general natural philosopher; Thomas Hopkinson, president; William Coleman, treasurer; and Benjamin Franklin, secretary. The out-of-town members were — Alexander, of New York; Chief Justice Morris, of New Jersey; Secretary Horne, of the same colony; John Cox, of Trenton; and Mr. Martyn, of the same place.

It will be noticed that the doctors were prominent in this organization. The profession had grown greatly in dignity and importance with the growth of the city. For twenty years or so after the beginning of the century there do not seem to have been many recruits added to the list, already given, of the old practitioners. Dr. Griffith Owen survived till 1717, his son succeeding him. Dr. John La Pierre died in 1720. About 1717, Drs. John Kearsley and Thomas Graeme arrived, the latter coming with Governor Keith. In 1720, Dr. Patrick Baird was health officer at quarantine. In 1722, Dr. Charles Sober had his house and office in Chestnut Street, and Dr. Nicholas Gandouet his on Third Street. There was a Dr. John Winn in the city in 1717. In 1726, Dr. Lloyd Zachary, a native of Boston, returned from England to practice in Philadelphia, where he had studied physic under Dr. Kearsley. Dr. Thomas Bond was a native of Maryland, who came to Philadelphia in 1734, acquiring a great reputation. Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, a grandson of Dr. Thomas Wynne, was in practice before 1740, in Philadelphia, contemporary with Dr. William Shippen. These gentlemen and their successors will form the subject of a subsequent chapter in these volumes, and we will not further encroach upon it here. The history of the bar and that of the medical profession in Philadelphia are so full, so replete with interest, incident, and anecdote, that they must be treated separately and in their entirety if we would do justice to them.

The sober turn of mind of the Friends, the influence of scholars like Pastorius and Logan, and the eager curiosity of their learned correspondents in Europe for information in regard to every sort of natural object in America would have the effect to direct the thoughts of Philadelphians very early to scientific subjects, and it is very obvious that Franklin first learned to ponder upon such things in consequence of the atmosphere which environed him and the tone of discussion he heard about him. Logan was a careful and skillful observer, and his papers were always welcomed by European academies. He probably first directed the mind of John Bartram seriously to botany as the pursuit of a lifetime. Webb, in his "Bachelor's Hall" poem, claims that

there was a botanic garden attached to the grounds of that retreat:

"Close to the dome a garden shall be joined,
A fit employment for a studious mind;
In our vast woods whatever simples grow,
Whose virtues none, or none but Indians, know,
Within the confines of this garden brought,
To rise with added lustre shall be taught;
Then culled with judgment, each shall yield its juice,
Saliferous balsam to the sick man's use;
A longer date of life mankind shall boast,
And Death shall mourn her ancient sceptre lost."

If this garden really existed outside the poet's fancy, it was the earliest botanic garden in America. Logan, in 1729, wrote to England for a copy of "Parkinson's Herbal." He wanted to present it to John Bartram, who, he said, was a person worthier of a heavier purse than fortune had yet allowed him, and had "a genius perfectly well turned for botany." Bartram bought his piece of ground at Gray's Ferry in 1728, and his house, built by his own hands, was completed in 1731. A subscription was started in 1742 to enable Bartram to travel in search of botani-



JOHN BARTRAM'S HOUSE.

cal specimens. It was proposed to raise enough for him to continue his travels for three years, he being described as a person who "has had a propensity to Botanicks from his infancy," and "an accurate observer," "of great industry and temperance, and of unquestionable veracity." The result of these travels was two very delightful books by the earliest of American botanists,—for Bartram was born in Philadelphia in 1699,—while the specimens he collected and sent to Europe attracted Kalm and many other naturalists to this country. He was a close and accurate observer, and his mind was a storehouse of knowledge of nature. "I believe," wrote Franklin, introducing Bartram to Jared Eliot in 1775, "you will find him to be at least twenty folio pages, large paper, well filled, on the subjects of botany, fossils, husbandry, and the first creation." His character was strong and simple; he was a natural Quaker, not orthodox in the nicety of tenets. On the outside of his house, over the front window of his study, was a stone with the inscription, carved by his own hand:

"Tis God alone, Almighty God,
The Holy One, by me adored.
JOHN BARTRAM, 1770:"

and Hester St. John quotes, as an inscription over the door of his greenhouse,—

"Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,
But looks through nature up to nature's God."

Bartram was the genuine man of science, simple and single-hearted in the absorption of his one pursuit,—supplying materials to science rather than working out results for his own profit or glory. Franklin was a man of science of quite another school, and who never forgot himself in his experiments, which, after all, were rather occasional and amateurish. The formation of the Junto naturally led him and his associates to cultivate a taste for experiment and natural science. In 1740 a course of philosophical lectures and experiments was given by a Mr. Greenwood in the chamber adjoining the library in the State-House. In 1744, Dr. Spence, a Scotchman, delivered a course of lectures and experiments in the library. These included an exhibition of the common electrical phenomena known at the period. In 1746, Peter Collinson, of London, presented the Philadelphia Library with some electrical apparatus, and Franklin now began experimenting on his own account, occasionally noting some of his observations in letters to Collinson and other European correspondents. Thomas Hopkinson, Ebenezer Kinnersey, and Philip Syng were his associates in these experiments, and in 1748 they gave a public exhibition—*ad captandum vulgus*—of the powers of the new force, in Franklin's own words, setting spirits afire on the other side the river. "A turkey is to be killed for our dinner by the electrical shock, and roasted by the electrical jack before a fire kindled by the electrified bottle, when the health of all the famous electricians in England, Holland, France, and Germany is to be drank in electrified bumpers, under the discharge of guns from the electrical battery." This is rather puerile, as was Franklin's kite, but it led to the discovery of positive and negative electricity, and to the identity of terrestrial with induced or excited electricity.

It will be noticed that bumpers and health-drinking constituted a large part of Franklin's open-air exhibition. Men like John Bartram were free from the drinking habits of the day, but Franklin, temperate as he was himself, did not set himself against the universal health-drinking of that time. A contemporary record, the "Journal of William Black (1744), Secretary of the Commissioners appointed by Governor Gooch, of Virginia, to unite with those from the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, to treat with the Iroquois or Six Nations of Indians, in reference to the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains" (published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5), illustrates how large a part "the social glass" played in all affairs at that time. Drinking was a part of

the necessary hospitality of the period. Mr. Black was secretary to Col. Thomas Lee and William Beverley, of the commission, and went with them to Philadelphia. They reached Chester on Sunday, May 26th, went to church and Quaker meeting, and in the afternoon rode to Philadelphia on horseback, accompanied by the sheriff, coroner, and some gentlemen of the town. They were met at the Schuylkill by Secretary Peters, Robert Strettell, Andrew Hamilton, and several other gentlemen of Philadelphia, "who Receiv'd us very kindly and Welcom'd us into their Province with a Bowl of fine Lemon Punch big enough to have swimm'd half a dozen of young Geese; after pouring four or five Glasses of this down our throats we cross'd the River." They took a glass of wine with the Governor before going to their lodgings and another glass with their host before retiring. Next morning they saw the ill-starred "Tartar" frigate launched, and then had a few glasses of wine at Andrew Hamilton's and other houses. After dining at Strettell's, Mr. Black went to the "Governor's Clubb, which is a Select Number of Gentlemen that meet every Night at a certain Tavern, where they pass away a few Hours in the Pleasures of Conversation and a Cheerful Glass; about 9 Of the clock, we had a very Genteel Supper, and afterwards several sorts of Wine and fine Lemon Punch set out on the Table, of which every one might take of what he best lik'd and what Quantity he Pleased." Next day the party dined at the Governor's. "After Dinner the Table was immediately furnish'd with as great a plenty of the Choicest Wines as it was before with the best of Victuals; the Glass went briskly round, sometimes with sparkling Champaign, and sometimes Rich Madeira, Claret, or whatever the Drinker pleas'd." After this they went to a lecture by Spence, referred to above, in which the lecturer "proceeded to show that Fire is Diffus'd through all space, and may be produced from all Bodies, Sparks of Fire Emitted from the Face and Hands of a Boy Suspended Horizontally, by only rubbing a Glass Tube at his feet." Next day, after inspecting the privateers, Black went to spend the evening with a Richmond man whom he had not seen for some time, and who kept bachelor's hall. The secretary admits having some difficulty in finding his way to his lodgings that night. Thursday was given to riding about and sight-seeing. There was a billiard-table and bowling-green at the Centre House (Penn Square); thence they went to the coffee-house and the club. The commissioners left early, but the frank journalist confesses, "for my part, I staid as long as any of my company did, and on the first motion to be gone I was ready; but I do assure you it was the Pleasures of Conversation, more than that of the Glass, that Induc'd me." On Friday, Black visited the market. "The days of Market are Tuesday and Friday, when you may be Supply'd with every Necessary for the Support of Life thro'ut the whole year, both Extraordinary Good and reasonably cheap; it is allow'd

by Foreigners to be the best of its bigness in the known World, and undoubtedly the largest in America. I got to this place by 7, and had no small satisfaction in seeing the pretty Creatures, the young ladies, traversing the place from stall to stall, where they cou'd make the best market, some with their maid behind them with a Basket to carry home the Purchase. Others, that were designed to buy but trifles, as a little fresh Butter, a Dish of Green Peas, or the like, had Good Nature and Humility enough to be their own Porters."

Black dined at the Three Tun Tavern, in Water Street, with Secretary Peters, and, after a few glasses of good Maderia, rode out to Stenton to call on James Logan, with whom they took tea, or, as he called it, "the Fashionable Warm Water." Thence they went with Mr. Strettell to his country house at Germantown. Strettell, he says, was "one of the Friends, but seem'd not much Affected to their underhand way of Dealing and Cloak of Religion." He did not drink much, being "of a Crazy Constitution," but attached the Virginian to him by keeping "Good horses, tho' I believe that was rather Natural than forc'd for his Health." On Saturday, after attending to business, Black dined at the club with the Beef-steak Club, "a certain number of Gentlemen that Meet at this House every Saturday to Eat Beef-Steaks." He went that night by appointment to join a private party, some young men. "I found them all there, and in humour to be very merry. Some of the Company Drunk Punch, others wine, According as their Inclinations led them. . . . To conclude, we parted about 12 O'clock at Night. Two of the company was so Civil that they would see me to my Lodgings, where they wisht me Good-Night."

Sunday Mr. Black went to Christ Church, "a very Stately Building, but is not yet Finished. The Painting of the Altar Piece will, when done, be very Grand; two Rows of Corinthian Pillars and Arches turn'd from the one to the other Supports the Roof and the Galleries; the Peughs and Boxes were not all done, so that everything seem'd half finished. I was not a little surpris'd to see such a number of Fine Women in one Church, as I never heard Philadelphia noted Extraordinary that way; but I must say, since I have been in America, I have not seen so fine a collection at one time and Place." They dined, commissioners and secretary, at Andrew Hamilton's (Bush Hill), at a quarter past one o'clock; eighteen dishes and a nice collection. In the afternoon Black went to hear Gilbert Tennent preach at the New Light Presbyterian Church. "We found him delivering his Doctrine with a very Good Grace; Split his Text as Judiciously, turn'd up the Whites of his Eyes as Theologically, Cuff'd his Cushion as Orthodoxly, and twist'd his Band as Primitively as his Master Whitefield cou'd have done, had he been there himself." Without hearing Tennent out the party withdrew to Quaker meeting, "where we found one of the Traveling

Friends, Labouring under the Spirit very Powerfully; had he been a little more Calm, and not hurried himself so on, as if he had not half time to say what he had in his mind, We, as well as the Rest of his Brethren, wou'd have received more Instruction, but one sentence came so fast treading on the heels of another, that I was in great Pains of his Choking; however, we had Patience to hear him out, and after a little pause he gave us a Short Prayer, and then Struck hands with two Elderly Friends on his Right and Left, and we broke up."

Honest Black was very much shocked at meeting one night a drunken woman on the street; he made many acquaintances; heard some good singing by ladies; half fell in love with a charming Jewess; drank tea ("warm water") with many agreeable ladies; entirely fell in love with Miss Molly Stamper (afterwards wife of William Bingham. She was just fifteen when she made her conquest of Black), whom he escorted to her home, and who promised to meet him again at her Hebrew friend's. Next morning he found himself making music on his fiddle and on his flute, and comparing the beautiful morning to Miss Molly Stamper, "fresh dews hanging on her pouting lips," and he passed what seems to have been a delicious evening in her society. On Saturday, June 9th, the commissioners engaged a tavern and gave a dinner to their hosts. "A very Grand Table, having upwards of Fifteen Dishes on it at once, which was succeeded by a very fine collation; among the many Dishes that made our Dinner was a large Turtle, sent as a present to Governor Thomas, from a Gentleman of his acquaintance living in Providence; after taking away the Cloath, we had the Table Replenished with all the sorts of Wine the Tavern cou'd afford, and that in great Abundance." They sat down at two and rose between three and four P.M.

News of the English king's declaration of war against France was received, and on Monday Black and the commissioners and their levee, at four in the afternoon, "waited on his Honour the Governor, in order to attend to the Declaration of Warr, a few minutes after we got to the Governor's came the Mayor, Council, and the Corporation, and then began the Procession, First the Constables with their Staffs, and the Sheriffs and the Coroner with their white Wands ushered the Way, then his Honour the Governor, with the Mayor on his Right, and the Recorder of the City on his Left hand, following them were Colonels Lee and Beverley, and the Gentlemen of their Levee, next was the Council, and after them the City Corporation, and then the Rear Composed of Town Gentlemen &c., in this Order two and two, we went with Solemn Pace to the Market Place, where Secretary Peters Proclaim'd War against the French King and all his subjects, under a Discharge of the Privateers Guns, who had haul'd out in the Stream for the Purpose, then two Drums belonging to Dalmiel's Regiment in Antigua (then in Philadelphia

with a Captain Recruiting) Beat the Point of Warr, and then the Ceremony Concluded with God Save the King, and three loud Huzzas!" It will be observed how entirely apart the gentry and tradesmen were during all these fine doings.

Franklin, of course, saw all of Spence's experiments, but he was still a tradesman, making his way, taking care not only to be industrious and frugal, as he says, but to seem so. "I dressed plainer, and was seen at no places of idle diversion." In this way, while his credit increased, poor old Keimer was driven out of town. He had already got control of Keimer's newspaper, and he and Meredith began publishing the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on Sept. 25, 1729. A year later he married, and his wife helped to attend Franklin's book-shop. In 1731, Franklin set to work to establish the Philadelphia Library, one of the best and most durable of his works. The members of the Junto felt the need of books, and, as each had a few, they brought them to their club-room for convenience of exchange. Franklin, on this basis, determined to start a public subscription library. "I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary, and got a skillful conveyancer, Mr. Charles Brockden, to put the whole in form of articles of agreement to be subscribed, by which each subscriber engaged to pay a certain sum down for the first purchase of the books and an annual contribution for increasing them. So few were the readers at that time in Philadelphia, and the majority of us so poor, that I was not able with great industry to find more than fifty persons, mostly young tradesmen, willing to pay down for this purpose forty shillings each, and ten shillings per annum. With this little fund we began. The books were imported. The library was opened one day in the week for lending them to the subscribers on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned. The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated in other towns, and in other provinces."

In 1732, Franklin first published his "Poor Richard's Almanac." The advertisement of the first number appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 19, 1732, as follows: "Just published, for 1733, An Almanac, containing the Lunations, Eclipses, Planets'

Motions and Aspects, Weather, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, High Water, etc.; besides many pleasant and witty verses, Jest, and Sayings; Author's Motive of Writing; Prediction of the Death of his Friend, Mr. Titan Leeds; Moon no Cuckold; Bachelor's Folly; Parson's Wine and Baker's Pud-

Poor Richard, 1733.

A N

Almanack

For the Year of Christ

1 7 3 3,

Being the First after LEAP YEAR.

<i>And makes since the Creation</i>	Years
By the Account of the Eastern Greeks	7241
By the Latin Church, when ☉ ent. ♀	6932
By the Computation of <i>W.W.</i>	5742
By the Roman Chronology	5682
By the Jewish Rabbits.	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Tides, Courts, and observable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours West from London, but may without sensible Error, serve all the adjacent Places, even from Newfoundland to South Carolina.

By **RICHARD SAUNDERS**, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and sold by **B. FRANKLIN**, at the New-
Printing-Office near the Market

ding; Short Visits; Kings and Bears; New Fashions; Game for Kisses; Katharine's Love; Different Sentiments; Signs of a Tempest; Death of a Fisherman; Conjugal Debate; Men and Melons; The Prodigal; Breakfast in Bed; Oyster Lawsuit, etc. By Richard Saunders, Philomat. Printed and sold by B. Franklin." Almanacs were popular at this

time in Philadelphia. Franklin says the annual sales of "Poor Richard" were ten thousand copies, and Sparks tells us that three editions had to be printed before the demand could be appeased. There were published at this time in the city, besides Franklin's, Jerman's Almanac, Birket's, Poor Will's, Felix Leeds', and Titan Leeds' Almanacs. Titan Leeds' was the rival concern. It printed some good verses, was popular, and Franklin, in imitation of Swift's and Arbuthnot's trick upon Partridge, made his, Saunders, cast Leeds' horoscope and predict his death during 1733. Whether seriously or not, Leeds pretended to resent this treatment bitterly in the preface of his almanac for 1734 and 1735. Franklin continued his almanac till 1758, was proud of it, and looked upon it as a valid social force among the poorer classes, as perhaps it was. "In Pennsylvania," he says, "as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money which was observable for several years after its publication." This is, of course, absurd, since the fewer the purchases by the people the more money would be hoarded. The abundance of circulation was the result of an inflated currency, which no one cared to keep for fear it would depreciate in his hands.

Franklin's industry was amazing, aside from the fact that exact method and system enabled him to effect the greatest economies of time. In 1734, when his private business was most engrossing, and his office, his newspaper, his bookstore, his almanac, his public and private contracts were all making demands on his time, and when he was writing pamphlets and sermons, feeling the public pulse and active in the affairs of the library and the Junto and the lodge, we yet find him studying and acquiring a reading knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish, and Latin, studying them together. He was then twenty-eight years old, an age when the acquisition of new languages is difficult, unless a habit has been formed already for that class of studies.

In 1736, Franklin entered public life so far as to become clerk of Assembly, a salaried office. He had already made money; he represents his circumstances as being easy enough to permit him the recreation of a holiday visit to his New England kinsman; and his new place added to his income besides, as he does not hesitate to admit, giving him "a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secured me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that, on the whole, were very profitable." In 1737, Postmaster-General Spotswood, of Virginia, removed the Philadelphia deputy, Andrew Bradford, and appointed Franklin in his place. This appointment gave many new opportunities to so sagacious a man as Franklin. The salary, he says, was small, but "it facilitated the correspondence that improved my newspaper, increased the number de-

manded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income."

He now, he says, began to turn his attention to public affairs, "beginning, however, with small matters." The first thing he sought to amend was the city watch, which was managed by constables and the hired substitutes of householders. The amendment he proposed, and which eventually was adopted, was a regular paid watch. This reform he agitated through the Junto and its affiliated clubs. The next reform was in favor of regular fire companies, and his agitation of this subject through the club resulted in the establishment of the Union Fire Company on a Boston model. In 1739 he began his intimacy with Whitefield, and took an active part in promoting the construction of the independent meeting-house for Whitefield to preach in. He wished, he says, to have



Whitefield

a perfectly free pulpit, already conscious, perhaps, that he needed to fortify himself in every way against the hostility he was sure to encounter from the two establishments in Philadelphia, the Quakers and the Church of England. At the same time Franklin became the only publisher of Whitefield's sermons, which were very popular and had a great run.

Franklin's business was now, he says (1739-41), very profitable, and he sought to extend it in every direction by setting up such of his workmen as he could trust in the various colonies, advancing them stock, plant, and capital, and taking a share of the profits. As labor bears a much larger proportion in the printing business than capital, this sort of investment was very productive to Franklin; at the same time not disadvantageous to the young printers, who always had the option at the end of six years of buying out their partner and going in business for themselves. In 1741, Franklin began the publication of the first literary periodical in America, the *General Magazine*, which, however, was discontinued after six monthly numbers had been issued. It was pretty much

upon the model of Cave's *Gentleman's Magazine*. In 1744 he wrote out his views about an academy for Philadelphia, which, when crystallized further, resulted in the Philadelphia Academy, the nucleus of the present university. Franklin had wished Rev. Richard Peters, secretary of the province, to undertake the school, but he having other views, Franklin kept his plans in abeyance until 1749, when he published his well-known "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," and became a trustee of the nascent institution, his associates being James Logan, Francis Hopkinson, Richard Peters, Jacob Duché, Charles Willing, Philip Syng, and others. Franklin, as Dr. Peters says, was "the life of the whole," and he exercised all his adroitness, successfully, too, to secure house-room for the new academy in the building put up for Mr. Whitefield. Franklin tried to secure Rev. Samuel Johnson, then in New York founding King's College, for principal, but failing in this, Rev. William Smith's services were obtained. Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, was for six years tutor in this academy.

In 1744, the war with Spain having begun, and that with France impending, Franklin took advantage of the great danger of Philadelphia from privateers to make his fatal assault upon the peace policy of the Quakers. This was in the shape of his pamphlet, "Plain Truth," which was so worded and so timed as to have, as he says, "a sudden and surprising effect." It is to be noted that when Secretary Black, whose journal has been quoted above, arrived in Philadelphia, he found the city full of military fervor, and all the talk was about the privateers, the association, and the drill. "The Dutch," wrote Franklin to Logan, "are in as hearty as the English." "Plain Truth" was translated into German, and a German company was the first one fully recruited. The Governor and Council took Franklin into their confidence, and consulted with him about everything. Good reason, for the association numbered eighty companies, ten thousand subscribers, and Franklin, while declining a commission, and the command of a regiment, for which he did not think he was fitted, controlled the whole body. He was not only the leader of the revolt, but the engineer of the entire machine. He even manœuvred to entangle the leaders of the religious denominations with the movement, and wrote for Secretary Peters the fast-day proclamation which was issued. As to the Quakers, he took high ground with them from the start, for he knew they would never forgive him, and his only effort was to detach from their influence as many moderate men, like James Logan, as he could reach. He was warned he would lose his place as clerk of Assembly, but said he would not resign in anticipation of it, and when the Assembly met he was too strong to be displaced. In fact, a good many young Quakers had caught the war spirit,—enough, in the end, to accomplish Franklin's leading object, the total

submission of the policy of non-resistance as the controlling policy of the province of Pennsylvania,—thus effecting in a short time what every Governor of the province since Fletcher's time had struggled for in vain.

In 1750, Franklin, having taken a partner upon whom he could devolve the active part of his printing and publishing business, devoted himself more closely to affairs and to his studies in philosophy. He bought Spence's apparatus, but, as he says, "the public, now considering me as a man of leisure, laid hold of me for their purposes, every part of our civil government, and almost at the same time, imposing some new duty upon me. The Governor put me into the commission of the peace [he served two terms as judge of Common Pleas], the corporation chose me one of the Common Council, and soon after alderman, and the citizens at large elected me a Burgess to represent them in the Assembly.¹ This latter station was the more agreeable to me, as I grew at length tired with sitting there to hear the debates, in which, as clerk, I could take no part, . . . and I conceived my becoming a member would enlarge my power of doing good. I would not, however, insinuate that my ambition was not flattered by all these promotions; it certainly was, for, considering my low beginning, they were great things to me."

Franklin was ten successive years member of Assembly, his son succeeding him as clerk, and he ultimately becoming Speaker. He was sent, not long after his election, as commissioner to Carlisle to treat with the Indians, his associate on the commission being the Speaker, Isaac Norris. In 1751, Dr. Thomas Bond projected the plan of a general hospital in Philadelphia, and asked Franklin to support his benevolent scheme. This support Franklin gave,—he says the people would not have touched it otherwise,—and secured further a large contribution from the Assembly, but in what seems by his own account to have been a rather tricky way. The first board of managers of this hospital comprised Joshua Crosby, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Bond, Samuel Hazard, Richard Peters, Israel Pemberton, Jr., Samuel Rhoads, Hugh Roberts, Joseph Morris, John Smith, Evan Morgan, and Charles Norris. Franklin continued a manager and was also secretary of the board until he went to England in 1757. About this time also he did much in the direction of inducing the people to submit to a tax for the purpose of having the streets

¹ Franklin was elected to the Common Council on Oct. 4, 1748; he qualified November 16th; was appointed on the committee to prepare an address of welcome to Governor James Hamilton; at once brought the subject up of a reform in the night-watch, and was made one of a committee to draw up a petition to the Assembly for a remedy; secured appropriations for the new academy building and for support of teachers; on Oct. 1, 1751, was elected alderman, with John Mifflin, and served on several committees. He was appointed justice of the peace for Philadelphia County (under the name of Benjamin Franklin) at a Council meeting held June 30, 1749; and again commissioned in May, 1752.

generally paved, and also for getting them lighted at night. In 1753 he, conjointly with William Hunter, was made postmaster-general of America.

In 1754, Franklin attended the General Colonial Convention at Albany and proposed his well-known "Plan of Union," which was adopted. On his return, in 1755, finding Governor Morris all the time embroiled with the Assembly, Franklin became conspicuous in the lead of the controversy with the proprietary government, which led to his being sent

government. At this time also he was a trustee and one of the chief promoters of a sort of missionary scheme for teaching and otherwise relieving poor Germans in the province, his fellow-trustees being James Hamilton, William Allen, Richard Peters, Conrad Weiser, and William Smith. He was also elected a member of the Royal Society and voted the Copley gold medal.

With Franklin's agency in England this narrative has nothing to do. His mission terminated success-

In ASSEMBLY *Sept. 24* 1756

THIS is to certify, that *Benjamin Franklin* has attended as a Member of Assembly for the ~~City~~ City of *Philadelphia*, — 108 Days, at Six Shillings per Diem, for which there is due to him the Sum of *Thirty two Pounds, eight Shillings*

Signed, by Order of the House,

Paul Norris Speaker

To
The Treasurer of the County of *Philad.^a* for the time being

Rec^d of M^r Leech Thirty Pounds
£30. 4. 20 *Four Shillings & ten pence of the*
£ 2. 3-2 *within Order of me*

Rich^d B. Remondet

B. Franklin

B. Franklin

to England as agent for the province. That same year Braddock's expedition occurred, receiving important and indeed indispensable aid from Franklin, who looked after the transportation and forage. In the defensive measures undertaken after Braddock's defeat Franklin was conspicuously active and energetic. He took a commission, raised a force, and marched to the frontier to construct a line of forts to check Indian inroads; he procured the passage of a militia law, and a general tax for the public defense, and incurred the deepest enmity of the proprietary

fully, and he returned to Philadelphia Nov. 1, 1762, an LL.D. of St. Andrew's and Edinburgh, and D.C.L., *honoris causâ*, of Oxford. Honors had been showered on him, and he was the most conspicuous man in America. The Assembly awarded him a vote of thanks; he made a tour through the Middle and Eastern Colonies, and then returned to public business in Philadelphia. In December, 1763, he took a prominent part in a tragical affair which has tarnished the annals of Pennsylvania. This was the Paxton massacre. The Indian outrages on the border

and in the western counties had excited a feeling of bitter hostility to the whole race, and there were many lawless men among the settlers in those wilds, people who were used to take the law in their own hands, and were extremely restive under the Quaker policy of non-resistance. They wanted the Indians either destroyed or driven off, and one Indian was as bad as another in their sight. The Moravian Indian communities and the few Indian reservations under charge of the provincial government irritated them continually. These feelings were most intense among the hot-blooded Irish settlers in Lancaster County and near by, who had already feuds among themselves and with their German neighbors. The "boys" (as they called themselves) of Paxton or Paxtang township were of this fiery Limerick temperament. Not far from them was the Conestoga manor, whereon was gathered, under the protection of the province, the feeble remnant of the once formidable Conestoga or Susquehannock tribe of Indians. The Six Nations acknowledged them as of their kindred; they were protected and the possession of their manor guaranteed to them by treaty. They were peaceable, inoffensive, loving and trusting the whites, though it is possible one or two of them may have been thieves. There were but twenty left, seven men, five women, eight boys and girls. The senior, Shehaes, was very old; he had been one of the Conestogoes treating with Penn in 1701; he was a good, kindly old man, very feeble, cared for with filial devotion by his daughter Peggy; John was another good old man, who was supported by his son Harry; George and Will Soc were youths, brothers; John Smith was a Cayuga, husband of Peggy, and they had one child three years old. Besides these, there was old Betty and her son Peter, and Sally, or Wyandjoy, who was bringing up an adopted child. On Wednesday, Dec. 14, 1763, the Paxton boys, numbering fifty-seven men, mounted and armed, came to Conestoga after riding all night. They surrounded the Indian huts and attacked them at daybreak. Only six persons were found, and these, including the old chief, were murdered in cold blood in their beds. The fourteen who were absent were taken by the neighbors and lodged in Lancaster jail for safety. The Governor issued a proclamation ordering the offenders to be arrested. In defiance the Paxton boys marched to Lancaster, broke into the jail, and murdered every one of the fourteen, not a hand being raised to defend them.

A great feeling of indignation sprung up, there were new proclamations, and Franklin published a strong and manly pamphlet, "A Narrative of the Late Massacre in Lancaster County of a Number of Indians," etc. But, on the other hand, the Western counties not only defended the murderers, but represented the feeling against them. A war of extermination was threatened, and the friendly Indians throughout the province, including the Moravians, to

the number of one hundred and forty, fled to Philadelphia for protection, and were sent for safety on Province Island, in the Delaware. The Paxton boys, largely recruited, and in great force, started to march to Philadelphia, to slay these Indians too, and the Governor and Assembly resolved to repel them. The unhappy refugees were brought into the city and lodged in the barracks. There was no regular militia, but Franklin, at the Governor's request, formed an association, on the plan of the old one, organized nine companies, and soon had one thousand citizens under arms and the city in a very good state of defense, cannon in the market-place, and old artillerymen ready to mow the rebels down if they dared come on. Come they did, as far as Germantown, and there halted, a numerous, and, it might be, formidable mob. When they paused the Governor and Council sent Franklin and three others out to meet them and turn them back. Their contemplated assault was adroitly converted into a protest, a memorial of grievances and a petition for relief, which had fifteen hundred signers. Two persons were delegated to present their case before the Governor and Assembly, and then the rioters returned to their homes. Franklin, and those who acted with him, had certainly saved Philadelphia from a serious mob, and probably from the disgrace of another Indian massacre within her gates, as it is likely the city mob would have joined the Paxton boys, with whom they sympathized.¹

¹ At this time Pontiac's conspiracy was just ripening, the Indians were in a very unsettled state, they were overrunning all Pennsylvania west of Carlisle and Shippensburg, Bouquet's and Armstrong's expeditions were in the field, and the alarmed people were excusable in not wishing to leave a kindred race to the ruthless enemy gathered in their rear. The Paxton and Donegal people were not capable of making nice distinctions any more than our frontiersmen of the present day. Still, the massacres were inexcusable, nor is there any excuse for the provincial government in leaving the Conestoga remnant so defenseless. The march of the Paxton boys on Philadelphia was full of incidents, and many traditions still hang around it. It was on Jan. 3, 1764, that news came of a company being formed, two hundred men strong, in Lebanon, Paxton, and Hanover, with encouragement from the farmers, to march to Philadelphia and kill the Indians on Province Island. The Moravian Indians, one hundred and twenty-seven in number, begged to be sent, with their two ministers, to England. This not being possible, they asked to be sent to Sir William Johnson, in New York. A company of Highlanders about to march thither offered them escort. Governor Franklin gave them right of way through New Jersey, but Governor Colden, of New York, refused to receive them. They had got as far as Amboy and were marched back under charge of a company of regulars, Capt. Schlosser, whom Gen. Gage ordered to defend them. To do this more effectually they were brought to the Northern Liberty barracks. Meantime, alarming news came from Lancaster, and it was said that fifteen hundred men were coming down, and if they did not suffice, five thousand would come.

The Council ordered Capt. Schlosser to fire on any body of armed men who approached the barracks, and the Assembly passed the English Riot Act of George I., extending it to Pennsylvania. February 4th the insurgents were reported approaching, some said seven hundred, some fifteen hundred. The Governor called a public meeting in the State-House in the afternoon. In spite of the rain, three thousand people were present. But the Germans were absent, and it was murmured they sympathized with the Paxton boys, and were ready to stamp out the Quakers and Moravians for their deceitful policy. The meeting, however, was energetic. The new riot act of Assembly was proclaimed, one

John Penn, one of the proprietaries, had come out in November, 1763, to govern the province in person, and he was soon in collision with the Assembly. The Paxton troubles, the supply bill, the subject of taxa-

tion, and the course of the Quakers were all causes of grievance for the popular party, of which Franklin was now the leader. In March, 1764, a committee of the Assembly, consisting of Franklin, Galloway, Rodman, Pearson, Douglass, Montgomery, and Toole, reported a series of resolutions concerning the proprietary government, and declaring that the only remedy for its defects was the substitution of a royal government over the province. These resolutions set forth the grievances of the province in elaborate detail, and they were unanimously adopted. The Assembly adjourned to the middle of May, and when it met again petitions for the change were presented containing three thousand five hundred names, including many Quakers. But the majority of the Friends, while owning the meanness and obstructiveness of the proprietary, enjoyed too many privileges under Penn's charter to wish to have it entirely subverted. They demanded a redress of grievances, but they wanted the old charter and the proprietary protection. Franklin did not. He was bent on the overthrow of the whole system, and he came out with a pamphlet, "Cool Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs." Hugh Williamson replied with a pamphlet on the proprietary side, and this was caustically handled in a third pamphlet. In the Assembly John Dickinson made a strong speech against the change of government, and Galloway replied effectively. The latter's speech was printed, with a preface by Franklin, which was both masterly and conclusive. The Assembly resolved to transmit the petitions for a change of government to England with a memorial of its own in favor of them. Isaac Norris, the Speaker, opposed to this sort of procedure, resigned, and Franklin was elected Speaker in his place, drew up the memorial, and forwarded it to the king's government.

These controversies entered into the next canvass for the election of members of the Assembly. The whole force of the proprietary and conservative Quaker influence was brought to bear against Franklin and Galloway, leaders of the popular party, and they were attacked with squib and caricature as well as with more substantial weapons. Franklin and Rhoads were defeated in Philadelphia City by Thomas Willing and George Bryan. Galloway, Evans, and Fleason were defeated in the county. The anti-proprietary majority was much reduced in the Assembly, but not obliterated. The petition for a change of

"Cock up your hats! look fierce and trim!
Nor wear the horizontal brim;
The house of prayer be made a den
Not of vile thieves, but armed men;
Tho' 'tis indeed a profanation
Which we must expiate with lustration;
But such the present time requires,
And such are all the Friends desires;
Fill bumpers, then, of rum or arrack!
We'll drink success to the new barrack!"

Tuesday morning the negotiators went to Germantown and conferred with the malcontents. They included, besides Franklin, Benjamin Chew, Joseph Galloway, Thomas Willing, Gilbert Tennent, Rev. Dr. Wrangel, Rev. Mr. Brycelius, Rev. Richard Peters, and Rev. William Sturgeon, of Christ Church, with several others. They returned with the rioters' manifesto and their promise to disband. The troops were dismissed, but next day there was a false alarm and everybody fled to arms again with the utmost alacrity. Thirty of them did come to town, and tried in vain to identify disturbers of the peace among the Indians. There was no further trouble.

The Quakers, however, found much ill-feeling had arisen against them. Israel Pemberton's life was in danger, it was thought, from the Irish, and he crossed to New Jersey. He was very friendly with the Indians, kept close intercourse with them, and the inhabitants dubbed him "King Wampum." The Paxton memorial was signed by Matthew Smith and James Gibson, and was thought to have been prepared for them in the city. The Paxton expedition was the occasion of a number of satires, squibs, and satirical prints, laughing at all concerned, and especially at the muster of the Philadelphia forces. One of these cuts had a hundred figures in it, and bristled with local allusions; another depicted Pemberton embracing an Indian squaw; a third bit at Franklin, representing the philosopher in his study, with these verses underneath:

"Fight dog, fight bear, you're all my friends;
By you I shall attain my ends;
For I can never be content
Till I have got the government;
But if from this attempt I fall,
Then let the devil take you all!"

Another print also caricatured Franklin and made light of his intentions, while others viciously assailed Pemberton, as if he used his conscience and his Indian friendship equally to promote his fur trade. The poor Moravian Indians in the barracks were attacked by smallpox, and fifty-six of them died, and the survivors were finally sent to the Moravian brethren on the Wyalusing.

government was still prosecuted, though the proprietary party brought in a counter-petition with fifteen thousand names on it; large discretionary powers were voted to the London agent of the province, and Franklin was appointed to the agency, to assist Richard Jackson, in the face of a strong protest against the appointment, signed by Dickinson, Bryan, and others. Franklin replied to this protest in another of his inimitable pamphlets, and then, Nov. 7, 1764, left the city for England, escorted to Chester by a cavalcade of three hundred of his friends. The city corporation, Israel Pemberton, and other strong Quakers, agreed with Dickinson in opposing the bestowal of this agency upon Franklin. Pemberton was afraid that Franklin would secure the immediate overturn of the proprietary government by currying favor with the ministry and getting himself appointed Governor of the province.

It is evident that many people in Philadelphia were mistrustful of Franklin; but his friends and followers were numerous, and in the election that October he was only defeated by a majority of twenty-five votes in four thousand. Franklin, in concluding his farewell pamphlet, said, "I am now about to take leave, perhaps a last leave, of the country I love, and in which I have spent the greater part of my life. *Esto perpetua!* I wish every kind of prosperity to my friends, and I forgive my enemies." And, in fact, Franklin did not come back to this country any more, in one sense, for when he returned it was the United States, the proprietary government was broken, and the Declaration of Independence only a matter of weeks. The rest of Franklin's history belongs to the nation rather than to Philadelphia.¹

¹ His agency, of course, was constantly felt, in a hundred ways, in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, and his reports on the resources of the province are most valuable and suggestive. The most direct instance of his interposition, however, was when Lord Hillsborough made his report against American paper currency, and Franklin answered him in a pamphlet. We have already outlined the history of the Pennsylvania paper currency, and but few words more are needed to complete it. The first move in favor of such a currency was made in 1721. The trustees of the first loan office were Samuel Carpenter, Jeremiah Langborne, William Fishbourne, and Nathaniel Newlin, their salaries being fifty pounds per annum each. The form of the note or bill issued was as follows:

"This Indented Bill of ———, current money of America, according to the act of Parliament, made in the sixth year of the late Queen ANNE, for ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in the Plantations, due from the Province of Pennsylvania to the Possessor thereof, shall be in Value equal to money, and be accepted accordingly by the Provincial Treasurer, County Treasurer, and the Trustees for the General Loan Office for the Province of Pennsylvania, in all publick payments, and for any fund at any time in any of the said Treasuries and Loan Office. Dated at Philadelphia, the ——— day of ———, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, by order of the Governor and General Assembly."

The arms of Pennsylvania were stamped upon the middle of the left side.

In 1739 a committee of Assembly reported on the state of the currency that in 1723 there were emitted £45,000, of which in 1726 were burnt £6110 5s. In 1729 there were emitted £30,000, and the amount now in circulation was £68,889 15s. Enough notes were then issued to bring the circulation up to eighty thousand pounds. The committee

CHAPTER XV.

LOCAL HISTORY AND GROWTH, 1750 TO 1775.

IF we take out from the local history of Philadelphia between 1750 and 1775 all that relates to Franklin and his interests and influences, and all that relates to the Revolutionary war and the events which led up to it, it might be conceived that not much remains. Nor is there so much to tell, if we further eliminate what more properly concerns the records of sects, societies, and denominations, and the progress of the arts, sciences, and professions during this period. These matters, being treated in separate groups, will naturally make but a fragmentary and occasional appearance in the chronicle of progress. Yet even the meagre skeleton of annals which remains for the subject of the present chapter is full of interest and events, and can by no means be dismissed in a few brief paragraphs. Mr. Westcott, indeed, has devoted many separate chapters to it.

When Governor Hamilton asked Franklin how he might avoid disagreement with the Assembly, the

reported a comparison of the prices of gold and silver per ounce in the colony, as follows:

	1760.	1710.	1720.	1730.	1738.	1739.
Gold.....	£5 10s.	£5 10s.	£5 10s.	£6 3s. 9d.	£6 3s. 9d.	£6 9s. 3d.
Silver.....	9s. 6d.	6s. 10½d.	7s. 6d.	8s. 1d.	8s. 9d.	8s. 6d.

In 1744 a sum of ten thousand pounds was emitted to replace old, torn, and ragged notes, without intending to augment the circulation. In 1746 five thousand pounds was emitted in bills of credit for the king's use, and later in that year five thousand pounds to replace worn-out bills.

From 1729 to 1767 all the bills and notes were printed by Franklin, either alone or in partnership with Hall.

From 1753 onward the Assembly was struggling with the Governor and the proprietary on the currency question, the former seeking to augment the quantity of notes. Even in the excitement of the Braddock campaign the assent of the Governor could only be obtained to an issue of ten thousand pounds, to be exchanged for old and torn notes. After Braddock's defeat, however, sixty thousand pounds were raised for the king's use, fifty-five thousand pounds of it emitted in bills of credit, dated Jan. 1, 1756, and redeemable by taxation; and in August, 1756, an issue of thirty thousand pounds was made, redeemable in ten years. In 1757 one hundred thousand pounds was issued in two installments for the support of government; in 1758 another issue was made to the same amount; in April, 1759, one hundred thousand pounds for the support of government; in June, same year, thirty-six thousand six hundred and fifty pounds to reimburse the colonial military agent. This act was canceled (but the notes were emitted), and the larger one would have been repealed by king and Council in 1760 but for the activity of Franklin. The notes out at this time were three hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds in amount.

Between 1760 and 1769 one hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds in notes were issued, and two hundred thousand pounds canceled or retired. In 1766 an association of merchants tried to issue twenty thousand pounds in five-pound promissory private interest-bearing notes, but they were prevented. In 1769 thirty thousand pounds were added to the currency in two issues, the first of which was so extensively counterfeited that, in 1773, Governor Richard Penn issued a proclamation, offering five hundred pounds reward for the detection of the offenders. The second issue was for the aid of the almshouse in Philadelphia. In March, 1771, fifteen thousand pounds were emitted for the defense of Philadelphia, a French war being feared; this money was used in paving the streets of the city. In 1772 an issue of twenty-five thousand pounds was made "for the support of the government"; in 1773 an issue of twelve thousand pounds for the lighthouse at Heslop and buoys in the bay and river, and in October one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the use of the loan office.

philosopher told him by avoiding discussion. But Hamilton replied that he delighted in disputation, and Franklin assured him his appetite was likely to be satisfied. So it happened, for Hamilton was embroiled with the Assembly from the beginning. He opened the year 1751 by reviving the old controversy about prerogative and the right of the Assembly to sit out of its set time without receiving permission from him, a point in regard to which the Assembly was ready to meet him more than half-way. In fact, they fired off such a volley of precedents at him in their report on the subject that he found it convenient to abandon the dispute. Not much else was done besides quarrel at this dull session. A petition from Philadelphia County complaining of the reckless use of fire-arms, in the way of salutes and jubilee on holidays and festivals, by the Germans and by servants and negroes, led to the passage of an act for the more effectual preventing accidents which may happen by fire, and for suppressing idleness, debauchery, etc. This was a sweeping statute, aimed not only at the reckless use of fire-arms, but at squibs, crackers, rockets, etc., at the firing of foul chimneys, at horse-races, shooting-matches, and other idle sports, and retailing liquor at the same, and against races and matches for plate, money, and the like. There was plenty of this sort of sport in Philadelphia, nevertheless, and races were had at the Centre regularly. It was at this Legislature that the first petition was presented for aid to the hospital projected by Dr. Thomas Bond, as outlined in the preceding chapter. The original petition was for a county insane asylum or hospital.¹

The charter was granted in May, 1751, and the first board of trustees elected in July following. The proprietaries were petitioned for a lot for the building, the one named being on Mulberry Street, south side, between Delaware Ninth and Tenth. This lot was refused, and another offered (what is now Franklin Square), which the trustees in turn declined, and Judge Kinsey's house, south side of Market Street above Fifth, was rented and fitted for the reception of patients. It was opened in February, 1752, with a number of patients, who were regularly attended and given their medicines free by Drs. Zachary, the two Bonds, Graeme, Moore, Cadwallader, and Redman. An apothecary was also appointed at fifteen pounds a year, and a dispensary set up for outdoor patients. In 1754 the managers bought a piece of ground on Pine Street from Eighth to Ninth, at a price of five hundred pounds. The remainder of the square, sixty feet deep on Spruce Street, belonged to

the proprietaries, who presented it to the institution, and the contributors afterwards bought other ground on the east and west, north and south of the hospital, so as to insure it a free circulation of air. A plan for the hospital was accepted, other contributions solicited and came in so liberally that the building was begun at once, nearly all the materials and labor being gratuitous. The corner-stone was laid May 28, 1755, by Joshua Crosby. It bears an inscription by Dr. Franklin.²

In December, 1756, the eastern wing was completed and fitted up for the reception of patients, who were then removed to it from the hired building in Market Street.

In this same year, 1751, when the hospital was begun, an attempt was made to get a bridge built over the Schuylkill, and commissioners were appointed to select a site. They, however (Benjamin Franklin was one), found no site so eligible as that of High Street ferry, leased to Capt. James Coultas. The latter got his lease renewed for seven years, was allowed six hundred and eighty pounds for his extraordinary expenses and improvements, and so the bridge project was postponed indefinitely.

Berks County was this year formed out of parts of Chester, Philadelphia, and Lancaster Counties, and the western line of Philadelphia County much restricted. Benjamin Franklin was regularly elected to the Assembly this year as the colleague of Hugh Roberts. He had sat in the previous Assembly, elected to fill a vacancy caused by the death of William Clymer. The Assembly did not do much besides order the superintendents to "provide a bell (for the State-House) of such weight and dimensions as they shall think suitable." The outcome of this order was the Independence bell.³

2 "In the year of Christ
MDCCLV,
George the Second happily reigning,
(For he sought the happiness of his people,)
Philadelphia flourishing,
(For its inhabitants were public-spirited),
This Building,
By the Bounty of the Government,
And of many private persons,
Was piously founded
For the Relief of the Sick and Miserable.
May the God of Mercies
Bless the Undertaking."

³ Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech, and Edward Warner, the superintendents, wrote, Nov. 1, 1751, to Robert Charles, of London, stating their order and authority, and applying to him to get them "a good bell of about two thousand pounds weight," the cost of which, they fancy, may be two hundred pounds or more, including charges. "Let the bell be cast by the best workmen, and examined carefully before it is shipped, with the following words well shaped in large letters around it, viz.: 'By order of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, for the State House in the City of Philadelphia, 1752.' And underneath: 'PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGH ALL THE LAND UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF. —Levit. xxv. 10.'"

March 10, 1753, Norris wrote again: "In that letter I gave information that our bell was generally liked and approved of, but in a few days after my writing, I had the mortification to hear that it was cracked by

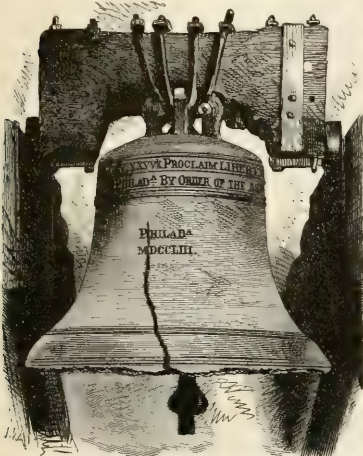
¹ The petitioners were William Plumsted, Luke Morris, Stephen Armit, Samuel Rhoads, William Coleman, Edward Cathrall, Samuel Smith, Samuel Shoemaker, Samuel Hazard, Samuel Sansom, Amos Strettell, John Armit, John Reynall, Charles Norris, William Griffiths, William Attwood, Anthony Morris, Thomas Graeme, William Branson, Israel Pemberton, Joshua Crosby, William Allen, Joshua Fisher, Nathaniel Allen, Reese Meredith, Joseph Richardson, Joseph Sims, Anthony Morris, Jr., Jonathan Evans, Joseph Shippen, John Inglis, John Mifflin, and George Spafford.

In April, 1751, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Franklin & Hall) is found complaining of the treatment meted out to the colonies by the home government. After noticing the fact that Samuel Saunders, an English convict transported to the colonies, had been tried before the Supreme Court at Philadelphia, and, being convicted of manslaughter, was burned in the hand,

dren, to corrupt some with infectious vices and murder the rest? What father ever endeavored to spread the plague in his own family? We don't ask fish, but thou givest us serpents," etc. A correspondent of the *Gazette* shortly after suggested retaliation in the shape of a cargo of rattlesnakes distributed in the London parks and places of diversion.

The academy and free school were opened during this year,—Dr. Francis Allison, rector of the academy and master of the Latin school; David James Dove, master of the English school;¹ and Theophilus Grew, master of the mathematical school. Charles Thomson was one of the ushers. Dr. Dove, in August, issued proposals for opening a school for young ladies at the academy at five o'clock in the evening, to continue every night three hours, "in which will be carefully taught the English grammar, the true way of spelling and pronouncing properly, distinctly, and emphatically, together with fair writing, arithmetic, and accounts." In October a night-school was opened by William Milne, "in his room in Aldridge's Alley, at the sign of St. Andrew, opposite the shop of Nathan Trotter, blacksmith, in Second Street, between Market and Chestnut." He taught writing, spelling, arithmetic, navigation, mensuration, and geometry. The town had need of these schools. It was growing rapidly. The taxables this year numbered seven thousand one hundred in city and county, an increase of two thousand three hundred since 1740.

Northampton County was erected early in 1752, and Philadelphia, growing so rapidly as it did, sought an increased representation in the Legislature to offset the preponderance given to country interests by the increase of new counties. A variety of complaints from the city went up to the Legislature at this time, among others of the number of gambling-houses in the city, vitiating the morals of young people. The vendue-masters complained of unlicensed auctions in the Northern Liberties, and the bakers sought to be relieved from the assize of bread. The people of Philadelphia also petitioned to be relieved of the nuisance of dogs running at large, ownerless curs running out at travelers and horses, killing sheep, worrying cattle, and going mad; and the Assembly prescribed the usual remedy, a dog-tax. An act of Assembly was passed in March to prevent bribery and corruption at elections of sheriffs and coroners, the candidates, so the preamble states, making it "too frequently their practice to engage persons to vote for them by giving them strong drink and using other means inconsistent with the design of voting freely at elections, by means whereof many unguarded persons are unwarily drawn in to engage their votes, and rendered incapable of discharging their duty in that sober and weighty manner the oc-



INDEPENDENCE BELL.

the *Gazette* has a strong editorial, denouncing the system of transporting convicts to the colonies, the result of which was a great frequency of robberies, murders, and other villanies. "These are some of thy favors, Britain!" the article says. "Thou art called the mother-country; but what good mother ever sent thieves and villains to accompany her chil-

a stroke of the clapper without any other violence, as it was hung up to try the sound; though this was not very agreeable to us, we concluded to send it back by Capt. Budden, but he could not take it back on board, upon which two ingenious workmen undertook to cast it here, and I am just now informed they have this day opened the mould and have got a good bell, which, I confess, pleases me very much, that we should venture upon and succeed in the greatest bell cast, for aught I know, in British America. The mould was finished in a very masterly manner, and the letters, I am told, are better than the old ones. When we broke up the old metal, our judges here generally agreed it was too high and brittle, and cast several little bells out of it to try the sound and strength, and fixed upon an ounce and a half of copper to one pound of the old bell, and in this proportion we now have it.

"April 14, 1753. A native of the Isle of Malta (— Pass) and a son of Charles Stow were the persons who undertook to cast our bell; they made the mould in a masterly manner and run the metal well; but upon trial, it seems they have added too much copper in the present bell, which is now hung up in its place; but they were so teased with the witticisms of the town that they had a new mould in great forwardness before Mesnard's arrival, and will very soon be ready to make a second essay." The second bell was cast and hung; it did not give great satisfaction, but was suffered to stay. It was hung the first week of June, 1753. The bill for "sundries" served at the bell-hanging included potatoes, beef, bacon, mustard and other condiments, cheese, punch, bread, and beer.

¹ The satirists called Dr. Dove "Squire Lilliput," from a piece of land he owned near Gloucester Point. He wrote many squibs himself, taught the Germantown Grammar School, and in politics was accused of being somewhat of a Vicar of Bray.

casion requires." It was therefore enacted that if any candidate for sheriff or coroner should give to any voter, or allow others to do it for him, any gratuity, wages, gift, bribe, strong drink of any kind, treat entertainments, or any reward whatever, or should promise that the same should be done by themselves or others, the offender should be liable to a fine of £10, and the voter who took the bribe to a fine of £5.¹

In this year, 1752, the calendar was changed from the Julian to the Gregorian system of computation by act of Parliament, which ordained that after the last day of December, 1751, the year should cease to be counted as beginning on the 21st of March, but the 1st day of January should be taken to be the 1st day of the year of our Lord 1752, and so on, "and that all acts, deeds, writings, notes, and other instruments of what nature or kind soever, which should be made, executed, or signed upon or after the said 1st of January, 1752, should bear date according to the new method of supputation." This change did away with the double style of computation employed in the dates of events happening in January, February, and March. The rectification in the calendar was made by taking eleven days from it, calling the 3d of September the 14th, so that month, in 1752, had only nineteen days in it. The king's birthday was pushed forward from October 30th to November 9th, and was celebrated at Bush Hill, Governor Hamilton's seat, with an entertainment, the royal healths drunk under a discharge of cannon from the association battery and the ships in the Delaware. In the evening there was a great ball at the State-House, attended by a hundred ladies and more than that number of gentlemen. "Supper was served in the long gallery in the second story, the whole affair being one of the most brilliant that had yet occurred in the province."

¹ If there be any comfort in the reflection that our ancestors were not much better than our contemporaries in the matter of purity of elections, the evidence of the fact is abundant. Thus, in a note to Gregory B. Keen's very valuable series of articles in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, called "The Descendants of Jüran Kyn" (vol. ii. p. 452), we find that Matthias, son of Hans Keen, was signer to a petition to Governor John Evans and Council, praying them to disallow a wrongful election of sheriff for the county of Philadelphia effected by the "Town's party," as it was called, over the "Country party." The document is "the humble Petition of several freeholders of the County of Philadelphia, on behalf of themselves and divers others." It represents that the election for representatives took the whole day. After it was over that of sheriff came on; there was a show of hands, and a candidate certainly and fairly elected. Then the country people went home, and the town party demanded a ballot, "knowing that then they were able to carry on their Clandestine Design (the Sheriff having long before withdrawn), and accordingly amongst themselves they hatch'd it, permitting Serv^{ts} and all that went for their Cause to have their Vots, and objecting against and denying others y^t had Competent Estates to have any. Besides, their method of Electing was contrary to the positive Agreement^d had, and the Practices used in such cases before on that day (viz) of nominating only one at a time, w^{ch} in this particular however was rejected, together wth several more partial and unfair Proceedings w^{ch} can readily be made appear." This petition was presented at a meeting of the Provincial Council, Oct. 4, 1705, by Peter Evans, the candidate of the "Country party," but Governor Evans commissioned his opponent, Benjamin Wright.

John Penn, the third son of Richard, arrived in the province in December, 1752, just in time to witness the annual fight between the Governor and the Assembly, which began in January, 1753, the subject being a paper-money bill. In March, this year, a schooner left the Delaware for Hudson's Bay, the first Arctic expedition ever sent out from America, the Northwest Passage being the object of search. This was the "Argo," Capt. Swaine, which failed to accomplish any discovery, but brought back some curiosities for the Philadelphia Library. The subscription for this expedition is said to have been originated by Franklin. The "Argo" repeated her voyage in 1754, but still did nothing.

Daniel Pellito was allowed ten pounds per annum for his salary as public whipper, and Charles Stow seven shillings sixpence per annum for supplying the Mayor's Court with candles and firewood. Such things are much more costly in our modern times.

In November, 1754, in the midst of the excitements, controversies, recruitings, and musterings growing out of the French war, the town was agitated by the news of a pestilence which had broken out and was spreading through the place. It was engendered about the unhealthy, crowded vessels which brought Palatines to the port, and was a sort of ship-fever, or typhus. The port physicians were requested to visit all the Palatine ships in the harbor and all the houses where Palatines lodged; the City Council also giving the matter their attention. Dr. Bond reported at the next meeting of the Provincial Council that two parties of Germans were sick and in a condition to spread the plague; one party being at Philip Burckhardt's, near the Dutch Reformed Church, the other at Frederick Burk's, Spring Garden. At David Sickle's, Race Street, three were sick; at Jacob Cost's, in Dirty Alley, twenty were down with the fever. At Ludwick Cale's, in Fifth Street, many were sick out of a company of twenty-four. The doctors traced several cases of illness to persons of the city who had been at work aboard the ships. One ship from Hamburg had made a healthy passage, but since reaching port her sailors and passengers were nearly all taken down with the fever. The disease could not be said to have originated among the Palatines, but they supplied it with victims. Two hundred and fifty-three of these strangers were buried in 1754. The condition of these poor immigrants was, indeed, wretched, and their petitions show them to have been outrageously treated and imposed on by the mercenary harpies who imported them. The Assembly passed in December an act for preventing the importation of Germans or other passengers or servants in too great numbers, but the Governor and Council objected to the stringency of some of the regulations, and the bill failed to become a law.

In the beginning of 1755 Philadelphia had many Indian visitors. First came a band of Cherokees, who had been taken prisoners by French Indians,

carried to Canada, escaped, and stopped in the city on their way homeward. Before they left there came a deputation of Mohawks, headed by King Hendrick. The latter had many conferences with the provincial authorities at the State-House, where both bands of Indians were lodged. The Indians were treated very civilly and received numerous presents. Hendrick was a lion for a while, and an enterprising Boniface, opening a new tavern shortly after on Mulberry (Arch) Street, near Fifth, called it after the popular chief, a name which it retained for many years.

Braddock commenced his march from Fort Cumberland towards Fort Duquesne on June 12th, and Governor Morris appointed June 19th as a day of fasting and prayer for the success of the expedition. It was not long after the fatal July 9th when the news reached the excited city of Braddock's defeat and death and Dunbar's precipitous retreat. The Governor called the Assembly together at once. Dunbar was on his way to Philadelphia, and on August 1st the Governor notified the mayor and Common Council to make provision for the accommodation of two regiments and a hospital for the sick. The mayor and recorder responded that there was no law giving any such authority to the corporation, and they could not, therefore, do anything. The Assembly, when addressed on the subject, simply adopted the English statute for the billeting and maintenance of soldiers. They declined to establish a militia.

In the latter part of August, Dunbar's troops arrived and encamped between Pine and Cedar Streets, west of Fourth. Jacob Duché's house was taken as a hospital, at a cost of fifteen pounds for six months. Duncan Cameron's journal says, "The Philadelphians' hearts and houses were open to us in the most affectionate and tender manner; and I must not forget the tender compassion of their good housewives, for they, being informed that our living had been chiefly on flesh, the women of Market Street and Church Alley, as I was told, formed an association for regaling us with apple pies and rice puddings, which they generously effected, and their example was followed by a great many women in the city." Dunbar's command did not tarry long in the city. While they were in camp they took an active part in kindling bonfires and making illuminations in honor of Sir William Johnson's victory over the French at Lake George, while the officers gave a ball at the State-House in celebration of the same triumph.

These rejoicings, however, could not prevent the people from being terribly alarmed at the devastation and desolation of the border settlements by the French and their Indian allies. Great Cove, in Cumberland County, Gnadenhütten, Mahanoy, and Tulpehocken, each in its turn felt the weight of this savage warfare, had its houses burned and its people slaughtered. Fugitives from the border streamed in upon the eastern settlements, and brought their panic with them.

The Governor summoned the Assembly, and consulted with the mayor and corporation about the defenseless state of the province. A search was made for arms, and suspicions were aroused in regard to some Frenchmen, lately in the city, who had disappeared. The Assembly was willing to vote any amount of money, and provide for its redemption by tax, but insisted that the tax must include all property, that of the proprietary as well as the citizen; the Governor refused, the old quarrel was renewed. There was a deputation of Indians in town; it was vitally important to prevent further defection among them; liberal presents would, perhaps, win back the Delawares; but, no money, no presents. The proprietary in England, however, advanced five thousand pounds; this was accepted in lieu of a tax contribution, and sixty thousand pounds were voted. The Governor pressed for a militia law; the Assembly delayed and evaded, until at last the discontent of the people threatened to break forth in riot. Col. Moore, of Chester, wrote to the Governor that two thousand inhabitants of that county were making ready to march to Philadelphia to compel the Assembly "to agree to pass laws to defend the country and oppose the enemy." A similar movement was reported in Berks County. The sheriff and mayor of Philadelphia were notified to take measures to protect the peace. The mayor and Common Council themselves undertook to remonstrate with the Assembly in a solemn memorial. But, on the other hand, the Quakers of the strict sect took a positive stand against military organization. They were willing to contribute their means for defense, for cementing friendship with the Indians, and for sustaining their fellow-citizens in distress, but not to be taxed for purposes inconsistent with their peaceable testimony and destructive of their religious liberty. "They would be compelled to suffer rather than consent to pay taxes for such purposes. They therefore desired that no measures would be taken which might coerce them in a manner inconsistent with their peaceable principles." The address embodying these sentiments was signed by Anthony Morris, Jr., William Moode, Israel Pemberton, Thomas Brown, Thomas Lightfoot, John Pemberton, Mordecai Yarnall, Joshua Fisher, Samuel Samson, Isaac Greenleaf, John Smith, Anthony Benezet, Anthony Morris, Samuel Powell, John Churchman, William Brown, Isaac Jeans, Daniel Stanton, Edward Cathrell, and John Reynell.

The Assembly found itself forced to yield, however, to the clamor for a militia law; but it did so very ungraciously, and not until it had thrown out some of the petitions which had been laid before it as being "indecent, insolent, and improper to be presented to this House." The preamble to the act, moreover, was particular to assert and defend Quaker principles. However, the war party had the substantial part of the victory with them, a military organization was provided for, and the law was at once put in opera-

tion. Companies were formed in wards and townships before the end of December, and the following officers were chosen :

Locality.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.
Middle Ward.....	John Sayres.	P. Fieson.	A. Bankson.
Dock Ward.....	D. Roberdeau.	T. Willing.	J. Clappole.
Chestnut & Walnut Ward.	W. Bradford.	F. Mauny.	Johu Rhea.
High St. & U. Del. Ward.	George Okill.	Thos. Smith.	Alex. Moore.
East Mulberry Ward.....	Thos. Bourne.	Geo. Brooks.	W. Clamper.
West Mulberry Ward.....	Jno. Deimer.	M. Clarkson.	J. Davenport.
Lower Delaware Ward.....	Wm. Grant.	John Groves.	J. Knowles.
North Ward.....	J. Laurence.	H. Kappell.	Dr. T. Lloyd.
Oxford Township (1).....	James Dysart.	Robt. Cogran.	D. Simpson.
" (2).....	Wm. Hood.	W. Morrison.	J. Lockridg.
Northern Liberties (1).....	Jacob Hall.	Joseph Leech.	Geo. Barthol.
" (2).....	Jas. Taylor.	J. Stillwagon.	Wm. Rice.
Lower Dublin.....	Wm. Parr.	Joseph Rubs.	L. Pass.
Pasquank.....	Isaac Ashton.	S. Thomas.	J. DuBeld.
Morland.....	Thos. Wells.	Wm. Allen.	J. Whitman.
Douglass (1).....	Samuel Swift.	J. Vanhorn.	Wm. Tillyer.
" (2).....	J. Hockley.	Thos. Rutter.	W. Implain.
	Benj. Thomas.	Jos. Griffiths.	J. Drake.

The old association and the persons opposed to the militia both determined to have no connection with the new association, under which those new companies were formed, and proceeded to form independent companies, the officers of which were commissioned by Governor Morris. Those of the city were as follows: *Independent Volunteers*, William Vander-spragle, captain; William Henry, Joseph Wood, lieutenants; John Blackwood, ensign. *Independent Artillery*, George Noarth, captain; Benjamin Loxley, John Goodwin, lieutenants. *Independent Foot Companies*, John Kidd, Charles Batho, captains; Walter Shee, Buckridge Sims, lieutenants; Joseph Stamper, Peter Turner, ensigns. *Association Battery*, Samuel Mifflin, captain; Oswald Eve, lieutenant; William Moore, ensign. *Troop of Horse*, Edward Jones, captain; Lynford Lardner, lieutenant; John Taylor, cornet; George Adam Gaab, Leonard Melchar, quartermasters; with a company of grenadiers, the officers of which are not given.

While the excitement following the retreat of Braddock and the Indian outrages was at its height, Philadelphia received an accession to its population of a class of people against whom suspicion and hatred could not fail to arise in spite of their misfortunes. These were the unhappy Acadians, or "French neutrals," as they were called, forcibly removed from their happy Nova Scotia homes and distributed about among the different colonies. The first detachment of them arrived in the Delaware, about November 18th, in three vessels. They were sent to Governor Morris by Governor Lawrence upon the ground that their refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the British government made it impossible to leave them any longer in their own country. They came to Philadelphia at a very bad time. The feeling in the province against the French and Canadians was very strong, and it was actually feared these poor people would combine with the Irish Catholics to betray the province to the French. Governor Morris wrote to Gen. Shirley that he was positively at a loss what to do with them; he had put a guard aboard each vessel and issued provisions to them, but what else to do he knew not. The doctors re-

ported, he told the Assembly a day or two later, that it was dangerous to keep the neutrals aboard ship any longer, for fear of disease among them, so they were landed on Province Island, under guard from the sloop "Hannah," the sloop "Three Friends," and the sloop "Swan," four hundred and fifty-four persons in all, poor, miserable, suffering. Their wretched state soon attracted the attention of the benevolent Anthony Benezet, who visited them and reported to the Assembly that he found them in great want of blankets, shirts, stockings, and other necessities. The House agreed to meet any reasonable expense incurred by Benezet in providing for the wants of the neutrals.

Hon. William B. Reed, in a paper published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has completed the history of the French neutrals in Philadelphia. In the notes to an English edition of Longfellow's "Evangeline," published in 1853, it was said, "They landed in a most deplorable condition at Philadelphia. The government of the colony, to relieve itself of the charge such a company of miserable wretches would require to maintain them, proposed to sell them with their own consent; but when this expedient for their support was offered for their consideration, the neutrals refused it with indignation, alleging that they were prisoners, and expected to be maintained as such, and not forced to labor." This paragraph excited Mr. Reed's indignation, and he set to work to present the actual facts in the case. Longfellow, it appears, discovered the note, which was derived from Judge Haliburton's ("Sam Slick") "History of Nova Scotia." The number of exiles who left that country in September, 1775, was 1923,—483 men, 337 women, and 1053 children. The number who came to Philadelphia has already been stated; it was said at the time to have been much greater. The feeling at the time of their arrival, and for a while after, was very bitter not only against the Indians and French, but also against all Catholics. The Protestant faith in America was fancied to be in danger, and all the people prayed, as a correspondent in the Shippen papers is represented as doing, "May God be pleased to give us success against all our copper-coloured cannibals and French savages, equally cruel and perfidious in their natures." The French, however, were maligned. In Jumonville's instructions, when he was attacked and slain by Washington in 1756, were the following words: "Le Sieur Donville employera tous ses Talents et tout son crédit à empêcher les Sauvages d'user d'aucun Cruauté sur ceux qui tomberont entre leurs mains. L'Honneur et l'Humanité doivent en cela nous servir de guide." This, too, at the time when the Governor and Provincial Council had publicly made an offer to pay one hundred and thirty dollars apiece for Indians' scalps! The contrast is a vivid one, and shows how little we know of the enemies on whom we make war.

In September, 1755, a few days before these exiles

arrived from Halifax, three Frenchmen had been arrested and imprisoned on suspicion of poisoning the wells. When the neutrals arrived, they were at first sent down the river again, and Governor Morris, besides writing to Governor Shirley, wrote to Governor Belcher, of New Jersey, on the subject, and the latter replied that he was truly surprised how any one could ever think of sending the French neutrals, "or rather Traitors and Rebels to the Crown of Great Britain," to "these Provinces, when we have already too great a number of foreigners for our own good and safety." The Governor thought they should have been transported directly to Old France, "and I entirely coincide with your honor that these people would readily join with the Irish Papists, etc., to the ruin and destruction of the King's Colonies." This shows the common feeling towards these unfortunates. The Assembly, however, in its Quaker instincts, was rather above these feelings, and there were Huguenot Quakers in Philadelphia whose hearts "leaped up" when they heard of Frenchmen in misfortune. Besides Benezet, there were the Lefevres and the De Normandies, who would not see the Acadians suffer. So prompt and generous was the first named, the almoner of every worthy charity and humanitarian cause of which he heard, that the Acadians, in their first memorial to the Assembly, said, "Blessed be God that it was our lot to be sent to Pennsylvania, where our wants have been relieved, and we have, in every respect, been treated with Christian benevolence and charity." Between November and March, in fact, one thousand pounds, public money, had been expended for their relief, in addition to the aid private charity afforded. In February the petition of Jean Baptiste Galerm, a leading man of the refugees, was laid before the Assembly. Galerm's memorial was simply a narrative of the undeserved hardships to which his people had been subjected. It was simple and manly. "Let me add," he said, towards the end of this address, "that notwithstanding the Suspicions and Fears which many here are possessed of on our Account, as tho' we were a dangerous People, who make little Scruple of breaking our Oaths, Time will manifest that we are not such a People. . . . Deprived of our Substance, banished from our native Country, and reduced to live by Charity in a Strange Land, and this for refusing to take an Oath, which we are firmly persuaded Christianity absolutely forbids us to violate, had we once taken it, and yet an Oath which we could not comply with without being exposed to plunge our Swords in the Breasts of our Friends and Relations. . . . And may the Almighty abundantly bless his Honour, the Governor, the honorable Assembly of the Province, and the good People of *Philadelphia*, whose Sympathy, Benevolence, and Christian Charity have been, and still are, greatly manifested and extended towards us, a poor, distressed, and afflicted People." It is greatly to be regretted that the list of names accompanying Galerm's peti-

tion has been lost. It would be of great value to-day. A bill was passed by the Assembly, and signed by the Governor, for "dispersing" the Acadians into the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, and Lancaster. This was in March, 1756. The exiles were to be divided and distributed among the counties named, in order to give them "an opportunity of exercising their own labor and industry." Families were not to be disrupted, and they were to be supported at the public expense for twelve months, or until they secured homes. Among the commissioners named to execute this act were Jacob Duché, Thomas Say, Abraham de Normandie, Samuel Lefevre, and William Griffiths.

The neutrals certainly suffered both injustice and privations. Governor Morris, in resigning his office to his successor, gave them a parting shot in a letter to Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of New York, and Sir Charles answered by saying that he had heard there was "an ingenious Jesuit" in Philadelphia. Lord Loudoun, to whom Morris surrendered his commission, had Charles Le Blanc, Jean Baptiste Galerm, Philip Melançon, Paul Bujiauld, and Jean Landry arrested by the sheriff as suspicious and evil-minded persons, guilty of uttering menacing speeches against his majesty and his liege subjects. Loudoun put them aboard Capt. Talkingham's ship and sent them to England, advising Pitt to have them pressed into the navy.

The Acadians sent another petition to the Assembly in August, 1756, begging to be sent, or given leave to go to France, and protesting against the way they were treated. This petition was signed by Alexis Thibaudeau, Pierre Babin, Pierre Aucoin, Benoni Bourg, Paul Brigauld, Olivier Tibaudau, Jean Landry, Pierre Doucet, Jean Doucet, Baptist Babin, Maturin Landry, Simon Babin, Philip Melançon, Simon Le Blanc, and Stanilas Forrest. Another memorial to the same effect was sent to Governor Denny, on September 2d, with pretty much the same signers. In October, William Griffiths, one of the commissioners in charge of the neutrals, notified the Assembly that about fifty of them had lately had the small-pox, many dying. The overseers in several townships had refused to receive them, in consequence of which many who were willing to work "have neither bread nor meat to eat for many weeks together, and were necessitated, as your remonstrant is credibly informed, to pilfer and steal for the support of life." Griffiths himself had expended three hundred and fifty pounds for their maintenance. Another bill was introduced in the Assembly, and became a law, "for binding out and settling such of the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia as are under age, and for maintaining the aged, sick, and maimed at the charge of the Province."

This act led to a very pathetic protest from the neutrals, which, however, accomplished nothing. "Alas!" they said, "oh, sorrowful change for us! The very gentlemen who vouchsafed thus charitably

to relieve us and to preserve our lives will not now let us live, for they have brought us into a condition worse than death in depriving us of a part of ourselves by the act printed the 27th of January, 1757. Oh, merciful gentlemen! what crime have these innocent creatures been guilty of that you should thus separate them from those who, after God, are authors of their lives? Being deprived of that substance which God had granted us, permit us at least to live or die with our children and those of our deceased brethren. . . . Though we read that God has reduced His people under the hardest captivity, as in Egypt under Pharaoh, and in Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar, yet we do not read that those princes that thus oppressed them ever separated the children from the parents. If we are criminals, we are ready to submit to the punishment due to our crimes; but to separate innocent children who have committed no crime from their parents appears contrary to the precept of Jesus Christ, who tells us that the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father." This petition is signed by the same persons whose names were attached to the former memorials. It was futile. The Assembly, however, did not cease to spend money for the support of the neutrals, the appropriations for their relief up to 1761 aggregating upwards of seven thousand pounds. A good many of them remained pensioners till death, and then were buried at the public expense. John Hill, joiner, memorialized the Assembly, in 1766, that he had been employed from time to time "to make coffins for the French neutrals who have died in and about this city;" that he had made sixteen coffins since the last settlement, but was told by the commissioners that there were no funds to pay him with, and he therefore prays, etc. The neutrals, says Watson, for a long time occupied a row of frame huts on the north side of Pine Street, between Fifth and Sixth, on property owned either by Mr. Powell or Mr. Emlen. The neutral huts, as these houses were called, says Mr. Reed, are still remembered, but the neutrals have disappeared. Not even their names can be found in the earliest directories. So devoted was Benezet to them, and so tender his care, says his biographer, Mr. Vaux, that the unsophisticated neutrals themselves began to mistrust him. "It is impossible," they said, "that all this kindness can be disinterested; Mr. Benezet must intend to recompense himself by finally betraying us."

Meantime the troubles between the Assembly and people in relation to the militia enrollment had resulted in a war of pamphlets. The Quakers had again a majority in the Assembly after the October elections, but they were made the subject of severe attack. William Smith, provost of the college, had begun the assault by an article in the *London Evening Advertiser*, afterwards printed as a pamphlet under the title of "A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania," etc., in which, after an account of the colony and its resources, the author arraigns severely

the conduct of the ruling sect. The population, he said, was two hundred and twenty thousand,—one-third Germans, two-fifths Quakers, more than a fifth Presbyterians. The government, he said, was more of a pure republic even than it had been when the population was under ten thousand souls. Such a state of things could not continue without subverting the government. The Assembly had made itself independent of control by the proprietaries and Governor. The Germans were ruled by Christopher Saur, suspected of being a Popish emissary, and who led his people to vote with the Quakers against military organization. The author suggested the interposition of Parliament to compel all the inhabitants to take a test oath of allegiance and of support to military measures of defense, to prevent the Germans from voting until they were acquainted with the language, and to compel all documents and legal forms to be printed exclusively in English.

This pamphlet elicited many replies and articles on both sides of the controversy, so that all parties in turn found themselves the subject of attack, and much acrimonious feeling was engendered. Probably the Quakers fared worst of any, at least they were the most vigorously assailed. But the city was not suffering at this time, and its affairs were prosperous. The corner-stone of the hospital was laid, the chimes of Christ Church were put up and rang a merry peal of welcome on the arrival of Governors DeLancey and Shirley, in April, on their way to the conference with Braddock, at Alexandria, and a lottery was set afoot to raise nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five pieces of eight for the use of the college and academy, to purchase apparatus and endow a fund for the support of the charity schools, where "seventy poor boys are, under a master and assistant, taught to read, write, and cast accounts, and forty girls, under a mistress and assistant, are taught to read, knit, and sew, and also to write, under the charity master." The corporation purchased five hundred tickets in this lottery.

Nothing can more sharply and vividly mark the contrast between the times of which we are now writing and the early days of Pennsylvania than the fact that the newspapers of this province in January, 1756, publicly proclaimed a reward of seven hundred dollars (pieces of eight) "raised by subscription among the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and now offered with the approbation of his Honor the Governor," to the person or persons who should bring in "the heads of Shingas and Captain Jacobs, chiefs of the Delaware Indians." The Indian troubles on the frontier had increased; the Delawares were divided, some joining the French, some remaining lukewarm, a few only espousing the cause of the English. The Assembly took no part in these rewards; but the Governor, at the head of the war party, was too strong for them. The non-resistance policy was but a sentiment, the old friendships of Indians and Quak-

ers a tradition, but the murder and arson upon the border were terrible facts, of present and daily recurrence, and distance and rumor aggravated them and magnified them. In April a regular tariff for scalps was arranged. The Provincial Council and Provincial Commissioners recommended that war should be declared against the Delawares and the following bounties offered: for every male Indian prisoner over ten years old who may be brought into any of the government forts, \$150; for every female or male under ten years, \$130; for the scalp of every male Indian above ten years old, \$130; for the scalp of every Indian woman, 50 cents; soldiers in the pay of the province to receive one-half these bounties. But the rewards do not seem to have been productive of much murder. Only six Indian scalps were paid for during the troubles. The proprietaries discounted such measures. The Quakers, alarmed and grieved, saw their long-cherished policy overborne by a programme of barbarous murder for hire. In April Samuel Powell, Anthony Morris, John Reynell, Samuel Preston Moore, Israel Pemberton, and John Smith, for their society, presented an address to Governor Morris on the subject, in which they dwell upon the concern and pain of mind with which they have observed "the late sorrowful alteration in the state of this lately peaceful province;" they urge a further attempt at pacification, and at least an endeavor to separate the well-disposed Indians from those bent upon rapine; and they do not hesitate to insist that the ancient Quaker methods of dealing with the Indians were best.

War was declared, however. The Quakers, undaunted, formed "the Friendly Association for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians;" they raised a large sum of money, but came in collision at once with the government, which resented their private way of interference and their attempts to make treaties independent of the authorities. They were accordingly forbidden to send their presents and to attend the negotiations. This prohibition was partly in consequence of Israel Pemberton's indiscretions, he conferring apart with the Delawares and wielding an influence over them which they denied to the other English. There was, however, a speedy armistice with the Indians, continued from time to time until the conclusion of peace. The inhabitants who were not non-combatants meantime had been actively at work to strengthen the military power of the province, the city and county raising two regiments. Of the city regiment, Benjamin Franklin was colonel; William Masters, lieutenant-colonel; John Ross, major; and Richard Swan, adjutant. Of the county regiment, Jacob Duché was colonel; James Coultas, lieutenant-colonel; and Daniel Biles, major.

Col. Franklin reviewed his regiment, one thousand strong, on Society Hill in March. The separate companies marched to the ground from the houses of their captains, performing different evolutions *en route*.

There was an artillery company in the regiment comprising one hundred men, with four cannon, drawn by large and stately horses. After the review the regiment paraded past Franklin's house, giving him a salute of cannon and musketry. The county regiment was reviewed at Germantown in May by Col. Duché, assisted by Col. Franklin. On a subsequent day, when the city regiment had drawn up at the Coffee-House to drink success to the king's forces, Governor Morris forbade the usual artillery demonstration. It was almost the last act of his official life, and was near akin to spite. So at least the officers regarded it, for they retired to the Tun Tavern and drank bumpers to the toast, "A speedy arrival of a new Governor." When Governor Denny arrived they and the entire city accorded him an enthusiastic welcome. Many citizens went all the way to Trenton to meet him; the county regiment and grenadiers became his escort at the county line; the city regiment was drawn up to salute him on Second Street, and all the rest of the city military was on parade; there was an artillery salute in Market Street, echoed by one from the distant association battery and from a privateer in the stream, which had been baptized "the Denny," while the musketeers fired a *feu de joie*, the bells rang merrily, and there were bonfires all over town. Next day the corporation gave his honor a dinner, and on the succeeding Monday he was entertained in another banquet by the Assembly.

Governor Denny's popularity, however, departed as soon as people became acquainted with him. He was stubborn and captious, as well as ignorant, and the Assembly lost patience with him at once, and gave him to understand plainly that they would not be schooled by him. It was no time for a man in his delicate and difficult position to exhibit temper, for the people themselves were out of temper and impatient. Party feeling ran very high. Provost William Smith, of the college, lost favor everywhere because he was identified with the proprietary party, though striving to conceal or disguise it, and the pamphleteers and newspaper wits pursued him relentlessly.

The smallpox was so prevalent at this time as to be dangerous to all but the inoculated. Benjamin Franklin, in one of his letters, regrets that the neglect of this precaution had cost him the life of a favorite child, a boy of four years old. The visiting Indians were particularly exposed to this disease, and, in consequence of the change in their habits, to many other fatal seizures. In April, 1756, several Mohocks, in town to confer with the Governor, were attacked, and one died of a "peripneumony." The Governor and Council condoled with Scarroyady, the head chief, and, to wipe away the tears of the survivors, presented them with ten strouds, ten shirts, and a piece of handkerchiefs. Newcastle, a friendly chief, had sent his daughter on to Philadelphia in

advance of him, and Governor Morris ordered that, if she had not had the smallpox, she must be kept at Springettsbury, "the Proprietor's seat, near this city, and not let her come into y^e city. If she has had y^e smallpox you may bring her to M^{rs}. Boyle's, in Chestnut St." Newcastle himself arrived in July, and was kept at Springettsbury, to avoid the smallpox. He went on a visit to Conrad Weiser, the interpreter, however, at Easton, there contracted the disease, and died. This required more presents of drouses, handkerchiefs, and wampum.

Governor Denny was under very stringent "instructions" from the proprietary and the home government, and he and the Assembly at once fell out about taxation and the supply bill, and about the construction of barracks for soldiers, which both Governor Morris and Lord Loudoun had tried to secure. Barracks were asked large enough to accommodate a thousand men. Previously soldiers in the town had been billeted at the different taverns. Governor Denny now claimed that there was not sufficient accommodation in the public-houses. The Assembly retorted that there were one hundred and seventeen inns in Philadelphia, certainly offering room enough for a single regiment,—forty-seven officers and five hundred men,—a hospital, store-house, and guard-house. But the tavern-keepers did not like to have troopers billeted on them; many gave up their licenses sooner

than submit to it, and the mayor and Common Council sent the Assembly a remonstrance in their behalf. The Governor notified the Assembly that the troops—Sixty-second Royal Americans, Col. Bouquet—were badly off; nothing had been done to relieve them, the weather was growing severe, and smallpox was increasing among them at such a rate that the town would soon be a hospital. Col. Bouquet, a foreigner by birth, was reluctant to resort to harsh measures, but if things remained as they were, the troops would have to be billeted upon private houses. The sheriff, indeed, received instructions to that effect. The Assembly protested hotly; the Governor retorted as hotly, "The king's troops must be quartered." The Assembly suggested that quartering troops in private

houses might lead to trouble, "particularly if the bought servants which have been so lately taken from the king's good subjects, and no satisfaction made to their owners, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament so expressly requires it, are now to be thrust into their houses and made their masters." The Governor suggested that the Philadelphians were ungrateful to the soldiers mustered in their defense; but he meant to do his duty, and he wanted sixty-two beds for one hundred and twenty-four men who were now lying upon straw, besides other quarters for the new recruits arriving in the city every day. This, however, was only a threat. The quarters were secured without invading private domiciles, but the Assembly was heartily incensed against the Executive.



Henry Bouquet

The Quakers were placed between two fires at this time. Some were not willing to pay taxes for war expenses; but those who did not object to this still did not escape, for the ministry in England condemned the Assembly for passing any militia bill which exempted a class or sect from military service; this should have been made compulsory upon all, it was declared, and the English Secretary of State further suggested that in times of war non-combatants should not occupy seats in a legislative body. This caused the resignation of William Callender, James Pemberton, and Joshua Morris, representing Philadelphia City and County, besides seven other members, but it did not change the politics of the House. The war feeling, however, met less resistance. In September, Col. Armstrong captured Kittanning, killing Capt. Jacobs and forty Indians, and the Common Council voted him a piece of plate, a medal to each of his officers, money to each of his men, and a relief fund to the widows and orphans of those who had fallen,—all officially designated as being "the gift of the corporation of the city of Philadelphia."

Catholic residents of Philadelphia did not fare well either at this time. By Lord Loudoun's order, Governor Denny took a census of them. There were seventy-two men and seventy-eight women, all English or Irish, under the charge of Rev. Robert Harding, in or about Philadelphia, and one hundred and

seven men and one hundred and twenty-one women, all Germans, under charge of Rev. Theodore Schneider; in Philadelphia County, fifteen men and ten women. The whole number of Catholics in the province was six hundred and ninety-two men and six hundred and seventy-three women, cared for by four priests. In spite of these small numbers, they were mistrusted, and in Philadelphia some were arrested upon the convenient charge of "disaffection." Among these were Barnabas McGee, Joseph Rivers, Thomas McCormick, Rowley Kane, and Jane Dorsius, as well as Dr. Hugh Matthews.

Capt. Obadiah Bourne, well known for his career as commander of the privateer "Le Trembleur," got to sea in the latter part of December, 1756, in command of the "Spry," a schooner he had fitted out with twenty-two guns, twenty swivels, and one hundred and seventy men. Other vessels could not go to sea, however, for Lord Loudoun had laid an embargo on exports, with the view to supply the king's fleet with seamen and provisions. Trade was stagnated in consequence; in June, 1757, there were forty vessels with full cargoes detained in the harbor, the mills had stopped, and there was great loss on all perishable

sloop "Tyger," of New York, the "Blakeney," of Barbadoes, and the "Stanwix."

The year 1758 was one of organized victory under Pitt, and there was frequent rejoicing in loyal Philadelphia. Fort Du Quesne was abandoned by the French and taken possession of by Gen. Forbes. Peace was made with the Indians in a grand council at Easton. The victories were celebrated with fireworks in the city. The capture of Cape Breton was made the occasion for a grand display, from a "floating castle" in the Delaware, representing the battle, with allegorical tributes to Amherst, Boscawen, Hardy, Wolfe, Lawrence, King George and the King of Prussia, Pitt, and Whitmore. The blowing up of Fort Du Quesne was commemorated by Governor Denny by the appointment of a day of thanksgiving and prayer. When Forbes' regiment, the Seventeenth foot, arrived in Philadelphia the men were quartered in the barracks; the officers lodged at "the Three Crowns" (Mrs. Jones), Second Street, above Walnut; "Indian King" (John Biddle), Market Street, below Third (south side); "St. George" (Mr. Lukens), southwest corner of Second and Arch Streets; "Indian Queen" (John Nicholson), Market Street, above Fourth; "White Oak" (John Subler), Cherry Alley; "Hendrick, King of the Mohawks" (Mr. Bartholomew), Arch Street, near Fifth; "King's Arms" (William Whitbread), Second Street, above Market; "Fountain" (Mary Biddle), Market Street; "The Barracks" (John Pearson), Second Street. The first paving of the middle of the streets was begun at this time, with a fund of two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, the proceeds of a lottery authorized by the Assembly for that purpose.



THE BRITISH BARRACKS.

commodities. The Assembly remonstrated, but with no effect, and the embargo was not raised until after the fleet put to sea, in the end of June. The trouble about billeting soldiers finally led to the construction of barracks, which the Provincial Commissioners established on a large lot bought by them in the Northern Liberties, between Second and Third, and south of Green Street. The Governor objected to the site, and the colonel to the style of buildings erected, but the commissioners followed their own counsel, and put up the one-story shedding they had determined to erect. The province also at this time bought and fitted out a cruiser as an assistance in coastwise defense,—the frigate "Pennsylvania" she was styled, Capt. Sibbald, thirty-two guns. She went to sea in August, but met no enemy. The "Spry," however, took several prizes, but the other privateers fitted out this year—the "Britannia," twenty guns, Capt. Macpherson, and the schooner "Knowles," twelve guns, Capt. Turner—met with no success. Other privateers hailing from or fitted out at Philadelphia were the

Philadelphians themselves had a share in the victories of the year, but of the disasters also. The "Britannia," after a long and fruitless cruise, came up with a well-manned French frigate of thirty-six guns, and a desperate battle ensued in which the "Britannia" was worsted, losing all her officers and seventy of her crew, her cannon, masts, and ammunition, and left to drift, a helpless and shattered hulk, to Jamaica. The officers of the "Stanwix" were arrested and the vessel detained for piracy. *Per contra*, the "King of Prussia," Capt. James Robeson, an armed merchant ship, carrying fourteen guns and bound to Philadelphia, was overhauled outside the capes by a French privateer of the same number of guns. The latter, sailing under English colors, secured the advantage of a surprise and the first broadside; but Robeson fought his ship most gallantly, and finally crippled the enemy, drove him off, and probably sunk him.

The war, however, was injurious to Philadelphia in many ways for which the "glory" did not compensate. Gen. Abercrombie, Lord Loudoun's successor, laid another embargo and enforced it with military severity, Gen. Otway's Thirty-fifth Regiment being stationed at the Wicaco battery and an armed sloop

of war (the "Charming Polly," Capt. Atkins) stationed in the river below. There was trouble about quartering the troops, the barracks not being able to accommodate all and the tavern-keepers unwilling to receive any. The City Council was forced to appropriate money to relieve the necessities of some of these soldiers. Admiral Boscawen demanded three hundred naval recruits, but the Assembly declined to provide them. The province's frigate was a heavy charge, and only supported by an impost on wine and spirits, which the importing merchants had to bear. Besides, when Gen. Forbes was in town, something like martial law was the rule. Christopher Saur, the Germantown printer and publisher of the German newspaper, was summoned before the general merely for having printed a paragraph stating that Tedyuscung and the Delaware Indians, who had arrived in the city, were still "attached to the interest of the English." Saur was mistrusted as a friend of the Quakers, and the paragraph was looked upon as a slur at the government, a species of "constructive treason." Saur maintained the innocence of his intentions, offered to make any correction required of him, and was dismissed with a "caution."

Brigadier Forbes only returned to Philadelphia early in 1759 to die. He was not more than forty-nine years old, but his health was worn out by many and severe campaigns. He was an officer of distinction and ability, had been quartermaster-general under Marlborough, and aide-de-camp to Gen. Campbell, Lord Stair, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Ligonier. Sprung of the Forbes of Patincrief, Fifeshire; bred to physic, but buying early in life into the Scots Grays, in which he was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy and the command of the Seventeenth Infantry and the Southern army in America. He was buried with much ceremony March 14th, the procession starting from the slate-roof house, then occupied by Mrs. Howell, and the interment being made in the chancel of Christ Church. The military and all the officials of the province attended the funeral.

The Assembly resolved in March to raise two thousand seven hundred recruits in addition to those already enrolled in the province, voted one hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit (bribing Governor Denny to assent), and promised a bounty of five pounds for each recruit, with one pound to the recruiting officer. For volunteers "at the drum-head," sought at this time by Capt. Hays, of Col. George Williamson's Royal Regiment of Artillery, the pay was: 9 shillings 6 pence per week to each matross (sponger and rammer); 13s. 3d. for gunners; 16s. 6d. for bombardiers; 19s. 8d. each sergeant. The "Spry" sent in six prizes, two of which her owners had to restore, besides paying heavy damages; the "Britannia" took eighteen prizes in a single cruise, some of them of great value.

David Douglass, Hallam's partner, made an attempt to build a theatre in Philadelphia this year, and succeeded in rousing a strong and energetic religious opposition. The Friends, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Baptists united in protest and in memorializing the Legislature. The Assembly passed a bill forbidding both the theatre and the lotteries; Governor Denny objected, but signed the bill, which, however, the king and Privy Council rejected in 1760. Douglass, meantime, went on boldly with his enterprise, and the Vernon Street, or Society Hill, Theatre was opened June 25th. The city, meantime, was growing so rapidly that it became necessary to extend the High Street market to Third Street, and Alderman Stamper, Henry Harrison, William Bingham, and William Rush were appointed a committee to see the improvement properly carried out. It was in consequence of this extension that High Street, from this time forth, came to be called Market Street, generally but not officially.

The year 1760 is not one of much importance in the annals of Philadelphia. The war had narrowed its area and was now chiefly confined to Canada, and privateering was dull and unproductive. A movement was inaugurated to improve the navigation of the Schuylkill, but as yet little was done beyond the preliminary surveys. A ferry at Arch Street was licensed by the Common Council, Samuel Austin securing the privilege, for which he paid an annual rent of thirty pounds; Francis Rawle's Jersey ferry brought thirty pounds; Schuylkill ferry, two hundred pounds. The rent of the market-stalls west of the court-house was ninety-three pounds; Potter's Field (as a meadow), ten pounds; public wharf and ground at the drawbridge, sixty pounds; new wharf at drawbridge, thirty pounds. Fire-engines were ordered to be put in good condition by the clerk of the market, and under the inspection of William Rush and Samuel Rhoads; William Sheed was made beadle, "during the present incapacity of Charles Stow," and the mayor was ordered to be paid a salary of one hundred pounds. During this year the building of the Germantown Academy was begun, and the cornerstone laid with appropriate ceremonies, the building being ready for use in September, 1761. This institution originated in a meeting held in December, 1759, at the house of Daniel Mackinet, when it was resolved to start a subscription for erecting a large and commodious building near the centre of the town for the use of an English and High Dutch school, with suitable dwelling-houses for the teachers. Christopher Meng, Christopher Saur, Baltus Reser, Daniel Mackinet, John Jones, and Charles Bensil were appointed to solicit and receive subscriptions. On Jan. 1, 1760, Richard Johnson was appointed treasurer, and Christopher Saur, Thomas Rosse, John Jones, Daniel Mackinet, Jacob Rizer, John Bowman, Thomas Livezey, David Deshler, George Absentz, Joseph Gallo-way, Charles Bensil, Jacob Naglee, and Benjamin

Engle were chosen trustees. They bought a lot from John and George Bringham, in Bensil's Lane, subsequently called School-House Lane, and the institution was named "Germantown Union School-House." The corner-stone was laid April 21, 1760. When the school was opened next year Hilarius Becker was made the German teacher, David James Dove the English teacher, and Thomas Pratt English usher.



THE GERMANTOWN ACADEMY.

On October 16th the school had sixty-one English and seventy German pupils. Greek, Latin, and the higher mathematics were taught here. The school was broken up after the occupation of Philadelphia by the British, and studies in it were not resumed for six or seven years. The school-house was eighty by forty feet, two stories high, with six school-rooms, and wings supplying two dwelling-houses for the use of the masters. The rudiments of good manners were taught along with those of learning, but it was expressly enjoined that youths of Quaker parentage should not be required to take off their hats in saluting the teachers.

In March, 1761, a lottery scheme was put forth to raise £1125 1s. 1½d., for the use of this school. Lotteries were very frequent at this time in Philadelphia. The whole community seems to have speculated in them, and they could not fail to be injurious to the public morals. Among the schemes was one for the erection of public baths and pleasure-grounds, against which the clergy and religious part of the community protested strenuously, saying, in a memorial handed to the Governor, that they had noted with concern the growing disposition among their fellow-citizens for "pleasure, luxury, gaming, and dissipation." The present scheme, they say, "so far as yet avowed by them, is a large subscription lottery for erecting public gardens and baths, or bagnios, among us. How destructive such places of rendezvous are to the morals of a people, what they usually terminate in, and how ill-suited they are to the circumstances of this young city, and the former character

of its inhabitants, we need not mention to your honor." The scheme, it was charged, covered the purpose to establish public gaming tables. This memorial was signed by Robert Jenney, William Smith, Jacob Duché, and William McClenachan, ministers of the Church of England; Robert Cross, William Tennent, Francis Allison, and Robert Ewing, Presbyterian ministers; Morgan Edwards and Ebenezer Kinnersley, Baptist ministers; John Frederick Handschuhe, Lutheran; the leading members of the Society of Friends, and many others. The Governor discountenanced the scheme.

Another lottery proposed at this time was for disposing of 46 acres of land on Petty's Island, the property of Alexander Alexander. Other lottery projects were: for 3000 pieces of eight to finish the new Episcopal Church of St. Paul's, Third Street, below Walnut; to raise £1350 for the use of St. James' Church, Lancaster; to raise 3000 pieces of eight to finish the steeple of the Second Presbyterian Church, Third and Arch Streets; to raise £500 to enlarge Trinity Church, Oxford; to raise £2812 10s. for paving the streets of Philadelphia; to raise 2250 pieces of eight for the Presbyterian Church, Lancaster; to raise £371 5s. for building a bridge over Octorara Creek; to raise £500 for the use of New Jersey; to raise £1200 to rebuild St. John's Church, Chester County; to raise £562 10s. for a company of rangers in Tulpehocken; to raise £450 for Presbyterian Church at Middletown; to raise £6000 for the New Jersey college; £1500 for new Presbyterian Church on the Brandywine; £3000 for new Presbyterian Church in Baltimore; to dispose of books, plate, jewelry, and land, lately belonging to David James Dove,—1773 prizes, 3227 blanks,—tickets two shillings each; to raise £1760 to pave Second Street, from Sassafas, or Race Street, to Samuel Noble's house, on Callowhill Street; £1500 for a church on Barren Hill, Whitmarsh township; £3000 to build a light-house at Cape Henlopen and improve the navigation of the Delaware; £800 for a bridge over Conestoga Creek; £600 for Presbyterian Church in Leacock township; £600 for Kent County lottery, etc. These lotteries and the presence of so many soldiers and sailors led to much immorality, dissipation, and ruffianism also. A Lieut. Brulaman, who had been an officer in the Royal American Regiment, took his gun, ran amuck on the public streets, and finally shot and killed Robert Scull in the Centre House Tavern, Market Street. He was convicted and executed. A gang of miscreants, in imitation of the London Mohocks of the period, caused much alarm in the forepart of 1762 by assaults at night made upon women on the streets, cutting their clothes with sharp instruments and stabbing them. The offenders were never caught, but a reward of fifty pounds, offered by the Governor, made the practice too dangerous to be persisted in.

The Society of Friends took advantage of the occasion to appeal to the Assembly, from their monthly

meeting, to do something to arrest the increase of immorality. Drunkenness, they said, had grown common, the Sabbath was profaned, gambling was practiced, while the performance of stage-plays was not prevented, and full license was given to all kinds of lotteries. The act in regard to lotteries which was already on the statute-book was not enforced, and the Assembly took up the matter earnestly, passing a law for the suppression of lotteries, declaring all such schemes, public or private, to be common nuisances and against the good of the province. The penalty for erecting a lottery was set at five hundred pounds, with twenty pounds fine for advertising or selling tickets. Of course, all schemes in actual operation were permitted to go on, nor was the attempt made to interfere with State lotteries held under the authority of Parliament, or to curtail the right of the province to authorize special lotteries. The managers of the lottery for paving the streets procured authority to go on with their scheme and pay the money received into the treasury. The amount was three thousand pounds, and the first public paving was done on Second Street, north from Market to Race. This street, says Watson, used to be very muddy, and one of the Whartons, getting mired there, between Chestnut and High Streets, was thrown from his horse and broke his leg. "Charles Thomson and others made a subscription forthwith and had that street paved, it being the first regularly paved street in the city."

In January, 1761, news reached Philadelphia of the death of George II., and soon after the accession of King George III. was proclaimed at the court-house, "to a multitude of people, loyal, enthusiastic and rejoicing, amid the ringing of bells, the report of artillery, and three volleys of small arms fired by the Royal Welsh Volunteers." The merchants had a feast at "the new ferry-house," with seven brass cannon to salute the toasts, and all the company singing "God save the king" in chorus. This king was George III., who fifteen years later was denounced in Philadelphia as the embodiment of all tyranny, and was effectually dethroned, so far as his American dominions were concerned,

"Sejanus ducitur unco.
Spectandus; gaudent omnes."

The Governor, Council, mayor, recorder, and City Councils dined at the Fountain Inn with solemn and dignified rejoicings. Civil officers were recommissioned, the proper alterations were made in the public prayers, and Philadelphia left nothing undone that would demonstrate her loyalty.

The Assembly took action in the matter of the Schuylkill improvements by passing a law in March to create a commission, consisting of Joseph Fox, John Hughes, Samuel Rhoads, John Potts, William Palmer, David Davis, Mordecai Moore, Henry Pawling, James Coultas, Jonathan Coates, Joseph Milard, William Bird, Francis Parvin, Benjamin Light-

foot, and Isaac Levant, for "clearing, scouring, and rendering the Schuylkill navigable." They were to receive and collect money, clear, scour, open, deepen, enlarge, and straighten the river, and remove all sorts of obstructions and impediments, natural and artificial. A law at the same time was passed to protect fish in the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Lehigh Rivers, forbidding the planting of weirs, racks, etc. Some attempt was made at the same time to protect navigation on the Delaware from losses from the ice. The House of Assembly having responded to a petition from Philadelphia against the importation of slaves by laying a duty of ten pounds per head on negroes and mulattoes brought from abroad, the slave-dealers in Philadelphia filed a protest. They represented that servants were a great need of the province, at this time particularly, since so many

Just Imported in the ship **GRANBY**, JOSEPH BLEWER
Master,

Seventy *Gold-Coast* SLAVES

of various ages, and both sexes,
To be sold on board said ship at Mr. Plumled's wharf, by

WILLING and MORRIS,

And a part of them are intended to be sent in a few days to Dock
Creek, there to be sold, by Mr. Thomas Mudock for cash
country produce, Penn^a Jour. Aug 5 1765.

white servants had been enlisted in the military service, and the importation of Germans, English, and Irish had been so greatly reduced. The introduction of slaves, the petitioners said, would reduce the exorbitant prices of labor and make commodities cheaper. They had embarked in the trade to effect these objects, and it would be a hardship to them if the law should go into immediate effect. The signers to this memorial were John Bell, Humphrey Robinson, Reed & Petit, William Coxse, Charles Batho, Philip Kearney, Jr., James Chalmers, Joseph Wood, Willing, Morris & Co., Thomas Riche, David Franks, Hugh Donaldson, Benjamin Levy, Henry Harrison, John and Joseph Swift, John Nixon, Daniel Rundle, Francis & Relfe, Stocker & Fuller, Scott & McMichael, John Inglis, David McMurtrie, Samuel and Archibald McCall, and Joseph Marks. The law was passed, however, and the tax laid.

In May, 1762, the Assembly erected the southern suburbs of Philadelphia into a municipality under the name of the District of Southwark. The bounds commenced at the Delaware, Cedar Street; thence west to the Passyunk Road; along the latter to the Moyamensing Road; by Keeler's Lane to the Greenwich Road; from thence to the Delaware, and along the river to the place of beginning. The freeholders, on the third Saturday in April of each year, were to elect three surveyors and regulators, as well as three supervisors and three assessors. These officers, co-operating, were given powers equivalent to those of county commissioners; an overseer of the poor, an assessor, and inspector, with the same powers

as those of townships, were also to be chosen; but no tax was to be levied exceeding "three pence in the pound of clear value of the real and personal estates of freeholders and inhabitants." This act made it a finable offense for Southwark workers on the highway to levy "drink money" on passengers, a custom then prevailing, the workmen offering the passer a drink from his jug, and expecting a gratuity in return.

April 8, 1762, war was declared at the court-house against Spain, and there was some revival of privateering. Capt. James Taylor fitted out the brig "New Grace" with twelve six-pounders, and sailed early in May. Stephen Archibald manned the schooner "Hawk" with fourteen carriage-guns and sixteen swivels. Four days after the proclamation of war Thomas and James Penrose, merchants, laid the keel of a vessel to be built expressly for a warship; the keel was but ninety-five feet long, the vessel's beam thirty-two feet; she was launched in seventy-two days, named the "Hero," and put in command of John ap Owen, with a crew of two hundred men, and an armament of twenty-four nine-pounders. Peace was proclaimed too soon for these vessels and the other privateers to do much. The "Hawk" was capsized and lost twenty-five of her crew; the "New Grace" and the "Hero" took a few prizes; the "Tyger," none; the "Britannia" had a severe fight off Laguyra, in which she was worsted and beaten off, but brought three prizes into Philadelphia during the season.

The war led to another embargo, increased issues of paper money, and a considerable levy of soldiers for the provincial army. A battery to carry twenty cannon was also begun on Mud Island, near the mouth of the Schuylkill. The merchants of the city petitioned the Assembly to preserve the province's valuable Indian trade for them by removing some of the difficulties of transportation, which were now so great that the trade suffered materially. The suggestion was made of a water passage up the west branch of the Susquehanna, whence it was thought convenient portage could be made to a navigable branch of the Ohio. This petition was laid on the table,—the times were not yet ripe for engaging in internal improvement schemes.

In November, 1762, Dr. William Shippen, Jr., organized the first medical college in Philadelphia, opening a course of lectures on anatomy "for the advantage of the young gentlemen engaged in the study of physic in this and neighboring provinces, whose circumstances will not permit their going abroad for improvement to the anatomical schools of Europe." The managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital gave Dr. Shippen the use of Dr. Fothergill's anatomical casts and drawings. Tickets for the course were five pistoles; and "to gentlemen inclined to see the subject prepared for lectures, and learn the art of dissecting, five pistoles more." After the lectures on osteology

were finished, tickets for any single lecture were sold at five shillings each. The introductory lecture was delivered by Dr. Shippen at the State-House, and subsequently at his father's house, on Fourth Street. The location of this first medical college was on Fourth Street above Market. The premises had a back outlet upon an alley leading north from Market Street, by the side of the Sorrel Horse Tavern. Dr. Shippen's first class consisted of ten students.

In December the body of a negro, who had committed suicide by cutting his throat with a glass bottle, was handed over to Dr. Shippen after the verdict of the coroner's jury; and after that time his anatomical museum got the bodies of all suicides and criminals. There had been a clinical course in the hospital before this, and Dr. Thomas Cadwallader had attempted a course of medical lectures on Second Street above Walnut. Dr. Shippen's was the first regular course, however. He had been fully prepared for lecturing by attendance on Hunter's lectures in London, Smellies' on midwifery, and Dr. Leese's course in Rouen, besides being a student in Guy's Hospital. In 1765, Dr. Shippen began a course on midwifery to men and women both, establishing a lying-in hospital at the same time. The same year Dr. Thomas Morgan became professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine at the college, when soon after Dr. Shippen was elected professor of Anatomy and Surgery. The dissecting was too new a thing not to excite prejudice in Philadelphia; in 1765, Dr. Shippen was obliged publicly to declare that he had never taken dead bodies, for purposes of dissection, from churchyards. Three years later he was again obliged to contradict public rumors of his having robbed the cemeteries. All his dissections, he said, were made upon suicides, and one or two bodies taken from Potter's field, "that had died of particular diseases." In 1770 there was much excitement in consequence of the supposed removal of dead bodies from the city burying-grounds for dissection in the anatomical theatre of the college. This led to what was called "the sailor's mob," in which Dr. Shippen's house was mobbed, and all his valuable collections came nigh being destroyed. He was forced to publish a card in Bradford's *Journal*, in which he declared "that I never have had, and that I never will have, directly or indirectly, any subject from the burying-ground of any Christian denomination whatsoever." It was very hard, however, for the doctor to free himself from these charges, which were made very specifically and circumstantially.

It had become fashionable in 1760-62 for the aldermen-elected mayor to refuse to serve, and sometimes two and three successive ones had to be elected. In 1762, Alderman Cox was elected and refused, fined £40; Alderman Benezet elected and refused, fined £40; Alderman Harrison elected and consented to serve. Jonathan Humphreys was chosen tenant of Schuylkill Middle Ferry, at £200 per annum; Sam-

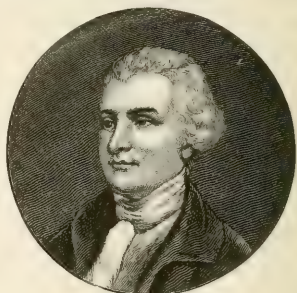
uel Garrigues allowed £25 per annum for taking care of the fire apparatus, and ten pistoles were given to Matthew Clarkson towards a ground-plot or map of Philadelphia. An act was passed this year vesting the State-House and other public buildings, with the lots belonging to them, in the hands of trustees, for the use of the freemen of the province and their representatives. The trustees were Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech, Joseph Fox, Samuel Rhoads, Joseph Gallo-way, John Baynton, and Edward Penington. The ground south of the State-House was to be a public green forever, and not to be built upon.

The preliminary treaty of peace of Fontainebleau was known of in Philadelphia Jan. 25, 1763, and proclamation was made next day at the court-house, the definitive treaty being proclaimed July 25th. The privateers at once returned to peaceful commerce, and business settled down into more quiet ways. The commissioners for paving streets had a budget of complaints to lay before the Assembly. Their labors had been greatly increased by having to dig away the old accumulations of rubbish and dirt thrown in the cart-way; narrow-tread wagons had a tendency to cut up even the best-paved thoroughfares; "steps and cellar-doors extended too far into the streets; windows and vaults were often left open, and were dangerous; casks, cases, grindstones, carriages, brick, limestone, lime-houses, etc., encumbered the streets, and were nuisances." Dock Creek, other petitions showed, was another nuisance, a receptacle for dead dogs and other carrion and filth, a source of putrefaction and disease. It was recommended that the creek be cleaned out, planked and walled, and made navigable, in order to promote the conveyance of lumber, firewood, etc. Distillers built their still-houses of inflammable stuff, and emptied their refuse into wells, to the injury of the public health; dead horses were hauled to the commons, and left there to poison the air. All these things led to the passage of general acts for the removal of nuisances, for regulating streets and alleys, wagoners, carters, and their vehicles, etc. The latter act required all cart- and wagon-wheels to have seven-inch felloes. There was also a general law passed for regulating the paving of streets. Owners of property where the cart-way had been paved were to pave the sidewalk with bricks or square flat stones; the gutters were to be twenty-two inches wide, and not exceeding four inches deep; pavements to have a rise of seven inches in ten feet from the gutter towards the houses; sound, dressed red-cedar posts, seven feet long, six inches thick, were to be set up at distances of ten or twelve feet along the curb of the footways; windows, cellar-doors, and porches were not to invade the footway more than four feet six inches, and the same to be the rule for stairs, stalls, show-boards, etc.; spouts that incommoded passers-by should be removed at once.

The City Councils at this time began also the repair and improvement of the public wharves and landings,

and the county commissioners built a bridge over Dock Creek at Front Street at a cost of four hundred pounds. The recorder's salary was raised to seventy-five pounds, and the first movement was made for erecting a market-house in High Street east of Second Street, where were only wooden stalls. This was given in charge to the mayor, Aldermen Mifflin and Willing, and Alexander Houston and John Lawrence; this end of the market being called "the Jersey market." In this year there were forty-two named townships in Philadelphia County, each one having an overseer of the poor. The Philadelphia Insurance Company ("Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Fire") set up milestones on the road from the court-house on Second Street to Trenton.

John Penn, one of the proprietors, son of Richard, and grandson of William Penn, arrived in Philadelphia Oct. 30, 1763, and assumed the duties of Governor. He was received with great demonstrations of respect, and many entertainments were given in his honor, the civic feast costing £203 17s. 0½d. On



John Penn

Nov. 15, 1763, there arrived in Philadelphia Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two Englishmen, surveyors, sent over by agreement between Lord Baltimore and Thomas and Richard Penn, made Aug. 4, 1763. They came to survey, complete, and establish a boundary between Maryland and Delaware and Pennsylvania (thence known as Mason and Dixon's line), which would put an end forever to the disputes and bloodshed which had stained the history of the border from the time of the first founding of William Penn's proprietary government. As J. H. B. Latrobe said, in his interesting lecture on Mason and Dixon's Line before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Adjacent land-owners rarely take much interest in the

title, quality, or culture of their neighbor's fields; but they are generally sufficiently sensitive to the true location and maintenance of the division fences." Lord Baltimore was in dispute with Claiborne, Swedes, Dutch, and Quakers, about his eastern boundaries from 1634, when Leonard Calvert landed at St. Mary's, until 1760, when the boundary quarrel was finally settled with the Penns. The charter of Charles I. to Cæcilius, second Lord Baltimore, gave to the latter all the part of the Delaware peninsula lying under the fortieth degree of latitude, and west of that part of the eastern shore claimed by Virginia,—provided such lands were unoccupied. Claiborne was on Kent Island, but he was ousted as a squatter. De Vries had planted a colony at Swanendael, near Lewes, on the Horekill, in 1631, but the place was abandoned in April, 1633. When Calvert landed at St. Mary's, in 1634, the soil within the charter was held by no whites, except Claiborne and his followers. But Calvert settled on the western shore of the Chesapeake, and in 1638 the Swedes were on the Delaware, with an Indian title, forts, and guns. The Dutch conquered the Swedes; the English conquered the Dutch; Charles II. gave to the Duke of York whatever title belonged to De Vries and Godyn by reason of the purchase and settlement of Swanendael, and William Penn again bought the Duke of York's title.

In 1659, Governor Fendall, of Maryland, sent Col. Utie to the Dutch on the Delaware to inform them that "they were seated within his lordship's province without notice." In 1682, Governor Markham met Lord Baltimore at Upland to settle the boundary. Penn's agent refused to treat, however, as soon as the latitude of Upland was discovered. From this time until the final settlement the boundary question was always open, sometimes taking the shape of border warfare, sometimes in court, sometimes in Privy Council, sometimes in Chancery, sometimes in treaty. It exercised the lawyers, perplexed the statesmen, vexed the Privy Council, and drove the borderers to madness. The Lords of Trade and Plantations had it more than once before them; it furnished Murray, Lord Mansfield, with one of his most elaborate briefs, and called from Lord Chancellor Hardwicke one of his best-known decisions. The merits of the case are not worth discussing here; the settlement was satisfactory as well as final. It resulted from border troubles so serious as to compel both proprietary governments, May 10, 1732, to agree upon a dividing-line and exchange deeds defining it. This parchment boundary was legally defined by Lord Hardwicke in 1750, and finally explained and expressed in a deed made under the same chancellor's directions in 1760, July 4th. This deed, says Mr. Latrobe, "is a treatise in itself, and, whether for technical accuracy as a rare piece of conveyancing, legal learning, or historical interest, is not surpassed by any paper of its kind." It was to make the surveys under this deed, by agreement between Baltimore and the Penns in

August, 1763, that Mason and Dixon had come out. The surveys had begun in 1761, under John Lukens, John F. A. Priggs, Archibald McClean and five brothers, Archibald Emory, Jonathan Hall, John Watson, John Stapler, Thomas Garnett, and William Shankland. David Rittenhouse had also been employed by the Penns to make some calculations.

The lines to be surveyed were the boundaries of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the lower counties, or Delaware. "The southern boundary of the present State of Delaware was to commence at a promontory on the Atlantic, then called Cape Henlopen, but which is some distance south of the cape bearing that name; thence it was to run due west to a point precisely halfway between the Atlantic Ocean and the Chesapeake Bay;" then northward till it struck the arc of a circle described from the court-house at New Castle as a centre, with a radius of twelve miles. "Striking this arc of a circle at the tangent-point, the straight line was to be continued north as a tangent-line until it reached a point fifteen miles south of the parallel of the most southern boundary of Philadelphia;" thence due west till the five degrees of longitude called for by Penn's charter were traversed. Mason and Dixon, styled "two mathematicians or surveyors," were sent over to complete the running of these lines. They were good, sound astronomers, who had been employed by the Royal Society to observe the transit of Venus at the Cape of Good Hope. They had excellent instruments, the best of the day.

Their first care was to ascertain precisely the most southern part of Philadelphia. They had to get as near to the Delaware as possible to be accurate. In company with the commissioners in charge of the survey (John Ridout, John Leeds, John Barclay, George Stewart, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, James Hamilton, Richard Peters, Benjamin Chew, William Coleman, and John Ewing) the mayor, recorder, and two "regulators" (Alderman Rhoads and Mr. Jacob Lewis), the surveyors went to South or Cedar Street, and by hearing testimony and comparing old deeds, determined "that the north wall of a house, at this time occupied by Thomas Plumsted and Joseph Huddle, is the most southern part of the said city of Philadelphia." To determine its latitude Mason and Dixon had an observatory built for them by a carpenter, the first structure of the kind for scientific purposes ever built in America, five years older than Rittenhouse's observatory at Norriton. This must have been built near the house of Plumsted and Huddle, which, says Mr. Westcott, there is good reason to believe is the house still standing on the south side of South Street, between Penn and Front Streets, No. 30. The latitude of the north wall of this house was ascertained to be $39^{\circ} 48' 32''$.18. These surveys have been revised within the last forty years, and found very nearly accurate. The surveyors traced the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania to a point two hundred and forty-four miles west of the Delaware,

when they were stopped by the Indians under King Hendrick. They returned to Philadelphia in August, 1768, were paid off, and went back to England. Mason was elected member of the Philosophical Society in March, 1767, and Dixon in April, 1768. Mason returned to this country, and died near Philadelphia in 1787. The unfinished boundary line was run out by Alexander McClean and Joseph Neville in 1782.

In 1764 the guardians of the poor attempted to get the Assembly to enlarge the almshouse, which had not a capacity sufficient to accommodate the poor. While action was still wanting in this matter an association of citizens was formed to buy hemp, flax, and land for the sake of employing people needing work in the manufacture of coarse linen. A property was bought of William Brown on Penn Street near Pine, suitable buildings were erected, and more than one hundred persons were employed in spinning and weaving. This company continued to flourish until the revolutionary trouble culminated. The commissioners were so successful in removing the obstructions in the Schuylkill that one of them, James Coultas, took two flat-boats loaded with hay from the lower part of the big falls to the ferry wharf, adjoining Rev. William Smith's land, in twenty-one minutes. Coultas was a man of great public spirit, who took an active interest in roads, ferries, and streams. Another man of value to Philadelphia was Rev. William Smith, who arrived in England in June, 1764, with thirteen thousand pounds he had collected for the colleges in New York and Philadelphia. It was in this year (1764) that the first fish-market was located in the city, fish having been previously sold at the shambles east and west of the court-house, at Second and Market Streets. Not many were sold, however, except in cool weather, and, Watson says, sheepheads were sold at 1s. 6d. apiece, first come first served, the same price for big fish and little. In April, 1764, the square lot between King and Front Streets, at the bridge, was fixed upon for a fish-market and the necessary buildings were erected accordingly.

With the year 1765 the question of taxation by Great Britain and the Stamp Act became matters of such controlling and absorbing interest in Philadelphia that they dwarfed everything else, and the local news, independent of political questions, is decidedly meagre. As the American Revolution properly began with the Stamp Act, and Philadelphia's part in the Revolution can but be treated as a collected whole, we have deferred all reference to these subjects to the chapter which succeeds this.

In the Assembly in 1765 a useful and necessary act was passed for the protection of immigrant passengers, who were the victims of many impositions and hardships. Dock Street, between Walnut and Third Streets, was authorized to be arched, graded, and converted into a market-place. Storm piers and a sort of breakwater were erected inside of Reedy

Island, at a cost of £3356 14s. 0½d., and the light-house at Cape Henlopen was finished, its maintenance being derived from a tax of sixpence per ton on vessels. Kaighn's Point, or Point Pleasant Ferry, was opened by Arthur Donaldson. The ferry-house on the west side was in Southwark, the Admiral Kepple, kept by Margaret Donaldson. The house on the Jersey side was advertised by Donaldson as a place of rural recreation for gentlemen and ladies to retire to and relax their minds from business. It was at this time that Bathtown, or Bath, had its beginning in the Northern Liberties, at a spring on a farm west of Second Street northward of the Cohocksink. John White, "living near the new Bath," advertised, in 1765, that he humbly proposed, with his wife's assistance, "to accommodate the ladies and gentlemen with breakfasting on the best tea, coffee, cream, etc., which articles may also be had in the afternoon." He also advertised a sort of Turkish bath, and hoped "to approve himself capable of conducting everything so as to answer many public advantages and the salutary purposes which the founder intended and now hopes to see effected." The founder was Dr. John Kearsley. White afterwards had a pump in the spring to take the water from the bottom, and one Johnson opened a coffee-house across the way from the spring. On Sunday, August 18th, there was such a flood of rain that all cellars in the lower part of the city were filled and boys swam across Market Street.

There is abundant incidental evidence about this time of the city's rapid growth, and of the fact that it was becoming more like a city. Thus, we find some manufactures beginning to spring up; the street commissioners are compelled to make arrangements for the regular carrying off and disposal of garbage and dirt; the wardens, in a petition for relief and permission to levy greater taxes, mention that they had put up three hundred and twenty street lamps; had one hundred and twenty public pumps under their care, besides fifty-four other pumps in the streets, lanes, and alleys not under their care; they employed eighteen watchmen, and more pumps and lamps were needed. The silversmiths apply for an assay office, in consequence of the large quantities of the precious metals which came into the province for manufacture and export; slack-water navigation was debated for the Schuylkill; the street pavements were extended in many directions on Market, Chestnut, Penn, Pine, and Vine Streets, and many merchants were willing to pay on their showy "jut"-windows two and three pounds tax, the preposterous rate being a shilling a light; chains were provided at the market-house to prevent vehicles from passing during market hours; the corporation began to improve its squares with curbing and gutters; some of the public wharves were extended, and the city's income from rents increased,—the sixty-six market stalls west of the court-house yielding one hundred and ninety-eight pounds,

and the forty-six east of it, one hundred and sixty-four pounds.

The inhabitants of the Northern Liberties wanted street regulators at this time and more of the forms of a municipal government, and a bill to that end passed the Assembly, but finally failed in consequence of a disagreement with the Governor about the amendments. The signers of the petition for this charter were Frederick Kuhl, Peter Thompson, Adam Stricker, Samuel Noble, Richard Mason, Elias Lewis Treichel, Bryan Wilkinson, John Williams, Samuel Pryor, John Stillwagen, Charles Lawrence, W. Masters, Thomas Boude, Levi Budd, John Livingston, Tabitha Meyer, Michael Hulings, Joseph Cowperthwait, Charles West, Jacob Shoemaker, Thomas Shoemaker, W. Shippen, Jeremiah Warder, William Fisher, John Coats, Peter Knight, Joshua Emlen, Moses Bartram, Isaac Bartram, Jacob Schreiner, Thomas Say, Martin Noll, James Taylor, Thomas Williams, Samuel Williams, William Woodrow, Henry Woodrow, John Browne, Samuel Ewan, John Britton, John Scattergood, Benjamin Spring, Thomas Saltar, Thomas Briton, John Saltar, William Ball, Arthur Thomas, George Leib, Christian Dierck, Richard Barker, William Bettle, Henry Naglee, citizens or land-holders in the district.

Commissioners were appointed to view a proposed new route and bed for the road from the city to Chester, the existing road being "very crooked and far about," and leading over fifteen steep and stony hills. The newer and more level way proposed was through Moyamensing, Passyunk, Kingsessing, Tinicum, and Ridley, into the old road near Crum Creek. A proposition was also entertained, but not perfected, for purchasing and making free the Middle Ferry over Schuylkill. Another proposition was made by Robert Smith, master-builder, to construct a bridge over the Schuylkill, in accordance with his plans and his improvements in the method of wooden spans between stone piers; but the undertaking seemed too great for the House to embark in it. There was a great dispute about the right place for a dam on Hollander's Creek, to prevent the waters of the Delaware from flooding the meadows in the Neck, such an improvement being considered necessary for the health of the inhabitants of Wicaco, Greenwich Island, Schuylkill Point, Passyunk, and Moyamensing. The decision was finally in favor of the point of junction of Hay's and Hollander's Creeks for the site of the dam.

A general act of Assembly, in fifty-one sections, relating to the city of Philadelphia, renewed, codified, arranged, and re-enacted many parts of old laws lapsed or about to do so, with new provisions added. The commission to pave and clean the streets, composed of Thomas Say, Henry Lisle, Thomas Tilbury, Henry Drinker, Samuel Bryan, and John Mifflin, was so ordered that two commissioners, to serve three years, should be annually elected. They were given power, in conjunction with the mayor, recorder, and

four aldermen, to decide what streets should be paved, what sewers built, and what direction should be given to water-courses. They had authority to employ scavengers and have the streets cleaned, and to assess the necessary taxes to enable them to discharge their duties. They were ordered to buy two lots on the Delaware for landing-places for hay, lumber, etc. This act also directed house-owners and tenants, sextons, porters, church-keepers, etc., to sweep the streets



RITTENHOUSE'S OBSERVATORY AT NORRITON.

and clean the pavements once a week (on Friday), unless ice or snow prevented. Carts and wagons were regulated, and various penalties denounced against several specified classes of nuisances.

The Assembly granted the Philosophical Society one hundred pounds towards the cost of building an observatory in the State-House yard, from which to observe the transit of Venus, June 3, 1769. The phenomenon was here successfully observed by Dr. John Ewing, Joseph Shippen, Dr. Hugh Williamson, Thomas Prior, Charles Thomson, and James Pearson; at Norriton by Dr. William Smith, David Rittenhouse, John Sellers, and John Lukens; and at Henlopen light-house by Owen Biddle. On December 7th, Governor John Penn was proclaimed at the courthouse, under a new commission from Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietaries, his office to last till Sept. 1, 1772. An enumeration of houses this year gave the following results:

Mulberry Ward.....	920	Upper Delaware Ward.....	234
North Ward.....	417	High Ward.....	166
Middle Ward.....	358	Chestnut Ward.....	112
South Ward.....	147	Walnut Ward.....	106
Lower Delaware Ward.....	120	Duck Ward.....	739

In all, 3318; Northern Liberties to Second Street Bridge, at Stacey's Run, 553; Southwark to the north side of Love Lane, 603. Grand total, 4474.

Rev. George Whitefield, who had been a regular annual visitor to Philadelphia, came as usual in the summer of 1770, and preached in the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches. This was his last coming to the city, as he died in September at Newburyport. Among other noted visitors to Philadelphia about

this period were John Hancock, of Boston, and Sir William Draper, of the British administration, em-paled in the celebrated letters of "Junius."

The volunteer fire companies began in 1770 to receive assistance from the corporation; the draw-bridge fell in and the corporation refused to repair it, as such repairs had been provided for by the Assembly in the shape of a special tax. The condition of poor debtors detained in the city prisons for debt appears to have been most wretched at this time. They were practically dependent upon charity, for there was no law to compel the creditors who imprisoned to support them, and the province only allowed prisoners twopence a day per capita. Without means of their own they literally perished from cold and want. In this year a jail-prisoner died of starvation, and in March, 1772, three more perished in the same way. The Assembly was appealed to in 1770, and a visiting committee, who inspected the jail, reported finding thirty-two men in confinement and twelve women, some criminally and some debtors. Many of the men were naked, and without shirts; they had no bedding, no covering but a single blanket (given through charity) for two persons. After trial, no public allowance was made to criminals. One man had been confined four years for jail-fees; another three years in default of surety for good behavior. The Assembly passed a law allowing threepence per diem for the support of criminals after conviction, and a law was also passed for alleviating the condition of prisoners for debt. To prevent outrages by gangs of robbers and plunderers, who went about with blackened faces, the penalty of death was denounced against such offenses. New regulations were adopted in regard to carters, draymen, and wagoners, who were required to register in the clerk's office of Quarter Sessions, have their vehicles numbered, and, of course, to have a scale of charges established for them. Commissioners were appointed—Joseph Fox, Jacob Lewis, Daniel Williams, of Philadelphia County; John Hannum, John Morton, and John Sellers, of Chester; and James Webb, Moses Branton, and James Gibbons, of Lancaster County—to lay out a new road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, by way of the Schuylkill Middle Ferry, the Ship Tavern in Chester County, and thence by the Gap road to the village of Strasburg, in Lancaster County, a public highway forever, sixty feet wide.

In consequence of the war-feeling and the stern non-importation policy of the several colonies many and various efforts were made to encourage and promote American manufactures. The American Philosophical Society now came forward with a memorial to the Assembly on silk culture, a subject in which Franklin had been deeply interested for many years, and about which he was at this time corresponding not only with members of the society and persons in other parts of the country, but gathering information all over Europe to transmit to the society. The society, after explaining the conditions under which

cocoons were spun, and the supposed facilities for feeding the silk-worms, proposed that public filatures should be established in Philadelphia and elsewhere, where the cocoons might be received and the silk reeled. They asked the Legislature to appropriate five hundred pounds for premiums for mulberry-trees, cocoons, etc., and produced samples of American silk, some wove, some knit into gloves. The Assembly declined to make the appropriation, and the society then started a subscription, asking two hundred and fifty pounds in forty-shillings subscriptions. There were, they said, sixty-four families who had already made a beginning in this industry, many of them raising ten thousand to twenty thousand silk-worms, and there were in the province one hundred thousand cocoons spoiling for want of reeling. The money was soon subscribed, and a "society for the cultivation of silk" organized, with the following persons for managers: Dr. Cadwalader Evans, Israel Pemberton, Benjamin Morgan, Moses Bartram, Dr. Francis Allison, Dr. William Smith, John Rhea, Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Fisher, Owen Biddle, Henry Drinker, Robert Strettel Jones, with Edward Penington treasurer. A filature was established on Seventh Street, between High and Mulberry Streets, a superintendent was procured from Georgia, and tuition and employment were promised to girls wishing to learn to reel silk. A premium of fifteen pounds was offered to the person bringing the greatest number of cocoons to the filature—not less than thirty thousand—before September 1st, and ten pounds for the next largest quantity,—not less than twenty thousand.

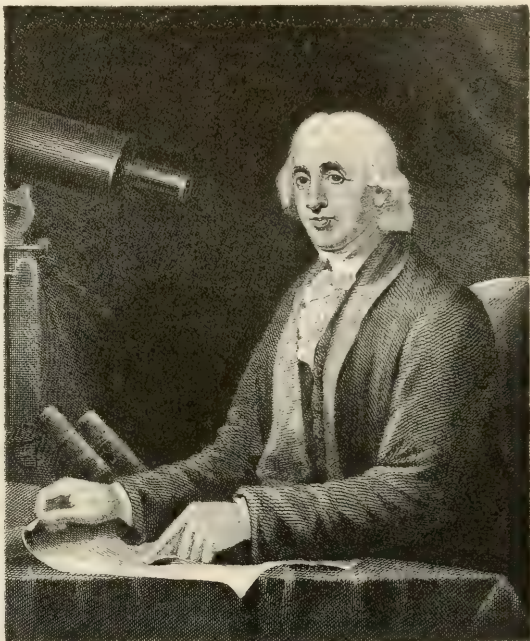
Only the second prize was awarded next year, to Joanna Entwain, of Bethlehem; but new premiums were offered,—twenty pounds for any number over fifty thousand, fifteen pounds for forty thousand, ten pounds for twenty thousand. Nicholas Garrison, of Race Street, advertised he would have mulberry-trees to sell next spring at twopence each, and John Kaighn, Second Street, near Christ Church, had silk-worm eggs for sale. The society prepared one hundred and fifty pounds of reeled silk, such as sold in England for twenty and twenty-five shillings per pound, exclusive of Parliamentary bounty; but it still sought aid from the Assembly, which the Assembly still did not grant. It was found in 1772 that the society lost money by paying too high a price for cocoons, many of them being in bad condition. The reeled silk of the filature sold in London for nineteen shillings twopence, when China silk brought £1 2s. 6d. The filature reeled silk for private owners at sixpence per ounce, and some of these sent it to London to be woven. The filature, however, made a popular success by weaving a dress-pattern of Pennsylvania silk, which was presented to the queen by Dr. Franklin on behalf of the society, and her majesty promised to wear it on the king's birthday. On this the Assembly voted the society one thousand pounds. Franklin's correspondence is full of this silk experiment,

and his wife sent her share of the reeled silk to him in London.

The Assembly had to come to the relief of other manufacturing adventures at this time besides the silk-growers. Experiments undertaken in haste, without experience and the aid of sufficient capital, were almost certain to end in failure. Their object being patriotic, of course they felt it to be the duty of the Assembly to give the people's money for their support. There were steel-works on Seventh Street, conducted by Whitehead Humphreys, who made

good tools and received one hundred pounds; but John Clayton did not get aid for his thrashing-machine, nor Thomas Moore for his machine to raise water to any height. Messrs. Gousse Bonnin and G. A. Morris started, in 1770, to erect works for the manufacture of china, their factory being in Southwark, near Front and Prime Streets. Benjamin Randolph, at the sign of the Golden Eagle, Chestnut Street, manufactured wooden buttons, and proposed to buy hard woods, apple, holly, and laurel. James Popham, in January, 1770, proposed to manufacture wool, so as to make a profit for capital invested of over forty per cent. "A Hibernian" offered to organize a patriotic society for woollen manufactures, on the basis of a lottery privilege of one thousand pounds per annum, the weavers to be imported from Ireland. The Assembly did not spend money on any of these ventures, but it gave three hundred pounds to David Rittenhouse, as a testimonial of the high sense entertained "of his mathematical and mechanical genius in constructing his orrery," and also bought one of the machines from him at the price of four hundred pounds. David Rittenhouse was born April 8, 1732, on the farm of his father, Matthias Rittenhouse, in Montgomery County, near Germantown. His father was one of the original settlers of "Germanopolis." The name of the first paper-mill ever built in America stamps the fact of the family's turn for mechanical invention. Young Rittenhouse was not fitted for a farmer's life, nor was his health robust enough, but his mathematical turn already absorbed his faculties, and the fences, the plow-beam, the barn-doors, were soon covered with his figures. His father consented to let him learn the trade of clock and mathematical instrument-maker. There was already a trunk full of tools appropriate for the trade in the garret, the property once of some maternal relative. He built

and fitted himself a shop by the roadside, where he worked by day and studied by night, like Pascal, inventing over again for himself the processes of mathematics which only master minds have discovered. He conceived himself to have been the inventor of fluxions, until he read Newton's "Principia." What Newton and Leibnitz could only attain to in mature years, after long consultations with great minds and access to all the learning on the subject, this obscure youth grasped at the age of twenty-four, without books and without teachers. At the age of twenty-



David Rittenhouse

three he made his famous orrery, for presenting the motion of the heavenly bodies. This was bought and is still in the possession of Princeton College. A duplicate was made for the Philadelphia Academy and purchased by the Assembly. Rittenhouse observed the transit of Venus in June, 1769, for the American Philosophical Society, of which he was already a member, and in November observed the transit of Mercury, making reports on both phenomena. In 1770 he removed to Philadelphia. Later he was connected with the boundary commissions of New York

and New Jersey, Virginia and Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania and New York, and New York and Massachusetts. He delivered the annual oration before the Philosophical Society in 1775, and became its president, succeeding Dr. Franklin, in 1791. He was a member of the convention of July 15, 1776; member of the Pennsylvania Board of War, March 14, 1777; treasurer of the State from 1777 to 1789; director of the United States Mint, 1792 to 1795, when he resigned on account of ill-health, dying in Philadelphia, June 27, 1796. His body was buried in a tomb, prepared under his own orders, in the garden of his house, northwest corner of Seventh and Arch Streets. Many years afterward it was removed, and reinterred in the ground of the First Presbyterian Church, Pine Street west of Fourth. He was made member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, in 1782, and of the Royal Society of London, 1795. He was a man of sincere and honest mind, simple and plain in his ways, a profound and constant student, and a deep and original thinker. He had added to his knowledge of mathematics and astronomy an acquaintance with theology and metaphysics, and familiarity with French, Dutch, and German. He was a musician, wrote verses, and had read extensively in belles-lettres. His services to the Revolution were many and important.

Other inventors came forward for recognition,—Michael Washington, with cloth of his manufacture, meant to compete for the gold medal offered by Lancaster County; Christopher Colles, the engineer, with offers to put up mills and hydraulic engines; Michael Poree, surgeon dentist, maker and fitter of artificial teeth,—the pioneer in that manufacture,—found so much business in his line that he decided to settle in the country, dividing his time between New York and Philadelphia.

Still, the new manufacturers fared badly. Henry William Steigel, the glass-maker at Lancaster, failed; was confined for debt in Philadelphia jail, and it took an act of Assembly to release him; that body also voting him a relief of one hundred pounds. The china-works in Southwark failed also, the proprietors losing everything, and not being able to pay wages to their workmen, for whom—strangers and needy—they asked the charity of the public. Bonnin sold the real estate and property of the concern and went to England. Some attention was paid to potash manufactures at this time, and Humphreys got leave to set up a lottery of seven hundred pounds to aid him in his manufacture of steel.

In the two or three years succeeding this period, which were still to intervene before the outbreak of hostilities with the mother-country, the people of Philadelphia seem to have paid an increased attention to local improvements, to which they gave all the time they could spare from the excitements of political movement. Several acts were passed in 1771 to protect the fisheries on the Schuylkill, provide a close

time, and prevent the wanton destruction of the smaller fry. As there were fears of a war with Spain, attention was directed anew to finishing the fort on Mud Island, authorized in 1762. The fifteen thousand pounds then voted could not be recovered; eight thousand pounds had been spent for street paving, and seven thousand pounds given to the king for war purposes, and a new act was passed appropriating fifteen thousand pounds more in bills of credit. The commissioners in charge of the work were Joseph Galloway, Benjamin Chew, Thomas Cadwallader, Joseph Fox, Michael Hillegas, John Morton, and John Baynton. They bought a small island in the Delaware, the property of Joseph Galloway, and applied to Gen. Gage for an engineer. He chose Capt. Montresser. The people of the Northern Liberties petitioned the Assembly at this time for regulators to survey the streets, lay out gutters, sewers, etc., and regulate party walls. The act which was passed for this purpose restricted the operation to a tract north of the city to Gunner's Run, across to Frankford road, west to William Master's place on the Germantown road, and the Wissahickon road, thence south to the city limits. The poor laws of the city were amended so as to authorize the mayor or recorder of the city, the aldermen, and the justices of the peace of the county, to appoint overseers of the poor,—twelve for the city, four for the Northern Liberties, four for Southwark, and two for each other township. These overseers had power, upon the requisition of the managers of the almshouse, to levy taxes for the amount of money required by that establishment, and had plenary authority, besides, to procure subsistence for paupers, etc.

The law for regulating the night-watch and the lights of the city was re-enacted, Samuel Morton, Thomas Mifflin, Edward Duffield, Jacob Winey, Moore Furman, and Joshua Humphreys being appointed wardens (to be elected annually thereafter at the general elections) with power, in conjunction with the assessors, to levy taxes for city purposes, the assessors appointing the tax collectors. The wardens had direction of the maintenance and increase of the city lamps, the employment of watchmen, digging wells, fixing and repairing pumps, and purchasing private pumps for public use. There was much complaint at this time, and apparently it was just, of the insufficient number of public pumps, and the inadequate allowance to owners for private pumps. In fact, the city was outgrowing its water supplies.

Renewed efforts were made in 1771 to secure legislative aid for improving the navigation of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna, and the subject was referred to committees, and led to reports, but nothing further, except that additional surveys were ordered. The conditions of the main public roads caused solicitude, and in a broadside, published in December, 1771, called "An Address to the Merchants and Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," it was said that "Baltimore town,

in Maryland, has within a few years past carried off from this city almost the whole trade of Frederick, York, Bedford, and Cumberland Counties." This was in consequence of the care of communication by way of the Susquehanna, and the bad roads from this river to Philadelphia. The writer said the only remedy was a canal across the peninsula and a free turnpike road to Lancaster.

In April, 1771, there was a fatal fire at the house of Thomas Rogers, west side of Front Street, near Market, in which Mr. Rogers and Mrs. Baxter, an inmate of his house, were suffocated by the smoke; two girls, daughters of Capt. Campbell, and grand-daughters of Mr. Rogers, were rescued by an active and daring sailor, after the roof had fallen in, but their injuries were so great they died shortly after. Several other houses were damaged by this fire, which was played upon by six engines, the entire force of the town.

In this year, John Penn having been suddenly called to England, Richard Penn came out to succeed him. Both these Penns married Americans, but Richard was very popular, John the reverse, and when John suddenly superseded Richard again in 1773, much feeling was shown. As Miss Sarah Eve said at the time, she would rather be Richard than John, for though the latter had the government, the former had the people with him. A part of this unpopularity grew out of the excise tax of 1771, of fourpence per gallon on all wine and spirits, the enactment of which led Philadelphians to petition the Assembly for more equitable representation. They had only two members in that body, while paying one-fourth the entire expenses of the province. The inspection and stamping of leather, and the costs of the for on Mud Island, were also subjects of complaint.

The Tammany Society was started on May 1, 1772, when the sons of King Tammany met at the house of James Byrns to celebrate the memory of the noble chieftain.

The city wardens, in their new regulations, instituted this year, made James Delaplaine constable of the watch. There were seventeen "beats;" the watchmen cried the hour and the weather; they carried staves, and were on duty from 10 P.M. to 4 A.M. in summer, and 9 P.M. to 6 A.M. in winter. The Assembly this year resolved to provide the city a new jail, the old one, corner of Third and Market Streets, being confessedly and notoriously inefficient. The commissioners of the county were authorized to borrow money, buy a lot, build a jail, work-house, and house of correction, and sell the old jail, which was advertised as being sixty-six feet broad by two hundred and forty feet long. This old prison had been held by trustees for the use of city and county, but the new one was vested in the county commissioners, whom the act made a corporation and body politic.

The "assize of bread" was renewed in March, the

size of loaf being adjusted to the price of flour, each baker required to stamp his name and mark the quality of the flour on his loaves, and the clerk of the market to seize all bread which did not comply with these requisites. A dog-tax was this year laid in Philadelphia County, a shilling on each cur owned by a head of a family, two shillings for each additional dog. Single persons owning dogs had to pay five shillings each, and the avails of this dog-tax were to be applied to compensate owners of sheep killed by dogs. When a dog was caught killing sheep his owner forfeited a fine of five pounds unless he destroyed the animal at once. Chimney-sweeps in Philadelphia, Northern Liberties, and Southwark were put under strict regulations at this period, registered, licensed, numbered, and made to wear their numbers on their caps. The sweepers' fee was ninepence per chimney of one flue, fifteenpence for two flues.

When John Penn, as we have already noted above, returned to Philadelphia to supersede his brother Richard, on Aug. 30, 1773, the merchants presented the latter an address and invited him to dine with them. He had acted with prudence and manliness in difficult times, and the people would not neglect him. John Penn was present at the dinner,—Robert Morris, who presided, placing one on his right hand, the other on his left,—but the brothers did not speak. Richard had been "unexpectedly deprived" of his office, and he resented it.

The silk society was still active at this time, Franklin being its agent in London, and disposing of its reeled silk. The premium for the greatest number of cocoons (seventy-two thousand eight hundred) was awarded to Widow Stoner, of Lancaster, James Millhouse, of Chester, getting the second premium. One prize was given to Rebecca Parks, of Lancaster, for the best specimen of reeled silk. The net proceeds of silk sold in London were £210 10s. 5½d. In a letter to his wife, July 15, 1773, Franklin says, "The Silk Committee were so good as to make me a present of four pounds of raw silk. I have had it worked up, with some addition of the same kind of silk, into a French gray *ducape*, which is a fashionable color, either for old or young women. I, therefore, send it as a present to you and Sally, understanding that there is enough to make each of you a *negligée*. If you should rather incline to sell it, it is valued here at six shillings and sixpence a yard; but I hope you will wear it."

The American Philosophical Society, with a certain prescience of the coming struggle, turned its attention to the manufacture of paper, offering a premium of five pounds to the person in any family who should save the greatest quantity of rags and sell them before the 1st of May, 1777, smaller premiums for the next highest competitors. John Leacock, who owned a vineyard in Lower Merion, Philadelphia Co., set up a lottery for the encouragement of the vine, and the

glass-works at Kensington, and Manheim, Lancaster Co., did likewise. The citizens of Philadelphia petitioned the Assembly to instruct its provincial agents to ask king and Parliament to adopt measures preventing the importation of negroes into the colony. At the same time the city protested against the unequal assessment by which its inhabitants were compelled to bear undue burdens of taxation. The city and county had nearly paid the assessment of 1760, running through fifteen years, but other counties had failed to raise their proportions. The House, after having a committee to report on the subject, passed a bill declaring that improved lands should be rated at three-fifths of the annual value, and none at less than five pounds per hundred acres. At the January session of 1773, David Rittenhouse and Samuel Rhoads made a report on inland navigation and the divide between the Delaware and Susquehanna; they found a canal feasible, with water and fall enough in the intermediate streams, but would not decide upon the most expedient route.

The city front was extending so much, with so many long wharves jutting into the stream, that there were fears lest the port would become too small and navigation be impeded. Some of these wharves intruded on the channel so much that even small vessels had difficulty in working between them and Windmill Island. The city markets were found to be not large enough for the volume of country produce brought to them, but the Common Council declined to enlarge them. The Assembly, therefore, in which the country interest predominated, determined to look after the farmers' convenience. In March, 1772, a committee was appointed to consider the expediency of building another market-house in the city. This committee reported in favor of Market Street, near Third, and continuing westward, as the best site, and in 1773 a resolution was passed to the effect that in the opinion of the House the want of additional market-houses in Philadelphia "for the accommodation of the inhabitants bringing their produce to market for the supply of the said city is a public grievance," and a committee was ordered to confer with the corporation on the subject and report to the House.

The committee of the Assembly consisted of Henry Pawling, William Rodman, John Brown, Thomas Mifflin, Jonathan Roberts, and James Hockley. The Common Council, January 26th, "*Resolved, nem. con.*, That another market be built at the expense of the Board," and at a later meeting it was decided to place the new market in Market Street, between Third and Fourth. The Council, finding they had not money enough to pay the cost of the proposed improvement, resolved to call in, at the end of three months, seven hundred and fifty pounds which had been loaned to the managers of the almshouse. The latter asked for more time, intimating they had not expected the loan to be demanded. The Council re-

fused to present the managers with the money, but gave them a year to pay it in. The inhabitants in the neighborhood of where the new market was to be built remonstrated vigorously against the proposed structure as an incumbrance to the street and incommoding them, asking that another place should be fixed on. To this there were counter remonstrances, and apparently serious controversy; but the board decided not to alter its plans, but to go ahead with the work, without waiting for the question of municipal right to be determined by an amicable suit at law, as was requested by some of the petitioners. The erection of the market-house caused great excitement, and the residents on High Street took the law in their own hands "and accordingly they tore down the market as fast as it was erected, demolishing by night what was built by day." On June 22d the Council decided to bring damage-suits against those who had resorted to violence, but at the same time to direct the committee to desist from prosecuting the work until further directions had been given. On the 24th the board resolved to go on again, but on the 29th, in deference to an earnest address from the Society of Friends, the work was suspended, "and resolved to bring the actions for the trespasses already brought, and that the work already done shall be secured, as well as the materials, except such as are perishable, etc.—those to be sold; the rubbish in the street to be removed, so as to make the street on each side the piers passable."

A number of handbills and addresses on this subject and against the building of the market were issued over various signatures, the chief promoter of the opposition, apparently, being Owen Jones, provincial treasurer. The opposition became popular, the plea being that the corporation threatened to swallow up the people's liberties; but selfish and individual interests seem to have been at the bottom of the controversy. The Council, in place of building a new market, made some changes in the meal market to accommodate the country people, and determined to put up hay-scales forthwith at the slip on Vine Street and at the Blue Anchor. Twenty new stalls were also added to the new market on the southern bounds of the city.

Aside from their connection with the gathering storm of revolution, there were practically no local occurrences in Philadelphia in 1774 worth noting. Great and small events equally sympathized with and took their color from the one controlling excitement, which occupied the thoughts and guided the actions of every one. The Common Council were informed by the recorder that complaints had been made in Maryland against the sealed half-bushels made in Philadelphia as being over legal measure, a circumstance likely to be detrimental to trade unless looked into. A committee was appointed to confer with Nathaniel Allen, the officer appointed to size and seal the measures, and consult with Mr. Rittenhouse, and call

any others they may think proper to their assistance. The committee—Messrs. Rhoads, Clymer, Shippen, and Powell—were ordered also to procure a new standard half-bushel, of cast brass. This was done, and the measure left in charge of Mr. Allen. In August it was reported that hay-scales had been erected at the draw-bridge. Robert Lumsden was appointed keeper of the scales, his fees being two shillings per load.

A lot of ground had been bought on Sixth Street, extending from Walnut to Prune, and here, in 1774, the Walnut Street prison was erected. "It consisted

of a stone building, with a front on Walnut Street of one hundred and eighty-four feet, and thirty-two feet deep, with wings on the east and west extending ninety feet southward. In addition to this there was a stone building on Prune Street at the south end of the lot, which was originally designed for a work-house, but was afterwards used for the confinement of debtors. The lot was inclosed by a stone wall twenty feet high, connected with the buildings."¹



OLD WALNUT STREET PRISON.

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In January, Arthur Donaldson presented a petition to the Assembly, declaring that he had invented a machine for cleansing and deepening docks, but useful for purposes of general dredging. The American Philosophical Society had seen the machine at work, and approved it, and the Assembly appointed a committee to examine it. In December, Ebenezer Robinson sought to call attention to a pumping-machine of his for leaky vessels, but the Assembly had no time now to attend to such matters. David Rittenhouse was appointed to take charge of the State-House clock after March, 1775, when David Duffield would cease taking care of it, as he intended leaving the country.

Money still continued to be appropriated for the support of the French neutrals. In January, 1774, the Assembly passed an act to prevent infectious dis-

eases from being brought into the province; a keeper was to be appointed to the hospital on Province Island; vessels from beyond seas with more than forty passengers were not to be allowed to come nearer Philadelphia than Little Mud Island, near the mouth of the Schuylkill, until a sanitary inspection had been made by a quarantine officer and a physician. The sick were to be removed and nursed in the hospital, and the vessels cleansed, all at the expense of the consignee. Another inspection and examination was to be made when the vessel reached port.

The Assembly repealed the act forbidding the sale of books at auction, and in December passed an act to suppress the disorderly practice of firing guns, pistols, squibs, fireworks, etc., at Christmas times. Offenders were to be mulcted ten shillings; twenty shillings fine to the householder allowing such practice upon his premises. Thus a law against squibs preceded the great cannonade of the Revolution!

CHAPTER XVI.

PHILADELPHIA DURING THE REVOLUTION.

PART I.—FROM THE STAMP ACT TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

To write a complete history of Philadelphia during the war of American independence would be, in effect, to write the history of that revolution from its beginning until the adoption of the Constitution. Such an undertaking is far beyond the scope of the present work. The author will be content to exhibit the things which were done in Philadelphia during that contest, and which originated in Philadelphia, or with the people of the city. Even thus limited, the task is by no means slight. The events which must be treated are many and momentous, and the actors in them among the most considerable figures in the great struggle. Watson, who, as Mr. Westcott reminds us, had access to the papers of Charles Thomson, says, very forcibly, that "Philadelphia was the fulcrum which turned a long lever." It was the largest and most important city in the colonies; it was the central point of the colonies, moreover, and it numbered among its citizens many men whose opinions were controlling forces. Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, Joseph Reed, Charles Thomson, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Galloway, and Robert Morris were men of influence and control,—powers throughout the colonies. Franklin and Dickinson had as much to do as any other two men who can be named in uniting the colonies and preparing them for resistance; and, after Washington, Franklin and Morris did more than any other two to make that resistance successful. Not to give such a history in its important bearings, therefore, would be to belittle the local annals which it is our duty to present faith-

¹ Westcott.

fully and well; to go beyond that would force us to encroach upon the province of the general history of the country. The task is difficult, and becomes only more so in persisting, as we must do, to carry the local flavor along through every page, but it is perhaps not impossible.

Occasional writers make a grave mistake in thinking that the principle upon which the colonies united to resist the pretensions of Great Britain, resistance to taxation without representation, was a mere barren abstraction. The colonists were British subjects, and the principle for which they contended was, in fact, the very core of the British Constitution, the Englishman's birthright and his castle. The sagacious eye of the elder Pitt saw this at once, and he rushed to the support of the Americans, not as a leader of the opposition, but as a British statesman who saw the Constitution imperiled as it had been in the days of Strafford and in the days of James II. "No man," he said, "more than I respects the just authority of the House of Commons, no man would go further to defend it. But beyond the line of the Constitution, like every exercise of arbitrary power, it becomes illegal, threatening tyranny to the people, destruction to the state. Power without right is the most detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination; it is not only pernicious to those whom it subjects, but works its own destruction. *Res detestabilis et caduca.*" And he said, pursuing the same train of thought, "In a just cause of quarrel you may crush America to atoms; but in this crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it; in such a cause even your success would be hazardous." The reason he gives is a plain one,—“It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies; at the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatever. . . . *Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. Taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone.*”

This was the point, therefore, upon which every one in the colonies, except the officials and the creatures of the British Cabinet and Board of Trade, could and did unite. It was the point where Galloway and Dickinson met Franklin and Reed, where Tories and patriots were equally firm and vehement in protest, and where they had the earnest and undivided support of the opposition in the British Parliament. This union for a valid principle of the Constitution was the one thing which made possible the Revolution which finally ensued. Without this union in the initial collision, the colonists would never have known their strength, nor would their purposes have dared to ripen into action. Franklin, Adams, the “Sons of Liberty,” and many others, like Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Samuel Chase, went much further, looking to the inevitable end with equal prescience and hope. But they did not carry

the majority with them, nor attempt to do so, until many other acts of aggression and outrage had taught the people to dream of liberty and hunger for it. When it came to challenging that imperial authority which Pitt declared to be “sovereign and supreme,” conservatism halted long, and neither Dickinson nor Galloway would follow Franklin or had any sympathy with Adams. They were not republicans nor revolutionists, but British subjects in constitutional opposition to the ministry of King George.

It is not necessary to elaborate this point further. The colonists were and had been steadfast and loyal British subjects. As such, they had denied the right of king and ministry to tax, and in this the Constitution had been shown to be on their side.¹ But they had given to the king liberally, profusely, in every strait and war of the colony, money, provisions, men, clothing, stores. They had resisted oppressions and usurpations, for it was hatred of these things which had driven their ancestors and them to America; but they were not separatists; they never dreamed of contending for anything but the privileges of Britons. The Albany plan of union was a plan for consolidating and strengthening the British empire in America, not for dismembering it. The Americans had resisted, but never revolted against their Governors. They had not blenched in their loyalty to the mother-country when she was depriving them of their chartered civil and religious liberties, monopolizing their trade, destroying their industries, and threatening to subject them to “Poynning's Law,” the infamous “Code of Drogheda,” by which Irish Parliaments were denied the right to sit until they had first exhibited in detail to the king's viceroy all that they meant to do, and obtained royal license. No act of a Provincial Legislature could become a law until it had obtained sanction of the Royal Council; the English Church was the only one tolerated; the acts of trade forbade nearly all manufactures, nearly every form of domestic commerce; the colonies, like Ireland, resembled those larvæ of aphides which the ants keep close prisoners and only permit to feed in order that they may afford their masters nutritive delicacies not otherwise to be procured. But for all that the colonies were entirely loyal, and never conceived the plan of setting up independent governments or casting themselves under the protection of other powers unfriendly to the mother-country.² As William B. Reed says very cleverly in his life of

¹ Bancroft, v. 81: “It was now settled that no tax could be imposed on the inhabitants of a British plantation but by their own Assembly, or by an act of Parliament.” (Opinion of Sir Philip Yorke and Sir Clement Wearg.)

² Bancroft (v. 77) thinks that the first spirit of resistance to British oppression originated in the Scotch-Irish immigration from Ulster, after the peace of Paris. But during the war in the South this element of the population supplied nearly all the Tories, and Galloway's name would indicate that he was of the same descent, though a Marylander by birth.

Joseph Reed, "There is no more curious chapter of our history than that which delineates the gradual (for it was very gradual) extinction of loyalty in the American colonies." There was no one cause but a dozen, yet perhaps Bancroft is right in holding that "American independence, like the great rivers of the country, had many sources; but the head-spring which colored all the streams was the Navigation Act;" or as Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, put it, in more forcible because simpler language,— "The publication of orders for the strict execution of the Molasses Act has caused a greater alarm in this country than the taking of Fort William Henry did in 1757."

We have neither space nor need to show the fact of the existence of this loyalty and the causes of its decline through the acts of the British ministry. The evidence is abundant, and it has been collected and collated in many works of easy access. In none of the provinces was this good temper towards the throne and the mother-country exhibited more satisfactorily than in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia. In the times of King William and Queen Anne, of Governor Fletcher and Judge Quarry, the Quakers and the proprietary government were treated with suspicion; their loyalty to the home government was questioned, and all the influence of ministry and Parliament was given to the Church of England party in the colony. But the proprietary had become members of the church; the Society of Friends were loyal and conservative as well as non-resisting, and their affections for the British government had seemed to grow with their growth in business connections and wealth. The Germans usually voted with the Friends and the proprietary in all political contests, and the only opposition in the province—that which was in antagonism to the proprietary government—favored a more vigorous co-operation with ministerial measures, and hoped to secure the overthrow or modification of the proprietary government and charter by appealing directly to king and Parliament. Franklin, writing to Peter Collinson in 1753 (when Halifax's harsh measures for disturbing colonial government by the exercise of prerogative were already matured), expresses his dread lest so many German immigrants in the province should give the French an opportunity to make trouble, and adds, "I pray God to preserve long to Great Britain the English laws, manners, liberties, and religion. Notwithstanding the complaints, so frequent in your public papers, of the prevailing corruption and degeneracy of the people, I know you have a great deal of virtue still subsisting among you, and I hope the Constitution is not so near a dissolution as some seem to apprehend." In 1760 he wrote to Lord Kames that no one could rejoice more sincerely than he for the reduction of Canada, "and this not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of the opinion that *the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in Amer-*

ica; and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom has ever erected." Joseph Galloway, all for prerogative, wrote to Franklin in 1765 that, "as you well know, the Assembly party are the only loyal part of the people here." Thomas Wharton and John Dickinson were also sincerely loyal. There was not much sympathy in Philadelphia with Patrick Henry or Samuel Adams.

After the conquest of Canada, as Frothingham, in his "Rise of the Republic," has noted, all the colonies rivaled one another in the fervor of their expressions of loyalty. "The liberty men vied with the party of the prerogative in paeans to the British constitution and flag. This enthusiasm sustains a remark of Franklin's, that the colonists loved the nation more than they loved each other." Lord Camden, in a conversation with Franklin, had remarked, "For all what you Americans say of your loyalty, I know you will one day throw off your dependence upon this country, and, notwithstanding you boasted affection for it, will set up for independence." The other answered, "No such idea is entertained in the minds of the Americans, and no such idea will ever enter their heads, unless you grossly abuse them." "Very true [replied Mr. Pratt,—my lord was then a commoner], that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event."¹

Another similar outburst of loyalty followed the repeal of the Stamp Act. The Sons of Liberty dissolved their association and ceased their operations. Every clamor was hushed. As one of the newspapers of the day expressed it,— "Never were a people more in love with their king and the constitution by which he has solemnly engaged to govern them."

But this was not peace. It was only an armistice. The policy for taxing the colonies was part of an elaborate programme, and was not to be abandoned. It had been carefully worked out by the Board of Trade and the Cabinet. It was part of an attempt to mould the colonies into conformity to England. Bancroft has traced out and explained the system with perspicuity and at great length. "It embraced," says Frothingham, "an alteration of territorial boundaries, a remodeling of the local constitutions, an abridgment of popular power, and an introduction of the aristocratic or hereditary element." An American standing army was to be created, and an American civil service and judiciary, all subservient to the crown, but paid by taxation levied upon the colonies. "It included an execution of the Navigation Act, which had never been enforced, of laws of trade which had remained dead letters on the statute-book, the collection of a revenue, and the establishment of a standing army. The ministry of the Earl of Bute,

¹ Gordon's History of the American Revolution, i. 136. This conversation took place, Gordon says, "many months" before 1760, —i.e., between that and August, 1757.

based on prerogative and power, decided in favor of this policy, and successive administrations endeavored to carry it out in part or in whole."¹

Charles Townshend initiated this policy; its details were arranged by Jenkinson; George Granville put it in execution. The idea of a stamp tax for the colonies is said to have been promulgated first by Governor Keith and Joshua Gee, of Philadelphia, in 1739; the proposition being to raise troops to go against the Indians, and provide for their maintenance out of a stamp duty laid by act of Parliament. The proposition is like Keith, but the authenticity of the papers embodying it is not completely established. There seem to have been numerous premonitions in the colonies that a new system of government and taxation was about to be instituted. The feeling probably grew out of the more rigid enforcement of existing laws of trade and navigation, the execution of the Sugar Act, the resistance made by James Otis to the custom-house writs of assistance, and by Patrick Henry to the tithe proceedings in Virginia. Only one of the stories and reports in connection with all this needs to be cited here. It is related by Gordon, in his "History of the Revolution," that Whitefield, being at Portsmouth, N. H., April 2, 1764, sent for Dr. Langdon and Mr. Haven, the Congregational ministers of the town, and, upon their coming and being alone with him, said, "I can't in conscience leave the town without acquainting you with a secret. My heart bleeds for America. Oh, poor New England! There is a deep-laid plot against both your civil and religious liberties, and they will be lost. Your golden days are at an end. You have nothing but trouble before you. My information comes from the best authority in Great Britain. I was allowed to speak of the affair in general, but enjoined not to mention particulars. Your liberties will be lost." Doubtless Whitefield confided this "secret" to others besides Langdon, and his Philadelphia friends probably heard it more than once from his own lips.

The first authentic notice received in Philadelphia of the design of the British ministry to tax the colonies by means of a stamp duty came from Boston, about May 8 or 9, 1764. Samuel Adams had brought the subject up in town meeting in Boston. But the remonstrance of Rhode Island against the Sugar Act had been received before that, and the leading men in the different colonies had begun to correspond on the subject of the taxes proposed, so that it was fully understood before the declaratory resolutions were adopted. These were offered by Granville in the Commons on March 9, 1764, and, although it was announced that no immediate action would be taken on them, great excitement ensued in the colonies. The proposed taxation was denounced as putting the colonists on the footing of conquered slaves, and it was

suggested that if they were taxed without their consent they would "desire a change." This step, said Richard Henry Lee, "though intended to secure our dependence, may produce a fatal resentment and be subversive of that end." Dunk Halifax wrote, Aug. 11, 1764, an official letter from St. James, notifying Governor Penn that as Parliament, at its last session, "had come to a Resolution, by which it is declared that, towards defraying the necessary Expences of defending, protecting, and securing the British Colonies and Plantations in America, it may be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties in the said Colonies and Plantations, it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that You should transmit to me, without Delay, a list of all Instruments made use of in publick Transactions, Law Proceedings, Grants, Conveyances, Securities of Land or Money, within your Government, with proper and sufficient Descriptions of the same, in order that if Parliament should think proper to pursue the Intention of the aforesaid Resolution, they may thereby be enabled to carry it into Execution in the most effectual and least burthensome manner."

This was not action, but a prelude to action of the severest sort. Meantime there was action in other directions. Granville was determined to break up smuggling with the strong hand, and all captains, not only of revenue cutters, but of all armed vessels sent to America, were made revenue officers and compelled to take the usual custom-house oaths and respect custom-house regulations. The naval officers knew nothing of revenue laws, consequently many illegal and annoying seizures were made, for which no redress could be had but in England. "A trade had for many years been carried on," says Samuel Hazard,² "between the British and Spanish colonies, consisting of the manufactures of Great Britain, imported by the British colonies for their own consumption and bought with their own produce, for which they were paid by the Spaniards in gold and silver, sometimes in bullion and sometimes in coin, and with cochineal, etc., occasionally. This trade was not literally and strictly according to law, yet the advantage of it being obviously on the side of Great Britain and her colonies, it had been connived at. But the armed ships, under the new regulations, seized the vessels, and this beneficial traffic was suddenly almost destroyed." So with other countries. This illicit trade had kept the colonies supplied with specie, liquors, sugar, and tropical products generally, giving them a good market in return, and its sudden destruction was as injurious to Philadelphia as to Boston and Newport.

"On the 10th of March, 1764," continues Hazard, "the House of Commons agreed to a number of resolutions respecting the American trade. A bill was brought in, and passed into a law, laying heavy duties on the articles imported into the colonies from

¹ Frothingham, 161-62; Bancroft, vol. v., chs. v., vii., and ix.

² Register of Pennsylvania, vol. ii. p. 242, et seq.

the French and other islands in the West Indies, and ordering those duties to be paid in specie into the exchequer of Great Britain. . . . The Americans complained much of this new law and of the unexampled hardship of being deprived first of obtaining specie and next being ordered to pay the new duties in specie into the treasury at London, which, they said, must speedily drain them of all the specie they had. But what seemed more particularly hard upon them was a bill brought in at the same session and passed into a law, 'To restrain the currency of paper money in the colonies.' . . . In the spring of 1765 the American agents in London were informed by the administration that if the colonists would propose any other mode of raising the sum pretended to be raised by stamp duties their proposal would be accepted and the stamp duty laid aside. The agents said they were not authorized to give any answer, but that they were ordered to oppose the bill when it

should be brought into the House by petitions questioning the right claimed by Parliament of taxing the colonies. The bill laying a stamp duty in America passed in March, 1765."

In regard to the law restricting issues of paper money, it was founded on the report of the Board of Trade, made to the Commons by Lord Hillsborough, Feb. 6, 1764, to which Franklin wrote and published a pamphlet in reply. In his examination in regard to the Stamp Act, and in several pamphlets and memoranda, he stated the entire American case in the clearest and most forcible manner, leaving nothing to be desired towards the completeness of the argument.

The Stamp Act was passed March 22, 1765. A copy of it was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on April 18th, but this must necessarily have been in advance of news of its passage. The people of Philadelphia began at once to show their determination to make it a nullity so far as revenue was concerned. An enforced frugality was the first step, and of this policy Franklin sounded the key-note. In his examination before the Commons the concluding questions and answers are these: "Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans? A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain. Q. What is now their pride? A. To wear their old clothes over again, till they can make new ones." In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 18th there was an article against expensive and ostentatious funerals, the writer saying that often £70 or £100 were squandered on such occasions. August 15th, when Alderman William Plumsted was buried at St. Peter's Church, the funeral, by his own wish, was conducted in the plainest way, no pall, no mourning worn by

relatives. In March the Hibernia Fire Company resolved "from motives of economy, and to reduce the present high price of mutton and encourage the breweries of Pennsylvania, not to purchase any lamb this season, nor to drink any foreign beer." Other fire companies and many citizens copied this example, and Edward Broadfield, of Kensington, who had a patent way of his own of curing sturgeon, thought this a good occasion to recommend sturgeon as a good substitute for mutton.

On May 30th it was announced that John Hughes, a member of the Assembly and a partisan of Franklin's, was appointed distributor of stamps. This occasioned great ill feeling, extending also to Franklin, some of his enemies saying that he had even asked for the place himself. He did nominate Hughes. But no action was taken at once. People were divided in opinion as to what to do. They knew that Parliament had only passed the bill by a ministerial vote. They knew the strong opposition it had met, even from friends of the administration, like Alderman Beckford, and from the London merchants; the speech of Richard Jackson, the fiery reply of Isaac Barré to Charles Townshend, and the stalwart position of Conway. They looked for a repeal. In September intelligence came of a change in the ministry, and it was welcomed with frantic joy, as if it gave assurance of immediate repeal. The news was received on Sunday; its reception showed how great had been the tension of public feeling. On Monday the bells rang all day; loyal healths were drunk, bonfires kindled at night, and John Hughes, the stamp distributor, burnt in effigy. A mob surrounded his house, threatening violence, and causing him to load his gun for defense.¹ He wrote to Governor Penn, under date of September 17th, and to John Dickinson, October 3d, that he had not received either stamps, commission, bond, or anything else informing him of his appointment. When they reached New Castle he was afraid to take possession of them. October 5th a crowd surrounded his house as he was lying ill in bed, and obtained his written pledge not to attempt to perform the functions of his new office. In an explanatory letter he says the excitement was stirred up by the Presbyterians chiefly. The mob waited on him with muffled drums, and muffled church-bells ringing; the son of Chief Justice Allen was the leader; the committee who waited on Hughes to demand his resignation comprised James Tilghman, Robert Morris, Charles Thomson, Archibald McCall, John Cox, William Richards, and William Bradford. The Quakers, he writes, Baptists, and Church of England people were decently behaved,

¹ Hazard, without giving his authority, says that on April 14th, when it was known the Stamp Act would be passed, "the guns at Philadelphia were discovered to be all spiked up, and on looking at those of the barracks, they were found to be served in the same manner, to the great surprise and uneasiness of the inhabitants." (Register, ii. 243.) Westcott has nothing of this story.



BRITISH STAMP.

but the Presbyterians, "proprietary minions," and "Dutch" were violent.

By the time the stamps arrived a course of action had been decided upon by the colonies. Virginia took the lead; James Otis, in Massachusetts, hit upon the plan of a general congress of the colonies, to meet in New York the second Tuesday in November. The Assembly met September 10th, and appointed Joseph Fox, John Dickinson, George Bryan, and John Morton to represent the province in the congress. The letter from the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly was read, the House resolved that in duty to their constituents they ought to remonstrate to the crown against the Stamp Act and other late acts of Parliament, by which heavy burdens have been laid on the colonies, and a committee of the Assembly—Amos Strettel, of Philadelphia County; Thomas Willing, of the city; Giles Knight, of Bucks; Isaac Pearson, of Chester; James Wright, of Lancaster; William Allen, of Cumberland; and John Ross, of Berks—were ordered to draw up a remonstrance. This was reported and adopted September 21st. It claimed that the Stamp Act deeply affected some of the most essential and valuable rights of the people of Pennsylvania as British subjects, and the House thought it a duty to themselves and their posterity to come to the resolutions unanimously adopted, to the effect that the Assemblies of the province had always contributed their quota to the aid of the king upon requisition, and would cheerfully do so in the future when called upon in a constitutional way; "that the inhabitants of this province are entitled to all liberties, rights, and privileges of His Majesty's subjects in Great Britain or elsewhere, and that the constitutional government in this province is founded on the natural rights of mankind and the noble principles of English liberty, and therefore is, or ought to be, perfectly free; that it is the inherent birthright and indubitable privilege of every British subject to be taxed only by his own consent or that of his legal representatives, in conjunction with His Majesty or his substitutes." The members of the Provincial Assembly are the only legal representatives of the inhabitants of the province, and any other taxation laid upon the people than by these representatives is unconstitutional and subversive of right and public liberty and destructive of public happiness. It was further resolved that there was danger to liberty to vest the final decision in suits growing out of the stamp duty in Courts of Admiralty, "contrary to Magna Charta, the great charter and fountain of English liberty, and destructive of one of their most darling and acknowledged rights,"—trial by jury; that the restraints on trade imposed by the late acts of Parliament would be attended with disaster to the province and the trade of the mother-country; "that this House think it their duty thus firmly to assert with modesty and decency their inherent rights, that their posterity may learn and know that it was not

with their consent and acquiescence that any taxes should be levied on them by any persons but their own representatives, and are desirous that these, their resolves, should remain on their minutes as a testimony of the zeal and ardent desire of the present House of Assembly to preserve their inestimable rights, which, as Englishmen, they have possessed ever since this province was settled, and to transmit them to their latest posterity."

On October 25th the merchants and traders of Philadelphia subscribed to a non-importation agreement, such as were then being signed all over the country. In this article the subscribers agreed that, in consequence of the late acts of Parliament and the injurious regulations accompanying them, and of the Stamp Act, etc., in justice to themselves and in hopes of benefit from their example (1) to countermand all orders for English goods until the Stamp Act should be repealed; (2) a few necessary articles, or shipped under peculiar circumstances, are excepted; (3) no goods received for sale on commission to be disposed of until the Stamp Act should be repealed, and this agreement to be binding on each and all, as a pledge of word of honor, "until May —st." A committee to carry the agreement into effect was appointed, consisting of Thomas Willing, Samuel Mifflin, Thomas Montgomery, Samuel Howell, Samuel Wharton, John Rhea, William Fisher, Joshua Fisher, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Fuller, and Abel James. The retailers adopted similar resolutions, naming as their committee,—John Ord, Francis Wade, Joseph Deane, David Deshler, George Bartram, Andrew Doz, George Schlosser, James Hunter, Thomas Paschall, Thomas West, and Valentine Charles. To carry out these resolutions blanks were printed for the use of importers, and to be sent to England, as follows:

"PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 7, 1765.

"At a general meeting of the merchants and traders of this city it was thus duly unanimously resolved by them (and to strengthen their resolutions they entered into the most solemn engagements with each other) that they would not import any goods from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed. — do, therefore, hereby countermand all order — have heretofore transmitted to you for the shipping of any goods, and — do expect and insist that you pay a strict and literal obedience to this injunction; for should they arrive, and the Stamp Act not be repealed, — shall not dare to dispose of any part of them without a forfeiture of — honor, nor indeed can — engage for their or — own safety."

The following is a list of the signers, many of whom afterwards sided with the Tories:

Thomas Willing, James Pemberton, Joseph Ffox, Joshua Fisher and Son, Alexander C. Smith, B. Fuller, Samuel Burge, Buckridge Sims, Thomas Bond, Jr., T. Morris, Jr., Amos Strettel, Thomas Swift, Thomas Montgomery, John Chew, Stamper and Bingham, Abraham Mitchell, John Bayard, John Gilson, Thomas Smith, Conyngnam and Nesbitt, Carlson, Barclay and Mitchell, Israel Morris, Jr., Benjamin Gibbs, Francis Jeyes, Robert Montgomery, Samuel Caldwell, John Ladd Howell, Samuel Purviance, Jr., John Ross, Benjamin Wyncoop, John Wykoff, James Harding, Peter Reeve, Samuel Hudson, Daniel Benezet, Sampson Levy, John and Peter Chevalier, David Deshler, David Sproat, William Richards, David Potts, Wills and Jackson, John and David Wray, Rupert Meredith, Joseph Richardson, Joshua Howell, Richard Parker, Samuel Morton, William Heysham, John Piorse, William Bradford, Thomas West, Ben-

jamin Rawle, James Harvey, Zachariah Hatchings, Philip Benezet, Teach Francis, Joseph Wood, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Benjamin Morgan, Charles Thomson, William Sitgreaves, Caleb Jones, John Hart, Teach Tilghman, William Henry, George and John Kidd, Peter Turner, Sr., Isaac and Joseph Paschall, Lydia and Elizabeth Hyde, William Symonds, John Test, Joseph Pennock, Jr., Robert Taggart, William Falconer, William Craig, Owen Biddle, Benjamin Hooton, Samuel Caruthers, Jacob Shoemaker, Jr., Bartram and Dundas, Robert Bass, Payton and Adcock, Nathaniel Tweedy, Richard and Peter Footman, Adam Hoops, Caleb Hewes, Samuel Fisher, Joseph Baker, Cox and Firmam, Robert Wain, George Bolotham, Andrew Bankson, Hugh and George Roberts, Jeremiah Warder, Robert Tuckins, John Cox, Theodore Gardner, Samuel Sansom, Jr., Thomas Bond, James Eddy, Philip Kearney, Richard Bache, Jonathan Evans, Anthony Stocker, Joseph Sims, Hugh McCollough, John Knowles, William Vanderspiegle, Philip Syng, Garret and George Meade, J. Craig, William Morrill, John Bayly, John Peters, Hubley and Graff, Thomas Dicus, Mease and Miller, John Reynolds, William and Andrew Caldwell, William West, John Leacock, James White, John Allen, George Glentworth, William Pusey, Joseph King, William and Samuel Corry, Hercules Courtenay, John Moon, John Byrn, Thomas Robinson, Chris. Marshall and Sons, Benjamin Marshall, Benjamin Chew, David Franks, John White, John Flanagan, Benjamin Boothe, Stephen Shewell, John and Thomas Phillips, Latham and Jackson, Charles Wharton, Alexander Lusan, John Heaton, Charles Batho, Richard Budden, John Dickinson, Philemon Dickinson, William Logan, John Boyle, Robert Harris, Joseph Trotter, George Morrison, E. Mihre, Cornelia Bradford, Able James signs for Jonathan Zane by his desire, Thomas Savage, Plunkett Flesoon, Moses Mordecai, Barnard and Jugiez, James Claypoole, Thomas Charlton, Isaac Morris, Jr., Peter Howard, Marcy Gray, Israel Pemberton, Richard Humphries, Magdalen Devine, John Wallace, Calc-h Foulke, William Stevens, William MacMurtrie, Francis Street, Andrew Allen, William Fisher, Ellis Lewis, Neave and Harman, Lester Falkner, Matthias Bush, Michael Gratz, Daniel Williams, John Bringham, Bartram and Lennox, Daniel Water, John Wister, Henry Keppele, Sr., Philip Kinsey, James Hunter, Humphrey Robeson, Barnard Gratz, Thomas Miffin, Thomas Lightfoot, William Turner, Vincent Lookerman and Son, Samuel Miffin, for Philips Bond, Joseph Redman, McNeill and Tolbert, Stewart, Duncan and Co., John Relf, John Clayton, Charles Meredith, Hugh Bowes, James Fulton, James Wallace, Robert Hardie, David MacMurtrie, Thomas Carpenter, John Kidd, Joseph and Amos Hillborn, James Alexander, Wisbart and Edwards, George Davis, Murray and Blair, John Kearsley, Jr., Walter Shea and Son, John Wood, George A. Morris, Joseph Morris, William Nicholls, Orr, Glenholme and Co., John Priest, John Witcocks, P. Sumners, Henry Harrison, Shaw and Spregel, W. Jones, for Jones and Wall, Andreas Zweisel, A. Morris, Jr., William Clamplifer, Isaac and Moses Bartram, William Shippen, Jr., Samuel Cheesman, John Drinker, Jr., Jacob Winey, John Head, Stephen Collins, William Utison, Woodham and Young, Benjamin Harbeson, William Wilson, William Bryan, James Tilghman, Thomas Cadwalader, James McCubbin, Abraham Bickley, James Searle, James Stuart, John Fullerton, William Hodge, Benjamin Kendall, John Baldwin, Ann Pearson, Isaac Wykoff, Samuel Ormes, Robert Wilson, Benjamin Armitage, Jr., Charles Stedman, for self and brother, Godfrey Leacock, John Wharton, William Humphries, Jonathan Brown, John and Lambert Cadwalader, P. Turner, Jr., Joseph Richardson, Jacob Duché, Clement Biddle, William Moore, William Ball, John Cottingham, Oswald Eve, Thomas Paschall, Judah Foulke, Thomas Lawrence, Cadwalader and Samuel C. Morris, Joseph Saunders, Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, Kearney and Gilbert, Samuel Smith, William Storrs Fry, John Cox, Jr., Abraham Usher, Peter Wykoff, Fras. Richardson, Jr., David Hall, Stephen Carmick, William Scott, James Budden, Samuel Mathey, John Shee, Robert Morris, Thomas Wallace, Benjamin Levy, Benjamin Sweet, Jr., Thomas Wharton, Daniel Ruudle, John Nixon, Joseph Wharton, Jr., Persifer Frazer, Enoch Story, John Ord, Francis Harris, Samuel Morris, Jr., Daniel Roberdeau, Josiah Hewes, Samuel Miffin, Thomas Riche, Samuel Purviance, Willing and Tod, George Clymer, D. A. Berridge, George Emelen, Jr., George Bryan, Townsend White, Peter Knight, Alexander Huston, Samuel Sparhawk, Thomas Turner, James and Drinker, Frances Wade, James James, Samuel Howell, William Rush, Hugh Donaldson, Elijah Brown, John Miffin, John Morton, Archibald McCall, John Mease, John Armit, Samuel Meredith, Charles Cox, Thomas Penrose, James Penrose, Dowers and Yorke, James Benezet, William L. Loyd, John Steinmetz, Hugh Forbes, B. T., for Randle Mitchell, Joseph Claypoole, Richard Swan, Allen and Turner, Joseph Jacobs, John Inglis, Jacob Pringle, John Nelson, Samuel Bunting, Thomas Clifford, Isaac Cox, Samuel Smith, James Hartley, William Allison, S. Shoemaker, Hyman Levy, Jr., James Wharton, John

Bell, Magee and Sanderson, John Hughes, Reuben Haines, Owen Jones, Elizabeth Paschall, Benjamin Davis, Hudson Emien, Richard Wain, Peter Thomson, William Pollard, Henry Keppele, Jr.

When the Stamp Act was about to go into effect there was great uncertainty how people should act. In this emergency John Dickinson, whom Bancroft justly calls "the pure-minded and ingenious patriot," issued an anonymous address¹ to his "Friends and countrymen," warning them that their conduct at this period would decide their future fortunes and those of their posterity, and whether Pennsylvanians were to be freemen or slaves. "May God grant," he wrote, "that every one of you may consider your situation with a seriousness and sensibility becoming the solemn occasion, and that you may receive this address with the same candid and tender affection for the public good by which it is dictated." He counsels, he enjoins it upon his countrymen as of the most imperative necessity to make the sternest and most uncompromising resistance to the Stamp Act, any compliance with which will "fix, will rivet perpetual chains upon your unhappy country. Think, oh! think," he adds, "of the endless miseries you must entail upon yourselves and your country by touching the pestilential cargoes that have been sent to you. Destruction lurks within them. To receive them is death. It is worse than death; it is SLAVERY."

These are not the words of a trimmer nor a waiter upon Providence. Yet it is the fact that Dickinson, whose bravery and patriotism none doubt, was not a man of action. Others ran past him and clutched the opportunity while he was still debating in his mind if it had arrived. His nature was judicial, not executive nor fitted for sharp and sudden emergencies.

It will be most fitting, in this place, to say a few words in regard to the most prominent leaders of the people of Philadelphia in this time of approach to the Revolutionary war; of their characters and circumstances we mean, their acts will not need comment. Besides Franklin, there were Joseph Gallo-way, John Dickinson, Charles Thomson, and Thomas Willing, who were in the front of affairs in connection with the stamp duty; later, on the threshold of battle, Joseph Reed, Thomas Miffin, Robert Morris, and, in a lesser degree, George Clymer, Thomas McKean, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Francis Hopkinson, Benjamin Chew, etc. These men, directly or by marriage, were connected with the leading families of Philadelphia of all the sects. They were all men of ability and influence, differing greatly in character,

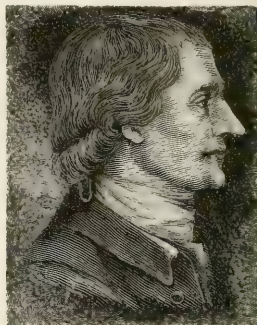
¹ Commonly attributed to Dickinson at the time and since. The proof that he was the author may be found in the letter of Charles Thomson to William Henry Drayton, of South Carolina, quoted from by William B. Reed in his "Life of President Reed," but first published (from the Sparks MSS. in Harvard Library) in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, ii. 412. Mr. Thomson says, "It is generally known what an early part Mr. Dickinson took in the American disputes. His first piece was written in the year 1765, during the Stamp Act."

temperaments, and political opinions, but all honest and earnest men. We may not like Galloway; we may despise his principles and his acts, and we may be impatient at the hesitancy and halting of Dickinson, as at the attempts of Reed at compromise and reconciliation when independence was alone the question and there could be no other, but we have no right to impeach their motives, and we must accept them as representative men.

Joseph Galloway, who, from leading the opposition in the Assembly as Franklin's successor, became the defender of prerogative and a bitter Tory and refugee, a spy and a pensioner of George III., was a lawyer by profession, born in West River, Anne Arundel Co., Md., about 1730. His father, Peter, was a man of good fortune, Joseph himself well educated. He came to Philadelphia young and was soon a prominent lawyer, making money. The estate he left in Philadelphia in 1778, and which was confiscated, he claimed was worth forty thousand pounds. He married a daughter of Laurence Growden, long Speaker of Assembly and leading Quaker, through her acquiring the fine estate of Trevoise. This was not confiscated and is still held in the family, an original grant of 1681-82. Galloway entered the Assembly in 1757 and became at once a leader, continuing so until his defeat for the Second Continental Congress, a punishment for his lack of patriotism in the first. He was Speaker of Assembly from 1765 to 1774, and led the popular party, he and Franklin making common cause against Dickinson and the proprietary in 1764. He joined the British in 1776, was provost marshal of Philadelphia during Howe's command there, and when he went to England was one of the most active of the loyalists there, his knowledge of men and things in Philadelphia making him very serviceable. His dangerous activity made him well hated, but his abilities were admitted. John Adams says he was "sensible and learned, but a cold speaker," and Dr. Stiles says he "fell from a great height." Some of his former friends, when he escaped from Philadelphia, sent him a trunk containing a halter; Trumbull, in "McFingal," said he began by being "a flaming patriot," but that is unjust; he said he would sacrifice and dare as much for liberty as any man, but his was a Tory interpretation of liberty. Francis Hopkinson couples his name with Cunningham, keeper of the provost prison, in a common infamy; but that was not his sober judgment. Galloway printed many pamphlets after he went to England, and in them did not spare the ministry nor Howe and the army. He never returned to his native city; after the peace he studied and wrote books on the Revelations and other prophecies, and died in England in 1803. He was an associate of Thomas Wharton (the elder) and William Goddard in founding the *Philadelphia Chronicle*.

Charles Thomson (or Thompson) was in some respects one of the most interesting characters of the

Revolution. His life has never been written, because he deliberately destroyed the materials for it; he knew more of the inside history of the great struggle than any other man, but never opened his lips about it, burning his papers before his death and calmly insisting that his secrets should die with him. This self-repression cost him no pangs; it was natural to him; he habitually acted behind the scenes and by indirect methods, and he did this not from any spirit of intrigue or other unworthy motive, but because his nature seemed to demand it. He was the soul of truth and honor, frank, ingenuous, much beloved of his friends, serene, companionable, quiet, yet evidently



Chas Thomson

capable of emotions of the very strongest sort, so that he fainted from excitement in speaking upon the Boston Port Bill, and John Adams spoke of him as "the Sam Adams of Philadelphia." Perhaps it was this excitability and his consciousness of it which made Thomson always avoid the demonstrative part of the great work to which he had laid his hand, and which he did so thoroughly. This, and the untoward circumstances of his childhood, may suffice to explain the seeming anomaly in Charles Thomson's character. He was born in Ireland, whence, in 1740, being then eleven years old (born November, 1729, at Maghera, Derry), he, an elder brother, three sisters, and a sick father, crossed the ocean for the Delaware. His mother had died when Charles was very young, and the father died on the voyage and was buried at sea. The captain of the vessel seized the children's effects and put them ashore at New Castle, committing Charles to the care of a blacksmith, who proposed binding the boy to his trade. To defeat this Charles at once ran away, found a friend on the road, a lady, a stranger to him, was taken under her care and sent to school to Dr. Francis Allison, at Thunder Hill, Md. Then, and afterwards, the lad was a diligent student, and was made usher under Allison when the

latter became vice-principal of the Philadelphia College. Thomson lodged with David J. Dove, and may have taught in the latter's private school, and in the Germantown Academy also. To show the habitual caution of the man, he got a certificate of good character from Dove and his wife both before leaving their house. He taught in the Friends' School, in Fourth Street, below Chestnut, becoming principal.



RESIDENCE OF CHARLES THOMSON.

His first public service was as short-hand reporter for the Quakers in 1757, at the famous Indian Council that year, when Tedyuscung gave him the name which stuck to him, *emeritus*, through life,—Weaghtonlau-mo-und,—the man who tells the truth. After this Thomson went into business and made money. Watson says he was interested in iron-works at Egg Harbor.

As soon as the suspicions of ministerial intention to tax America were awakened, Thomson began to correspond with leading men in the other colonies. He was intimate with Franklin, trusted in business circles, and must have revealed his qualities as a confidential agent very early. Jefferson and he corresponded as early as 1764; the New England patriots all knew him, and he was secretary of the New York (Stamp Act) Congress of 1765. He managed all the political leaders in Philadelphia as easily as puppets are moved by the hand pulling their wires. He was secretary of the First Continental Congress, perpetual secretary of Congress during and after the war (fourteen years in all), and confidential friend of every leader in the colonies throughout the struggle. The delicacy of his responsible and confidential relations to Congress were enhanced by the fact that he obviously had charge of the secret service of Congress, and that body required to have spies everywhere, domestic and foreign, and of every grade. Watson learned from him, incidentally, perhaps accidentally, that James Rivington, the Tory printer, in New York, was one of these agents, and Mrs. Logan reports that Patience Wright, the wax modeler, was another. The latter had the means to be very useful. She was intimate with Franklin, passed for a half-mad woman, went where she pleased, even to Wind-

sor Castle, without leave, where she used to burst in abruptly, calling the king "George" and the queen "Charlotte," and withal she was astute, shrewd, and full of resources. Thomson married, for his first wife, a daughter of Charles Mather, of Chester County. His two children by her died in infancy. In 1774 he married Hannah Harrison, daughter of a Maryland Quaker of fortune, and with her got the estate of Harriton, in Montgomery County, a large property for a man of Thomson's simple ways. His wife was a kinswoman of John Dickinson's, and a lineal descendant of Isaac Norris and Governor Thomas Lloyd. The wedding had just taken place when Thomson was called to act as secretary of Congress. After he was relieved from this place he steadily declined to take any other public position, gave twelve years' hard labor to the preparation of a translation of the Septuagint and Greek testaments, and survived until Aug. 16, 1824, his mind much decayed by age in his last quiet years.

John Dickinson's character is puzzling, because a mixed one; every character the elements of which are rich and the tone deliberative will appear contradictory to those who judge of men by the test of action alone. Dickinson was born in Talbot County, Md., Nov. 2, 1732. His father was Samuel Dickinson, of Dover, Del., where he was judge; his mother (a second marriage) was Mary Cadwalader; his tutor was Kilen, afterwards chancellor of Delaware; he studied law under John Moland, Philadelphia, and completed his studies by a three years' course in the Temple. He went into the Assembly in 1762, wrote his "Farmer's Letters" in 1767-68, was married in 1770 to Mary Norris, daughter of Isaac Norris, Jr., and Sarah, daughter of James Logan; was chairman of the Committee of Conference in 1774, member of the Committee of Safety in 1775, member of Congress 1774-76, colonel of State troops in 1776, delegate to Congress from Delaware in 1777, president of Delaware in 1780, president of Pennsylvania, 1782-85, member of the National Constitutional Convention, 1787, and of the Delaware Constitutional Convention in 1792. He died in Wilmington, Feb. 14, 1808, aged seventy-five years. "Truly he lives in my memory," said William T. Reed, "as a realization of my beautiful of a gentleman." That was apparent to all, and it may have been the reason why John Adams did not like him, and wrote of him, "A certain great fortune and piddling genius, whose fame has been trumpeted loudly, has given a cast of folly to our whole doings." Dickinson had the misfortune to be *un homme incompris*; he was sensitive, proud, haughty, disappointed, too, perhaps, that he could not persuade the Revolution to move on as he would have had it do, and perhaps thought his pen and voice could make it do, like a gentleman's chaise and pair over a smooth lawn. He was too precise, courtly, and formal, perhaps, to suit his business-like colleagues, who could not conceive so much grace and polish to be compat-

ible with earnestness. He was in dead earnest for all that, though he certainly did not want any fighting, having a lawyer's dread of the truth of the maxim, "*Inter arma silent leges.*" He was ambitious, too, sought popularity, and writhed under the imputations of incivism which defeated him for Congress in 1776. He shows this in a letter to Charles Thomson, Aug. 17, 1776, in which, according to Watson, he speaks in raptures of his delight at having cast off his popularity, and says his friend "may recollect circumstances that are convincing that my resignation was voluntary, I might have said ardent." One does not write thus unless one is hard hit. But he never let any such things swerve him from what he thought the path of duty; he looked upon himself, he said, "as a trustee for my countrymen, to deliberate on questions important to their happiness," and, he added, "if the present day is too warm for me to be calmly judged, I can credit my country for justice some years hence."

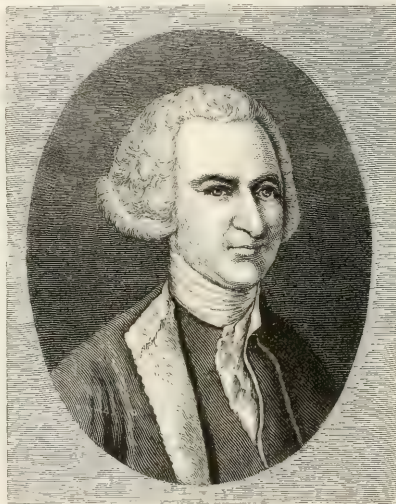
To the great credit and well-known patriotism of the house of Willing & Morris, the country owed its extraction from those trying pecuniary embarrassments so familiar to the readers of our Revolutionary history. The character of Mr. Willing was in many respects not unlike that of Washington, and in the discretion of his conduct, the fidelity of his professions, and the great influence, both private and public, which belonged to him, the destined leader was certain to find the elements of an affinity by which they would be united in the closest manner. During a part of the war the headquarters of the general were in a house built on Mr. Willing's estate for his son-in-law, Col. Byrd, of Westover, in Virginia, and only separated from his own by the intervening grounds of his garden, which extended from Third to Fourth Street, and along Fourth several hundred feet from Spruce Street. Not only the best society in Philadelphia visited the Willing mansion, but all worthy strangers from the North or South, representatives of noted families, were entertained there.

Thomas Willing, the mercantile partner of Robert Morris, was descended from Joseph Willing, of

Gloucestershire, who married, about two hundred years ago, Ava Lowle, of that county, the heiress of a good estate, which had descended to her through several generations of Saxon ancestors, and whose arms¹ he seems to have assumed, on their marriage, in place of his own. Their son Thomas married Anne Harrison, a granddaughter in the paternal line of Thomas Harrison, a major-general in Cromwell's army, and in the maternal of Simon Mayne.

In 1720 the elder Thomas Willing visited America, and spent five years here. In 1728 he brought his son Charles over, and established him in commercial business in Philadelphia, himself returning home.

Charles Willing pursued in Philadelphia for a quarter of a century, with great success and with noble fidelity to its best principles, the profession of a merchant, in which he obtained the highest consideration by the scope, vigor, and forecast of his understanding, his great executive power, his unspotted integrity, and the amenity of his disposition and manners. Towards the close of his life he discharged, in 1748 and again in 1754, with vigilance, dignity, and impartiality, the important functions of the chief magistracy of the city in which, during his last term of office, he died, respected by the whole community, in November, 1754, at the early age of forty-four. His wife was Anne, granddaughter of Edward Shippen, a person, as will be seen in this narrative, of

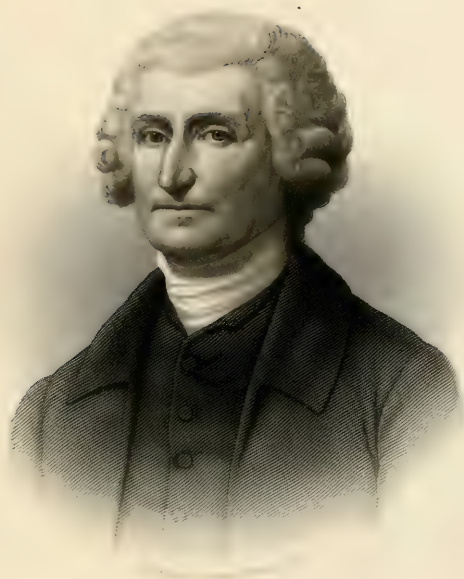


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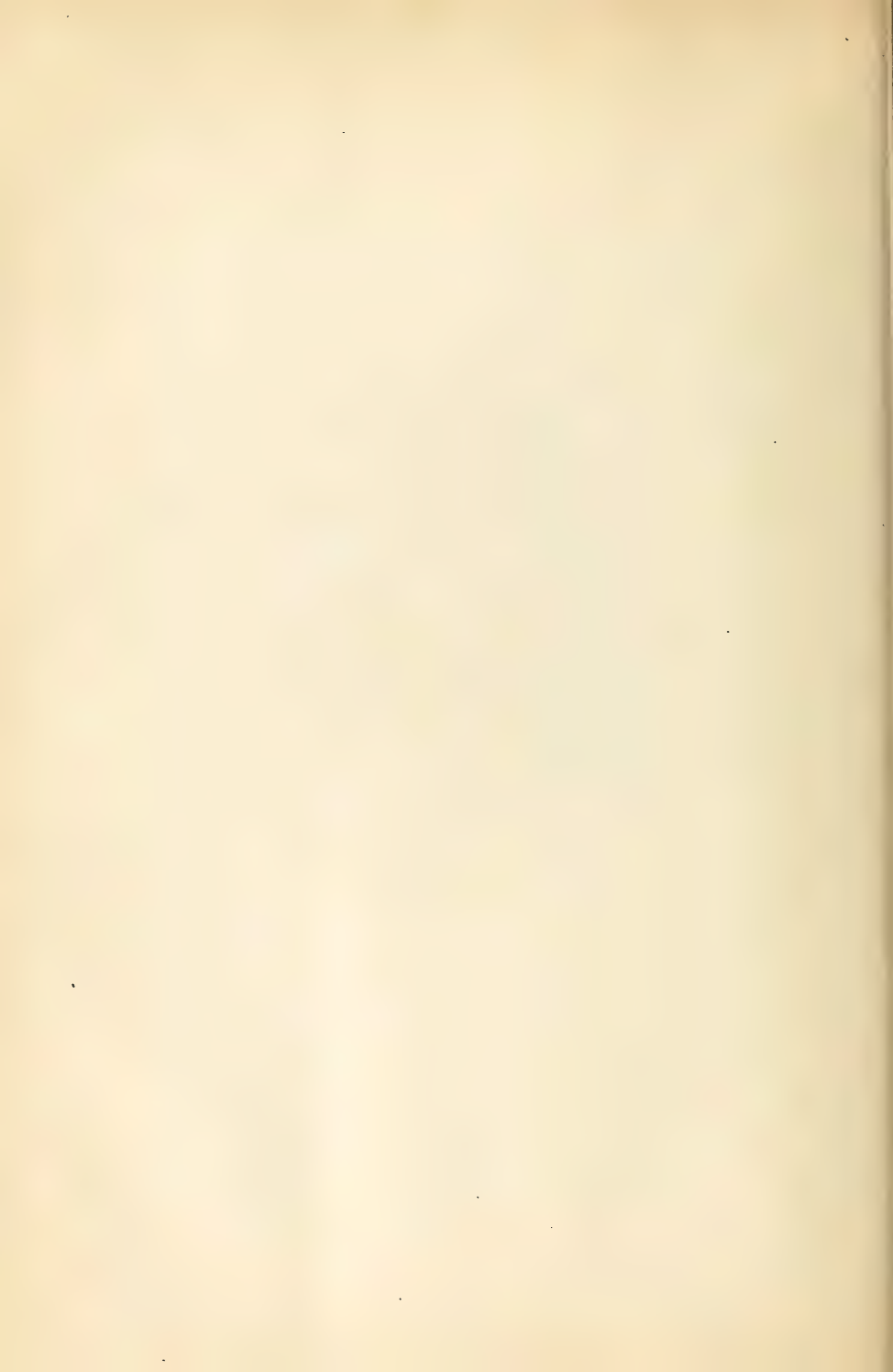
commanding influence in Pennsylvania. His son was Thomas Willing, who was born Dec. 19, 1731 (O.S.). Mr. Willing was an excellent man in all the relations of private life, and in various stations of high public trust deserved and acquired the devoted affection of his family and friends and the universal respect of his fellow-citizens.

Mr. Willing had been carefully educated at Bath, in England, and although contemplating probably the career of a merchant, had been liberally trained in classical studies, and had pursued for some time a

¹ "Sable a lion¹, couped at the wrist, grasping three darts, one in pale and two in saffure argent."



Tho. Willing

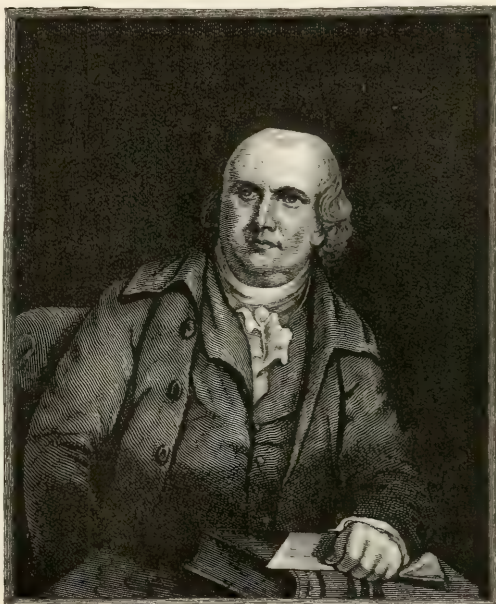


regular course of legal reading as a student in the Temple. He returned to America, and on Feb. 28, 1761, was commissioned a justice of one of the courts of Philadelphia, and on Oct. 4, 1763, was elected by the Common Council mayor of the city. On Sept. 14, 1767, he was commissioned associate justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and continued on the bench until the breaking out of the Revolutionary struggle. As a judge he was pure and intelligent, added to which, he possessed an amenity of manner which rendered him popular with the bar and attractive in society. Being possessed of a fortune, he became the head of the mercantile house of Willing & Morris, one of the largest in the country, and, after the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, were the agents of Congress in supplying naval and military stores. He was a representative to the General Assembly, a leader in the movement against the Stamp Act, chairman of a Revolutionary meeting in June, 1774; President of the Provincial Congress, and a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1775-76, in the place of Joseph Gallo-way (but voted against the Declaration of Independence, because, like John Dickinson and many other distinguished men of the day, he considered the act premature and unnecessary, and the colonies were not yet ready for independence).

At a critical period of the war, when there was great danger of the dissolution of the American army, for want of provisions to keep it together, a number of patriotic gentlemen in Philadelphia subscribed two hundred and sixty thousand pounds to procure the necessary supplies. Of this amount Thomas Willing subscribed five thousand pounds. Robert Morris and Mr. Willing, after the war, founded the Bank of North America, the first chartered in this country, and Mr. Willing was elected its first president. He was also president of the first "Bank of the United States." With these public duties he united the business of an active, enterprising, and successful merchant, in which pursuit, for sixty years, his life was rich in examples of the influence of probity, fidelity, and perseverance upon the stability of commercial establishments, and upon that which was his distinguished reward upon earth,—public consideration and esteem. He died Jan. 19, 1821, aged seventy-nine years and thirty days.

Robert Morris, the partner of Thomas Willing, was born in Liverpool, England, on the 20th of January, 1733-34 (O.S., or Jan. 31, 1734, N.S.). At

an early age he came to Philadelphia, and in 1748 was put in the counting-room of Charles Willing. In 1754 he formed a partnership with Thomas Willing, business importing,—a partnership lasting thirty-nine years, or until 1793. Morris was on the committee to demand the resignation of Stamp-Distributor Hughes, and was prominent in the non-importation movement. In 1766 he was made a port warden; in 1775 was vice-president of the Committee of Safety and delegate to the Second Congress, where he was made chairman of the Secret Committee. He did not vote for the Declaration of Independence,



Robt Morris.

and voted against Richard Henry Lee's preliminary resolutions, thinking the time had not yet arrived. He signed the instrument, however. The part he played in the Revolution was an indispensable one, and probably no other man in America had the means, the ability, and the will to do it so well. He was a delegate to the convention to form the Constitution, and, aristocrat as he was, wanted senators chosen for life. He was the first United States senator appointed from Pennsylvania, but declined the Secretaryship of the Treasury in favor of Hamilton. In 1797-98 he was ruined by commercial reverses and

unfortunate land speculations, and occupied a room in a debtor's prison for three years and a half. He died May 7, 1806, and was buried in Christ churchyard. He married Mary, youngest child of Thomas and Esther (Heulings) White, sister of Bishop White, of Sophia's Dairy, Md., on March 2, 1769, and they had seven children. Morris was a man who loved wealth, which he had a natural talent for getting, because he liked what it commanded, but he was of a philosophic temperament. In his will he wrote, a year or two before his death, "Here I have to express my regret at having lost a very large fortune acquired by honest industry, which I had long hoped and expected to enjoy with my family during my long life, and then to distribute it among those of them that should outlive me. Fate has determined otherwise, and we must submit to the decree, which I have endeavored to do with patience and fortitude."



THE MORRIS HOUSE.

Joseph Reed was the son of Andrew Reed, an Irish merchant doing business in Trenton, where Joseph was born, Aug. 27, 1741. He studied law, after graduating at Princeton, with Richard Stockton, and afterwards in London in the Middle Temple, returning to practice his profession in Philadelphia, and in 1770 going to London again to get his wife, a Miss De Berdt, daughter of a merchant there. In 1774 he entered political life, on occasion of the Boston Port Bill, and in 1775 was elected president of the Provincial Convention of Pennsylvania, soon after becoming Washington's military secretary, and in June, 1776, adjutant-general of the Continental army. In May, 1777, he was appointed brigadier-general, and in September of that year elected to Congress.

In 1778 he was elected President of Pennsylvania, was subsequently elected to Congress for another term, and died in Philadelphia in March, 1785, in his forty-third year. He was a man of great abilities and of sterling patriotism. His character in the latter particular was assailed by Gen. John Cadwalader in a famous contemporary pamphlet. The same charges were afterwards reiterated by anonymous writers. Bancroft adopted them, and William B. Reed in later years

defended his grandfather's patriotism. It has lately been proved that the Reed of whose treasonable practices Bancroft found evidence was not Joseph Reed, but a militia Col. Read.

Thomas McKean, afterwards chief justice and Governor of Pennsylvania, was born in Chester, 1734, and in 1765 was delegate to the Stamp Act Congress in New York. He was on the bench in 1765, and ordered business to proceed as usual without the use of stamped paper. He was a delegate to the Continental Congresses from 1774 to 1783, and signed the Declaration of Independence. He was elected Governor of Pennsylvania in 1779, serving nine years; retired from public life in 1808, and died in 1817.

Benjamin Chew was a leading lawyer, attorney-general, chief justice at the outbreak of the war, suspected and attainted of treason,—a man of wealth, ability, and great knowledge of the law.

Thomas Mifflin was of a prominent Philadelphia family, member of Assembly for many years, major-general in the Continental army, president of Council, and Governor of the State,—a man of winning energy and forceful popularity. George Clymer, a descendant of Samuel Carpenter, who built the "slate-roof house," was also son of a leading captain of privateers; had wealth and station, and was Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1780 and vice-president of the Agricultural Society in 1793. Francis Hopkinson was the literary wit, the chief of the squib and pasquinade artillery in Philadelphia during the war. He was a favorite with Franklin, and his pen really did valuable service along the skirmish-line. His ballad, the "Battle of the Kegs," was as good a hit as André's "Cow Chase" on the other side. He planned and designed the great Federal Fourth of July procession in Philadelphia in 1788, and died May, 1790, being judge of the United States District Court.

The contrivances for evading the Stamp Act, as the day for its enforcement drew nigh, were numerous, ingenious, and sometimes amusing. The almanacs for 1766 came out in July, 1765. When the lethal 1st of November approached, the newspapers went into mourning in token of their dissolution, for they resolved to discontinue publication sooner than use stamped paper. The *Journal* of October 24th, in mentioning the execution of Henry Hurlburt for the murder of John Woolman, said, "He will never pay any taxes unjustly laid on this once happy land." Bradford followed this sort of thing up. On Thursday, October 31st, his *Journal* was black-lined from column to column, with skull, pickaxe, spade, and cross in lieu of the ordinary head, and this motto, "Expiring in hopes of a resurrection to life again." There was also a card announcing the suspension of the paper. In other parts of the sheet other mortuary symbols were printed, and an obituary notice was also given: "The last remains of the *Pennsylvania*

Journal, which departed this life the 31st October, 1765, of a stamp in her vitals, aged twenty-three years." This was No. 1195 of the *Journal*; the next appeared on November 14th, and was numbered 1197, which would have been the regular number if the publication had been continuous. The *Gazette* resumed regular publication November 21st. It only needed the brief experience of two or three weeks to prove that the Stamp Act was a dead letter, and could not be carried into effect. Legal business was suspended and the public offices were closed on November 1st, not to open again until the ensuing May. There was not much disorder, because the people made it plain that it would be dangerous to use the stamped paper or stamps under any circumstances. All that was captured was burned publicly. John Hughes was expelled from the fire company of which he was a member, and Joseph Galloway forced to deny, in a handbill, that he had tried to embarrass the anti-stamp movement. In the elections for Assembly this year much ill feeling was engendered. Hughes was defeated, but Galloway was elected and the anti-proprietary party beaten. Controversy ran high, and the usual crop of caricature and broadside was soon abroad.

As the winter advanced into 1766 the public dissatisfaction augmented and the determination deepened to prevent, if possible, the enforcement of the hated act. Stamps were burned wherever found, and captains of vessels arriving learned that it was not safe either to keep or carry them. In February the people very generally signed an agreement not to eat or suffer to be killed any lamb or sheep until Jan. 1, 1767, and not to deal with butchers violating the compact. Economy and frugality were enforced by examples in high and low, and steadfast efforts made to promote the market for home-manufactured goods. The stamp tax was repealed March 18, 1766, and the news reached Philadelphia May 20th. The assertion of the right of taxation, which was coupled with the repeal, tempered somewhat the joy of the occasion, but still there was much rejoicing. A copy of the act was read at the Coffee-House¹ in the presence of a

considerable crowd, and the cheering was lusty. A deputation was sent forthwith to board the brig "Minerva," which had brought the news to the city, and fetch Capt. Wise. A present was made to the crew, and the captain was escorted to the shore and Coffee-House, with colors flying, amid echoing huzzas. A bowl of foaming punch was brewed, and the captain and all drank bumpers to the sentiment, "Prosperity to America," and then the bearer of glad tidings was presented with a gold-laced cocked hat. At night the city was illuminated, wood given out for bonfires, and barrels of beer rolled out, that the fun might flow freely. Next day the mayor, John Lawrence, assisted by some aldermen, presided at a banquet of three hundred covers, at the State-House, where a great number of loyal toasts were drunk, not

forgetting one expressly to "the Virginia Assembly," and another to "Daniel Dulany, Esquier." A Pitt medal, struck in England, was distributed, the great commoner's portrait was seen everywhere, and it was impossible for any man to be more popular.

June 4th, the king's birthday, was made the occasion of a great special *fête*, when the people laid off their homespun, wore clothes of English goods, and met in jubilee picnic on the banks of the Schuylkill. A smack and a barge, mounted on trucks, decorated and manned by musicians and ship-carpenters, were drawn through the streets by horses to the place of rendezvous, firing salutes from swivels as they passed.

When the company united

at the grove a table was spread for four hundred and thirty persons, and there were toasts and more salutes.



Isaac

many years, until the City Tavern superseded it, the unofficial town business was chiefly transacted. This was built on a lot patented by William Penn to his daughter Letitia, and by her sold in 1701 to Charles Read, who built on it a quaint two-story house, with two-story gables above. Israel Pemberton bought the house and lot after Read's death, and John Pemberton inherited the property. On April 11, 1754, Bradford, in his *Journal*, notifies the subscribers to a coffee-house to meet at the court-house on Friday, 19th inst., to choose trustees. The trustees of the London Coffee-House in 1755 were George Okill, William Grant, William Fisher, and Joseph Richardson. They had collected three hundred and forty-eight pounds in subscriptions of twenty and thirty shillings each, paid Bradford's account of £9 6s. for opening the house, and had lent him in cash £250 6s. Bradford applied to Governor and Council for a license, "having been advised to keep a coffee-house for the benefit of merchants and traders, and as some people may be desirous at times to be furnished with other liquors besides coffee, your petitioner apprehends that it is necessary to have the government license." This

¹When mention is made of "the Coffee-House," the old place on the southwest corner of Front and Market Streets is meant, where for

At night the *fête* was kept up with fireworks, and altogether there was a pleasant, decorous, and successful celebration of the restoration of harmony.

But harmony between court and province did not prevent the heats of local faction from glowing. The opponents of Franklin, Hughes, and Galloway pursued them with every sort of weapon, and successfully, if we may infer the impression which such obviously poignant satire and home-thrusting jibes were likely to make. Bradford, it is probable, directed a good deal of this fire against Franklin and Galloway; it is certain he defeated Hughes by publishing, in a supplement to the *Journal*, that worthy's letters to the London commissioners of the stamp-office. These letters, with those of Hughes and Galloway to Franklin about the Stamp Act, were so galling that both of them denied the letters were genuine, and Hughes brought suit against Bradford for libel. The latter, however, showed that the letters were verbatim copies.

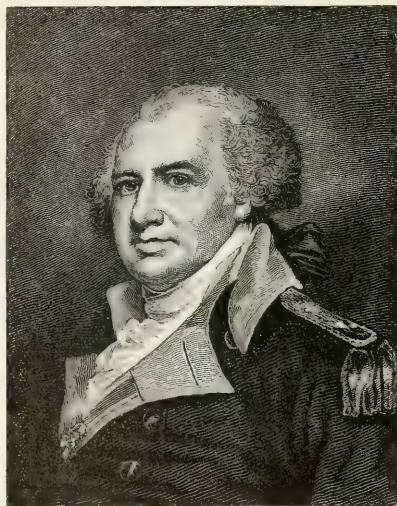
In May, 1767, Charles Townshend brought into Parliament his tax bill for the colonies, levying duties on paper, glass, painters' colors, lead, and tea. The bill became a law on June 29th, and all the old excitement was kindled anew, with still greater intensity. The Selectmen of Boston asked the corporation of Philadelphia to co-operate with them in the non-importation policy, determined upon in a meeting held October 28th, but the answer was a guarded and non-committal expression of sympathy, no more. Meantime, however, John Dickinson had begun in the *Chronicle* the publication of his "Letters of a

Farmer of Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," and nothing could have been more opportune and effective in instructing and consolidating public opinion. This was shown when, in February, 1768, the Assembly of Pennsylvania voted to instruct the London agents of the province to co-operate with the agents of other colonies "in any decent and respectful application to Parliament" for a repeal of the acts. On April 25th, moreover, the merchants of Philadelphia held a meeting, and adopted an address setting forth the grievances of the colonists. This paper, supposed to have been written by Dickinson, detailed succinctly the subjects of complaint. 1. The law against making steel, while Eng-

land herself was importing nearly all she consumed from Germany. 2. Against plating- and slitting-mills and iron manufactures, iron being the product of the country and its manufactured forms articles of prime necessity. 3. Against hat-making. 4. Against woolen manufactures. 5. Against the exclusion of American traders and vessels from foreign markets. 6. Against all exportations, except such as are made through England, instead of direct to the consuming countries. 7. The duty on Madeira wines. 8. The shipment of convicts and paupers to the colonies, etc., etc. The address concluded with the following words: "Let us never forget that our strength depends upon our union, and our liberty on our strength."

"United we conquer, divided we die."

There was another meeting at the State-House in August, at which an address similar to the above was



John Dickinson

was Bradford, the printer of the *Journal*, grandson of the first William Bradford, the printer, and nephew of Andrew Bradford, the printer. In 1741 he began publishing the *Journal*, and also sold books at the sign of the Bible, corner of Second Street and Black Horse Alley. He was captain in the Association Volunteers, and acted with the leading men of the city in combating the stamp tax. When the war broke out, in 1775, Bradford held the commission of major in the Philadelphia militia. He marched to Washington, and at Princeton was wounded and got his grade as colonel. He rendered many other important military and civil services during these times, and was in Fort Mifflin during its bombardment. He died in 1791. His son, by his wife Rachel, daughter of Thomas Budd, was Hon. William Bradford, the lawyer, a graduate of Princeton, attorney-general of Pennsylvania, justice of the Supreme Bench of that State, and Attorney-General of the United States under

Washington. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, in 1778, Col. Bradford returned and reopened his coffee-house, but he found that its popularity was gone, and he withdrew from its charge in 1780. Up to this time the London Coffee-House had been a central point for news and intercourse among leading men. Bradford's respectability and standing gave it the necessary prestige and insured its success. "Here," says Westcott ("Historic Mansions of Philadelphia"), "merchants did greatly congregate; captains repaired to the Coffee-House to make their reports and to discuss with consignees or consignors, as the case might be, the incidents of the last and the expectations of the coming voyage. Strangers resorted to the Coffee-House for news. Provincial dignitaries, officers under the crown and of the army and navy, frequented the establishment in the colonial days and gave way in turn to rebel militiamen,—Continental colonels and majors, and captains of

adopted, and resolutions were likewise passed in favor of non-importation of the articles subject to duty. Lord Hillsborough wrote to Governor Penn, asking his influence to prevent the Assembly from indorsing the address of the Massachusetts representatives (which was already on the minutes of the Assembly). Mr. Penn simply sent the letter to the Assembly. The latter immediately acted on a circular received from the Virginia Legislature, which affirmed the grievances complained of by Massachusetts, and recommended a union of the colonies. The Pennsylvania Assembly adopted resolutions in the spirit of this circular, and a committee was appointed to prepare petitions for transmission to king and Parliament. The Assembly further affirmed its right, under

popular at this time. The people of Boston gave him a vote of thanks in town-meeting. The Society of Fort St. David's, Philadelphia, elected him honorary member, and sent him the freedom of its guild in a box made of heart of oak, lettered in gold.¹ The people seemed to feel they had a grave struggle before them; they were grateful to all who helped their cause, and sympathized with all who struggled against tyranny. In April, 1769, the birthday of Pasquali Paoli, the Corsican patriot, was celebrated with a notable dinner at Byrne's tavern; there were numerous toasts, and there was much patriotism. Liberty and loyalty were generally coupled together, but the dominant sentiment was "liberty any how, loyalty if not incompatible with liberty."

The TIMES are
Dreadful,
Direful,
Doleful,
Dolorous, and
DOLLAR-LESS.



of the STAMP
A Foulness of the Mind
O' the fatal Stamp.

Thursday, October 31, 1765.

THE

NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL;

AND

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

I AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as **THE STAMP ACT**, is said to be obligatory upon us after the *First of November* ensuing, (the fatal to morrow) the Publisher of this Paper unable to

bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to stop awhile, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the insupportable Slavery, which it is hoped, from the last Representations now made against that A.C., may be effected. Mean while, I must earnestly Request every Individual

of my Subscribers many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Discharge their respective Arrears that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpose appears, which I hope will be soon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD

the charter, to sit or adjourn when it pleased, in defiance of the Governor's power of prorogation, and its right also to correspond with other colonies, and petition king and Parliament for a redress of grievances.

Dickinson's "Farmer's Letters" had made him very

the State and Continental flotillas and fleets. It was the headquarters of life and action, the pulsating heart of excitement, enterprise, and patriotism as the exigencies of the times might demand. In front of the building public auctions were held. Many a slave stood up there on bench or box, was exhibited to the bystanders, and, after strenuous efforts on the part of the auctioneer to obtain an exorbitant price, was knocked down to the highest bidder. Here frequently the sheriff was seen exposing to sale the real estate of some unfortunate debtor or putting up under proceedings in partition property, the proceeds of which were to be divided among anxious and expectant heirs. All Philadelphia ranged around this old building for a quarter of a century, and it was the scene of many excitements."

Philadelphia's citizens were now prepared for the practical enforcement of the non-importation policy, and they soon had occasion to test the constancy of their purposes. John Swift, collector of customs, seized some pipes of wine and stored them upon the charge that their consignee was trying to evade the revenue laws. The storehouse was broken into at night, the wine carried off and delivered to the owner, while the collector's house was stoned. The next day the owner, by advice of merchants, returned the wine to the government store, and some of the mob were afterwards tried and convicted in the mayor's court.

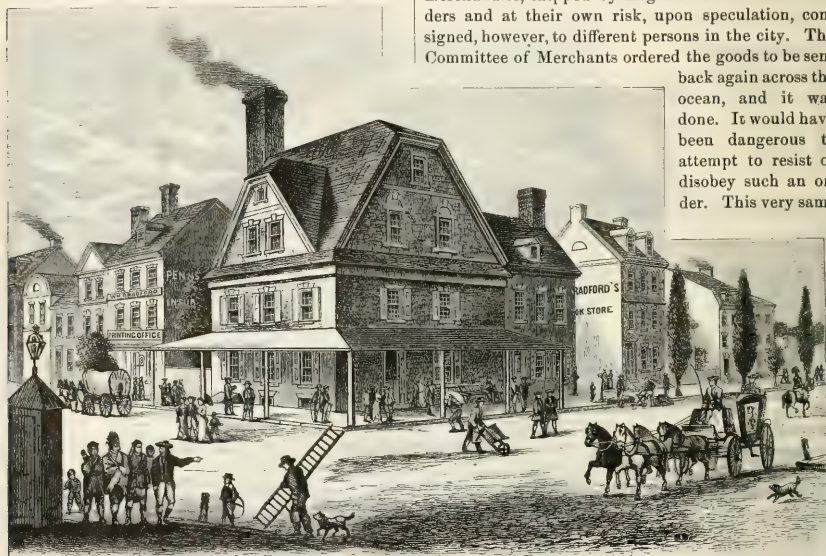
¹ A full and interesting description of this episode, too long to be extracted, may be found in Westcott's "History of Philadelphia," chap. cix.

But the ice had been broken. This was in April. In July a load of malt came to port from Yarmouth, consigned to Amos Strettel, who denied any knowledge of the goods when confronted by the committee of merchants. The latter, however, looked upon the importation as an infringement of the non-importation agreement, and called a meeting of citizens at the State-House, at which it was resolved to discourage every attempt to counteract or defeat the purpose of the agreement. The brewers attended in a body, and presented a pledge, signed by Haines & Twells, Isaac Howell, Anthony Morris, Jr., Francis Coad, Anthony C. Morris, Reinard Kreimer, Moore & Ches-

was understood his name should be published. Still, some individuals did try to evade the regulations. One man was caught trying to buy cheese of the mate of the "Speedwell." The Committee of Merchants waited upon him at once, and remonstrated with him so effectually that he felt constrained to give his cheese to the poor debtors in the jail, adding two dollars to enable them to buy bread to eat with it. Two or three more, caught in the same way, added beer to the bread and cheese, so that the prisoners had quite a feast of it.

In October the brig "Friends' Good Will" arrived in port from Hull. This vessel brought considerable merchandise, shipped by English traders without orders and at their own risk, upon speculation, consigned, however, to different persons in the city. The Committee of Merchants ordered the goods to be sent

back again across the ocean, and it was done. It would have been dangerous to attempt to resist or disobey such an order. This very same



OLD LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE, SOUTHWEST CORNER OF FRONT AND MARKET STREETS.

nutt, Valentine Stanley, and Woolman & Pusey, to the effect that they would not purchase the malt or brew it for any person whosoever. They also declared that no one ought to deal in it or with it, in any way, and any person who did so was one "who had not a just sense of liberty, and is an enemy to his country." The result was, the cargo of malt had to be sent back to England.

In August the brig "Speedwell" came up the river from England, with dry-goods consigned to various merchants. They were on small orders, forwarded before the agreements were entered into, and the goods were stored for safe-keeping, new pledges being exacted not to withdraw them for sale until the obnoxious acts had been repealed. Any one violating the agreements was denounced as a public enemy, and it

month occurred the first case of tarring and feathering in Philadelphia,—an informer who lodged charges of smuggling against individuals. He was caught, ducked, placed in the public pillory, smeared with tar, adorned with feathers, and then paraded through the streets for two hours.

The general irritation was aggravated by the supercilious behavior of the king's representatives and officers, military, naval, and civil. They had always expressed contempt for the provincials as an inferior order of people; now they looked upon them as already rebels. Numerous contemporary accounts may be found, in Graydon and other journal-keepers of the day, of the extremes to which this sort of thing was carried. The captain of the royal armed schooner "Gaspee" (the same burned a year or two later by

the New Englanders) was noted for his brutality. He and his officers maltreated Davis Bevan, a citizen of Chester County, put him in irons, and otherwise abused him. Bevan, in return, sued them for ill treatment. The people were no longer in a frame of mind to submit to things which they would not have noticed five or six years before. They quarreled with the captain of a sloop-of-war for firing a salute on arriving in port. They accused the customs collector and naval officer of extorting illegal fees. The women took part in the quarrel also, and it was every day more and more noticeable that the spirit of union was diffusing itself among the colonies, each part and section espousing as its own the grievance of every other part.

By the beginning of 1770 the question of price threatened to disturb the non-importation agreement. Goods became scarce, of course, under such a system, but it was part of the agreement not to advance prices. The forestallers, however, disregarded this for the sake of profit. They combined and ran up tea from three shillings threepence to five shillings per pound. A writer threatened to give the names of such dealers, and a controversy sprang up. One outcome was to denounce the drinking of tea at all. The *Journal* estimated that the consumption of tea in Philadelphia exceeded two hundred pounds per day, the first cost of which, two shillings per pound, meant an annual tribute of £7300 to the East India Company. This, for all the colonies, with the three-penny duty added, aggregated £147,615 a year, which might be saved by abstention from the use of a pernicious herb. It was rumored, now that this discussion had arisen, that the dry-goods merchants meant to break through the agreement if the tax laws were not repealed at the current session of Parliament. This was denied; but it was not concealed that their case was hard, since their whole business was destroyed, while the West India traders still made profits. The dry-goods importers, however, declared they were not Esaus, to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. Some of the agreements were in themselves unequal and discriminated, and this added to the irritations of a system of business disordered to the core. Parliament, with a view to disorganizing the opposition, and conceiving it was not the principle but the amount of taxation which the colonies were opposing, reduced the rates successively until there only remained the bare rate of threepence upon tea, maintained to enforce the principle of the imperial right to tax the colonies. New complications now arose, and there was a division of sentiment among the patriots, one party holding for unqualified resistance to the principle, the other looking to the practical fact that no prohibition by agreement lay against the importation of any but taxed articles. A discussion arose of which the newspapers of the day are full. There was also a question as to whether a merchant was bound to adhere to agreements which he had made at

option, or whether he could abandon them when it suited him, and he thought he had accomplished his objects. The selfish notion of some that by continuing non-importation American manufactures could be established was a factor in deciding men's positions on these points. Besides, merchants in other places had abandoned the agreements, and thus sectional rivalries and jealousies were at once awakened. The merchants of Newport, Rhode Island, were the first to yield. The Philadelphia merchants at once met in the State-House, and passed denunciatory resolutions and renewed their non-trading pledges, adding a pledge never to deal in the future with those who violated the existing agreement; it was still plain, however, that an opposition was organizing to the radically exclusive policy of the patriot.

A ship and a bark which brought malt from Ireland about this time were allowed to dispose of their cargoes, because Ireland was not England, and the brewers were at the last extremity for want of malt, and they had behaved so well in the case of the malt consigned to Mr. Strettel. On the other hand, five vessels from Rhode Island with cargoes were sent back whence they came, and the opponents of non-importation found the popular sentiment, that of those not in trade, too strong to venture to array themselves against it openly. Many, however, attempted to get around the agreement in underhand ways. Two shop-keepers on Second Street, William Wells and Thomas Cummings, were found to have clandestinely brought six hundred pounds of goods to the city from Baltimore. They were forced to send them back, but stubbornly refused to apologize or express regret to the committee. A ship from Glasgow, and Virginia, after lying in port two weeks under close watch of the committee, dropped down the river, it was supposed to give up her adventure. But part of the cargo was clandestinely put on barges and landed. The attempted evasion was detected, and the offenders, Messrs. Semple & Buchanan, were compelled to sign a humiliating confession and apology, admitting their deliberate fault "with shame and confusion," surrendering the goods, and pledging themselves to re-ship them to England by the first opportunity. This apology was printed on a broadside for general circulation, and another broadside was sent out with it, suggesting that the firm should not have been let off without coats of tar and feathers.

New York at this time receded from all non-importing agreements but those relating to tea, and the news of this led to another indignation meeting at the State-House, on July 14th. The calls for this meeting were filled with fierce epithets. Joseph Fox presided, and resolutions were passed denouncing the defection of New York as sordid and wanton, and tending to weaken the union of the colonies and strengthen the hands of the enemy. Non-intercourse with New York was also resolved upon, and it was determined to buy no goods there but "alkaline salt,

skins, furs, flax, and hemp" until the agreement was returned to. The newspapers took occasion to have their fling at the rival city, one squib being as follows: "A CARD.—The inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia present their compliments to the inhabitants of New York, and beg they will send their OLD LIBERTY POLE, as they imagine they can, by their *late conduct*, have no further use for it." In August the brig "Dolphin," Capt. Stevens, arrived from England, bringing no goods but such as were allowed by the agreement, six thousand pounds in specie, and a number of weavers as passengers. "Such," said the *Pennsylvania Journal*, "are the fruits of the agreement, that, instead of dry-goods, which drained the colonists of their cash and kept them as poor as beggars, they are now receiving from England what may well be termed the nerves and sinews of any country." In Rhode Island a modification of the agreements was obtained and intercourse with the other colonies was resumed.

A severe struggle, however, was now impending between patriotism and the instincts of trade. To the propping of the latter was given all the weight and advantages of government influence and favor, the support of the Tories, and the spirit of rivalry between competing communities. The example of New York had been disastrous, and many Philadelphians were unsettled at the thought of New York getting the monopoly of the trade in British goods. In September these men began to organize and address the merchants' committees, contending that the agreements were a failure and that it was folly and madness to deprive Pennsylvania of a trade enjoyed by all the adjacent colonies. It was proposed that the merchants should be asked to give their opinions on that subject in writing, and a memorial to that effect was signed by John Reynell, James & Drinker, Joseph Swift, Jeremiah Warder, Tench Francis, Hugh Donaldson, Thomas Fisher, Richard Parker, Walter and Bartles Shee, Philip Benezet, Randle Mitchell, John Drinker, William West, and Owen and Clement Biddle. The merchants' committee replied that they had no power to take the sentiments of citizens except at a general meeting. This answer was signed by John Gibson, Daniel Benezet, John Cox, Charles Thomson, Alexander Huston, J. M. Nesbitt, William Fisher, Samuel Howell, John Mifflin, and George Roberts. The discontented now held a meeting, on September 20th, at Davenport's tavern (the "Bunch of Grapes"), Third Street, below Mulberry. Here it was decided that the non-importation agreement, as it existed, should be altered, so as to open to importation all goods save tea and such as were still taxed; that this action should be taken without consulting the other colonies; that such action would only alter, not break, the agreement; but it was not decided when importations should be resumed. Some of the committee of merchants attended this meeting, hoping to defeat the plan, but their counter-propositions were lost by a vote of eighty-nine to forty-five.

When this result was known Messrs. William Fisher, John Gibson, John Maxwell Nesbitt, George Roberts, Thomas Mifflin, Daniel Benezet, John Cox, Jr., Samuel Howell, Alexander Huston, James Mease, and Charles Thomson left the committee, looking upon the non-importation agreement as already broken.

These proceedings caused great excitement and much resentment among the non-mercantile classes. Injurious handbills were posted up, calling upon the people to take the matter in hand themselves, and not leave the "grand question" of the freedom of America to be determined by a few men "whose support and importance must always be in proportion to the distresses of the country." It was not a matter to be decided by the vote of a few merchants. The consent of the tradesmen, farmers, and other freemen of the city and county ought first to be obtained. Counter handbills were scattered about in defense of the mercantile view of the matter. In these it was claimed that the agreements were already violated everywhere. In Maryland it was alleged that three times as much goods had been imported as were needed for home consumption; Eastern colonies had perfidiously imported, in the face of their pledges and solemn denials; "the Bostonians had reshipped trunks filled with rubbish, after gutting them of their British contents; and that the ports of Virginia, all southward of Carolina, Georgia, and Canada, were open. "The trade of the city and province is torn from it by neighboring provinces and strangers selling goods here at exorbitant prices. . . . What was done under cloak of patriotism turned out a lucrative scheme." There was an anti-importation meeting at the State-House on September 27th, Joseph Fox chairman, when resolutions were passed censuring the action of the meeting at Davenport's tavern, declaring that union was essential, that "it would have been for the reputation of this city to have consulted the other colonies before any breach had been made in the non-importation agreement," and recommending some sort of restoration of concord on the basis of a united resistance to the pretensions of Parliament. Messrs. Andrew Allen, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Loxley, John Cadwalader, Daniel Roberdeau, James Pearson, William Masters, George Clymer, and John Shee, "with the members of the late committee who resigned," were appointed a committee to carry out the objects of the meeting. The grand jury, of which John Gibson was foreman, also formulated a creed of united resistance to tyranny, enforced by abstention from the importation of any but articles of necessity.

Smuggling, especially of the forbidden articles of trade, was constantly increasing, and the customs officers did not make many seizures, for informers met with no mercy from the mob. In September, in Southwark, John Keats, wrongly suspected of informing where smuggled goods had been landed, was beaten, pursued, and nearly murdered. Those who interfered to protect him, including Spence, the land-

lord, and Judge Benjamin Chew, were threatened. The customs officers depended for check upon smuggling more upon their revenue cutters down the bay than anything else, and the officers of these vessels did their work so rudely that many suits grew out of their conduct.

In 1773 the East India Company, finding that the colonies would take no tea on which the duty was charged, tried a new plan, and kindled a new flame from the smouldering embers of old excitements. An act of Parliament was passed authorizing that company to export their teas to America free of the duty enacted by the home government, and only charged with the three-penny colonial duty. It was intended to tempt the colonies by offering them tea far cheaper than it could be landed in London. The news of the passage of this act called for new measures of resistance in the colonies; "public meetings were held, associations were formed, and combinations entered into to prevent the landing and sale of the tea, the arrival of which was now looked for." The more insidious the attack, it was seen, the greater need to meet it with energy upon the very threshold. News of the initial shipments of tea reached Philadelphia 27th of September, was published in the *Chronicle*, and the publication was followed by a handbill, signed "Scaevolo," addressing the people on the subject. The tea commissioners, it was shown, were in the same position as the stamp distributors, and, like them, should be compelled to resign. Thomas Wharton, the elder, was one of these commissioners, a Quaker loyalist of wealth and influence, who had made himself obnoxious to the citizens by his course during the Stamp Act excitement. Goddard, in the *Chronicle*, said, he might make atonement now by promptly resigning.¹ In another broadside, the pro-

priety of burning the store-houses where the tea was to be laid away was plainly hinted. Many similar handbills belong to the ephemeral literature of the period, all betraying a high state of feeling.

A largely-attended public meeting was held at the State-House on October 18th, in which the stereotyped views on taxation were embodied in the resolutions; and a committee was provided for to wait on the tea commissioners and ask their resignation. Another committee was appointed at a subsequent meeting, and these two called upon the consignees, who all, sooner or later, resigned. A Boston customs

officer, Ebenezer Richardson, who had come to Philadelphia, was at this time so strongly denounced in handbills and the press that he had to fly the city to escape being tarred and feathered.

The ship "Polly," with "the detested tea," had sailed from London on the 12th or 15th of September, and her arrival was looked for about the third week in November. Another long handbill was distributed, addressed more particularly to tradesmen, mechanics, and artisans, explaining the crisis to them and warning them, in self-defense, to meet the East India Company on the very threshold. "Be, therefore, my dear fellow-tradesmen," it said, "prudent, be watchful, be determined, to let no motive induce you to favor the accursed scheme. Reject every proposal but a repelling act; let not their baneful commodity enter

your city; treat every aider or abettor with ignominy, contempt, etc., and let your deportment prove to the



[From an original painting in the possession of his descendants at Providence, R. I.]

and associated himself with John Holt in publishing the *New York Gazette and Post-Boy*. In 1766 he removed to Philadelphia, where he issued, on Jan. 6, 1767, the first number of *The Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*. It was published at ten shillings per annum, and had four columns to a page, instead of three, as had hitherto been the practice. For two out of three years it was printed in quarto form, and the fourth year it returned to folio, which was the original form in which it had been printed. Joseph Galloway and Thomas Wharton were secret partners of Goddard in this enterprise. But the partnership did not continue long. The partners quarreled and separated, and Goddard turned his batteries in the *Chronicle* upon Galloway, who was denounced through the columns of the paper which he had helped to establish. In 1770, Benjamin Towne was admitted to the firm, and, becoming dissatisfied, the paper suspended publication in February, 1773.

¹ William Goddard was the son of Giles Goddard, physician and postmaster at New London, Conn., and was born in 1740. Having served his apprenticeship with James Parker, a printer in New York, he removed to Providence, R. I., and on Oct. 20, 1762, established the first printing-press in that town, where he commenced the *Gazette and Country Journal*. Not meeting with sufficient encouragement, he went to New York

world that we will be free indeed." Another handbill was addressed to the Delaware pilots, stating the case in a way to meet their comprehension, showing the close identity of their interests with that of the

While Goddard was publishing his paper in Philadelphia, some political use was made by Joseph Galloway out of the circumstance that an anonymous letter had been sent him demanding the loan of fifty pounds for a year, with directions to leave it for the writer at a certain time under the five-mile stone on the road from Philadelphia to Chester. Galloway offered fifty pounds reward for the discovery of the author, and Governor Penn offered one hundred pounds for the same purpose. The occasion was embraced to maliciously impute this trifling affair to William Goddard, Galloway's former partner in the publication of the *Chronicle*, but who was now his open enemy. Goddard was arrested and gave bail, but Galloway, ashamed of the business, and without any evidence against Goddard, abandoned the prosecution, and no indictment was found. Goddard specially devoted himself, previous to each election, to the publication of articles against Galloway, but without avail. Indeed, at the election in October, 1772, Goddard, who was a candidate for the Assembly in Philadelphia, was defeated, while Galloway was returned for Bucks and placed in his old position as Speaker of the House. The first direct information that the East India Company intended to send some cargoes of tea to America was received in a letter from London, and published on the 27th September, 1772, in the *Chronicle*. Goddard was a warm friend of the Colonies at this time, and denounced the "pernicious business" in unmeasured terms in his journal. While he was editing the *Chronicle*, Mr. Goddard's mother, Mrs. Sarah Goddard, died in Philadelphia (Jan. 5, 1770), at an advanced age. On the following day her remains were interred in Christ Church burying-ground. Mrs. Goddard was the daughter of Ludowick Updike, whose ancestors were among the first settlers of Rhode Island. Her brother was for some years attorney-general of the colony. She received a good education, and married Dr. Giles Goddard, of New London, who left her a widow. After her son had been engaged a few years in the printing business, she became his partner, and on removing from Providence to New York he left her in charge of the newspaper and printing-house, which she managed with much ability for two years, at the expiration of which she associated herself with John Carter, under the firm-name of Sarah Goddard & Co. In 1769 she resigned the business to Carter and removed to Philadelphia, where she died in the following year.

William Goddard went to Baltimore insolvent and helpless to begin "anew," as he relates, "on the small capital of a single guinea." He managed to secure the materials in the printing establishment of a widow named Hasselocht, and added to it the small stock owned by Enoch Story. In May, 1773, he opened a printing-office at the corner of South and Baltimore Streets, where the Sax Iron building now stands, "nearly opposite Mrs. Chilton's," where "printing was done in all its branches." He was encouraged to publish a newspaper, and on July 15, 1773, he issued his prospectus of *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*. On Friday, Aug. 20, 1773, the first newspaper published in Baltimore was distributed throughout the town. The first number was handsomely printed on stout paper, in good, clear type, and contained twelve broad columns. It was a weekly, and the salutatory promised much.

During the publication of his paper in Baltimore Goddard was twice mobbed by the citizens of that town. The first time, in March, 1777, for publishing an anonymous communication reflecting on the conduct of the war by the Americans, and again on the 6th of July, 1779, for publishing Gen. Charles Lee's "Queries, Political and Military." Goddard continued his connection with the *Journal* until Aug. 14, 1792, when he sold his interest to James Angell, a relative. He was elected a member of the Rhode Island Legislature in 1795, and, having changed his residence to Providence, continued to live there until his death, which occurred in December, 1817, at the age of seventy-seven years. Gen. Charles Lee, whom he had endeavored to serve, as we have seen, at no ordinary personal risk, remained his friend and bequeathed him a portion of his landed estate in Virginia. Gen. Lee also made him one of his executors, in which capacity Mr. Goddard came into possession of Gen. Lee's papers. He issued proposals for publishing selected parts of them into three volumes, but for some reason the design was never executed. For many years the papers remained in the possession of the family of Mr. Goddard's only son, the late Professor William G. Goddard, of Providence, R. I.

William Goddard was the founder of the present United States postal

city's commerce and its freedom, and suggesting that if they chose they might make themselves masters of the situation. "We need not point out to you," this insidious and evil-purposing handbill said, "the steps you ought to take if the tea-ship falls in your way. You cannot be at a loss how to prevent, or, if that cannot be done, how to give the merchants of the city timely notice of her arrival. But this you may depend on, that whatever pilot brings her into the river, such pilot will be marked for his treason, and will never afterwards meet with the least encouragement in his business. Like *Cain*, he will be hung out as a spectacle to all nations, and be forever recorded as the *darned traitorous pilot who brought up the tea-ship*. This, however, cannot be the case with you. You have proved *scourges to evil-doers, to infamous informers, and tide-waiters*, and we may venture to predict that you will give us a faithful and satisfactory account of the tea-ship if you should meet with her, and that your zeal on this occasion will entitle you to every favor it may be in the power of the merchants of *Philadelphia* to confer upon you. (Signed) THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING.

"N.B.—This ship with the tea on board is called the 'Polly' (Capt. Ayres), and left Gravesend on the 27th of September, so that she may be hourly expected."

A later handbill mentions that the "Polly" is a three-decker, and that the pilot bringing her in may look for a coat of tar and feathers. Still another broadside was for the pilots to present to Capt. Ayres, notifying him that his ship and person were both in danger if he persisted in coming to port. "You are sent out on a diabolical service," he was told, "and if you are so foolish and obstinate as to complete your

service, and his sister, Mary K. Goddard, was the first postmistress of Baltimore. This subject is more fully treated elsewhere in this work.

Miss Mary Katherine Goddard did not accompany her brother to Rhode Island, but remained in Baltimore, where she kept a small bookstore until 1802. After the sale of the paper to Mr. Angell she continued to retain a small share in the property. She died on the 12th of August, 1816, aged eighty years. Miss Goddard was a remarkable woman in many respects. The simple fact that she conducted the *Journal* during the most trying and critical periods of the Revolution, and that she was intrusted by her brother with the sole management of his business when the exigencies of his occupation elsewhere, or the political hostility which occasionally forced him to leave Baltimore, made it necessary for him to intrust it to other hands proves that she possessed extraordinary judgment, energy, nerve, and strong good sense. Miss Goddard had also responsible and difficult duties to discharge as postmistress, but she seems to have been fully equal to the tasks imposed upon her, and, indeed, appears to have had a full measure of her brother's courage, industry, and indomitable will.

William Goddard, while in Philadelphia, fought Galloway bitterly through two elections, and pursued Wharton as vindictively. The latter he dubbed "the Marquis of Barataria," probably in part allusion to the fact that Wharton's father, Joseph Wharton, of Walnut Grove (where the *Mischianza* fete came off), was popularly called, from his haughty ways, "The Duke." It was related of Joseph, the duke, that when he called on Sir William Draper ("Junius" victim) he held his hat in his hand, and the knight, with great complaisance, told him that, as it was contrary to the custom of his society to do so, he would dispense with this mark of respect; whereupon the duke replied that he had his hat off not out of respect for Sir William Draper, but because it was a hot day.

voyage by bringing your Ship to Anchor in this Port, you may run such a Gauntlet as will induce you in your last moments most heartily to curse those who have made you the dupe of their avarice and ambition. What think you, Captain, of a Halter round your Neck, ten gallons of liquid Tar decanted on your Pate, with the feathers of a dozen wild Geese laid over that to enliven your appearance?" "A card" made its appearance at this time, presenting the compliments of the public to Messrs. James & Drinker, and notifying them that they were expected to withdraw from their appointment as consignees of the teas. Still another handbill was circulated among the pilots, giving them a minute description of the "Polly," stating they had been misinformed; she was not a three-decker, but "an old black ship, without a head or any ornaments. The captain is a short, fat fellow, and a little obstinate withal. So much the worse for him; for, as sure as he rides rusty, we shall heave him keel out and see that his bottom be well fired, scrubbed, and paid. His upper-works, too, will have an overhauling, and as it is said he has a good deal of quick work about him, we will take care that such part of him undergoes a thorough rummaging. . . . We know him well, and have calculated to a gill and a feather how much it will require to fit him for an American exhibition." Another long and peppery address of the day is by "Regulus." Indeed, the anonymous authors of the patriotic broadsides of the period drafted a legion of Romans into their service, until there were as many of the *gens togata* as there were Quakers on the banks of the Delaware. Withal, the anti-tea committees had a practical way with them. The stock of tea in town was very small, but they compelled the dealers to fix 6s. 6d. as the maximum price at which the article was to be sold, and they did not tar and feather the "informers" who gave them notice of these prices being exceeded. It is to be noted that all this action was independent of the "Boston tea-party," which did not take place until December 16th.

On Christmas day an express came in bringing word of the arrival of the "Polly," with her obnoxious cargo, at Chester. One of the consignees, Gilbert Barclay, came from London aboard the vessel. He now came up to the city in advance, and was at once waited upon by the committee. As soon as he learned from them the state of affairs he resigned his commission. Three committeemen were now sent to Chester and three to Gloucester Point to intercept Capt. Ayres. He had left Chester, but at Gloucester Point the vessel was hailed and the captain asked to come on shore. He went at once, landed, passed through a lane in the crowd met to receive him, and was taken before the committee and other gentlemen, who explained the popular excitement to him, and warned him of the difficulty and danger before him if he should persist in trying to bring his vessel to the harbor and discharge his cargo. He went to the

city with them, at their request, and soon found proof of what he had been told; indeed, the committee and citizens had enough to do to protect him from the boys, who did not want to be disappointed of their tarring and feathering.

As soon as the arrival of the tea-ship was known, a meeting was called at the State-House for Monday, December 27th, at 10 A.M., "to consider what is best to be done in this alarming crisis." This meeting was the largest that had ever been assembled in Philadelphia. The State-House would not hold the people; they adjourned to the yard, and adopted with enthusiasm the following resolves, brief, sharp, to the point:

"Resolved. 1. That the tea on board the ship 'Polly,' Capt. Ayres, shall not be landed.

"2. That Capt. Ayres shall neither enter nor report his vessel at the Custom House.

"3. That Capt. Ayres shall carry back the tea immediately.

"4. That Capt. Ayres shall immediately send a pilot on board his vessel, with orders to take charge of her and to proceed to Reedy Island next highwater.

"5. That the captain shall be allowed to stay in town till to-morrow, to provide necessities for his voyage.

"6. That he shall then be obliged to leave town and proceed to his vessel, and make the best of his way out of our river and bay.

"7. That a committee of four gentlemen be appointed to see these resolves carried into execution."

It was further

"Resolved, That this Assembly highly approve of the conduct and spirit of the people of New York, Charlestown, and Boston; and return their hearty thanks to the people of Boston for their resolution in destroying the tea rather than suffer it to be landed."

There were eight thousand persons present at this meeting, but the utmost order and decorum prevailed. Capt. Ayres attended in person, and pledged himself to a literal compliance with the orders relating to him. Two hours after the adjournment of the meeting the tea-ship, having hastily procured supplies, weighed anchor at Gloucester Point and proceeded down the river on her return voyage. The cargo did not break bulk, though there were other consignments to Philadelphia merchants in it besides tea. Capt. Ayres went on board at Reedy Island, he and Mr. Barclay going down the river in a pilot boat, after spending less than two days in the city. Lord Dartmouth wrote a sharp letter to Governor Penn concerning this transaction, expressing his surprise and concern that the provincial government should have made no attempt to resist or oppose the violence done. It was a rebellious act, he said, and might have serious consequences. The Governor explained and apologized, and the government excused him. They knew as well as he that he was utterly powerless. Lord Dartmouth had succeeded Lord Hillsborough as Secretary of State for the colony in 1772. He was a man of ability, a friend to liberal measures, and esteemed to be not ill-disposed towards the Americans. In the midst of these troubles, seeming sincerely desirous to do something to confuse them, and wishing to that end to be well instructed concerning American affairs, he sought an intelligent American correspondent

upon whom he could rely. He had some connection with Mr. De Berdt, whose sister had become the wife of Joseph Reed, and in this way a correspondence was opened between Reed and Dartmouth, which is of the greatest value in enabling us to measure the men and events of these times perspicuously and correctly. Reed was impulsive, frank, had his prejudices and predilections, took his patriotism not at a gulp, but discriminatively, and declining to ask any man's leave in the premises; he was shrewd also, very observant, and wrote like a gentleman of things which he had looked at with the eyes of a gentleman. This correspondence was opened in January, 1772, when Reed wrote to De Berdt that Lord Dartmouth might make himself exceedingly popular by removing the commercial restrictions imposed upon the colonies by Charles Townshend. Reed's first letter direct to Dartmouth (the first at least included in William B. Reed's biography of President Reed) was dated Dec. 22, 1773, three days before the tea-ship arrived. He was on the spot, a deeply-interested spectator, and it is difficult to understand why the ministry should have continued to act as they did, unless stricken with judicial blindness. Speaking of the modified tax policy, Reed wrote,—

"The partial repeal of this Act (7 George III.) instead of conciliating, has widened the breach; it has been thought hard the Government should give up the revenue and keep the tax. In this situation we have been gradually sliding into a clandestine trade, which has increased to a very alarming height. It has been deemed a species of patriotism to evade a law which we could not safely oppose, or submit to, without giving up an essential principle of liberty. If the merchants had confined this illicit trade to the article of tea only, the injury to the Mother Country would not have been so great; but a variety of other articles, such as calicoes, spices, and other East India commodities, have accompanied the tea to a very large amount. And upon a coast of such extent, all the vigilance and care of the custom house can give no effectual check. As a proof of this, your lordship may depend upon it that, although no tea has been imported here from England since 1767, there has been no scarcity, nor has the price been advanced otherwise than by the ordinary course of trade."

Reed goes on to sketch the agitation which arose in consequence of the course of the East India Company, and shows that the various acts and addresses which are given above were all approved by the body of the people, except only the attempt to deter the pilots from taking charge of the ship in the river. That inconsiderate performance, he said, the merchants had endeavored to counteract. He describes in advance the course that would be taken with Capt. Ayres, and said that if it were not submitted to "the consequences may prove very fatal to himself and his vessel." He adds that "the opposition to the Stamp Act was not so general, and I cannot but think any attempt at present to crush it would be attended with dreadful effects. Many reasons have concurred at this time, and upon this subject. Those who are out of trade have been led to think it a point of constitutional liberty deserving a struggle. Those who are in trade have the additional motive of interest, and dread a monopoly whose extent may destroy one-third of their business. For India goods compose

one-third of our importations from England." Can anything be more clear, cogent, and convincing than this exact and temperate statement? Yet it had no effect whatever. "Severities have been tried," wrote Reed. New severities were now resorted to, and the Boston Port Bill was the next act in the drama,—an attempt to punish one place in the colonies for what every settlement in all the colonies had been equally guilty of. Of such a piece of folly and madness the consequences were easy to foretell. Reed himself foretold them. In his next letter to Dartmouth, giving the noble earl an account of the proceedings of December 27th, and writing on that same evening, he says,—

"Your Lordship will judge from these facts how general and unanimous the opinion is that no article subject to a duty for the purpose of raising revenue ought to be received in America. Nor is it confined to this city. . . . Any further attempt to enforce this act, I am humbly of opinion, must end in blood. We are sensible of our inability to contend with the Mother Country by force, but we are hastening fast to desperate resolutions, and unless internal peace is speedily settled, our most wise and sensible citizens dread the anarchy and confusion that must ensue. This city has been distinguished for its peaceable and regular demeanor, nor has it departed from it on the present occasion, as there have been no mobs, no insults to individuals, no injury to private property; but the frequent appeals to the people must in time occasion a change, and we every day perceive it more and more difficult to repress the rising spirit of the people."

Parliament, king, and Council, however, heeded none of these warnings. They soon gave Philadelphia an additional cause of bitter feeling and irritation by the coarse and brutal examination of Benjamin Franklin before the Privy Council, when Wedderburn gave the venerable philosopher precisely the opportunity he desired to make himself the most popular man in America. He had not been a particular favorite with the people of wealth and education in his own province, for they suspected him of being a good deal of a self-seeker and a bit of a demagogue. With the masses, on the other hand, his popularity had been shaken by the appointments, through Benjamin Franklin's influence, of the stamp collectors, John Hughes and William Franklin, and by the persistent assaults of his enemies in connection with those appointments, which had put him on the defensive. But he was still the agent of the province, an eminent citizen of Philadelphia, and the most distinguished man of science his country had yet produced. He was venerable by his weight of years and of distinguished public service, and he was known and venerated all over Europe. To insult and outrage such a man, in such a manner, at such a time, was to outrage and insult the entire colonies. Franklin, in his official capacity, acting for Massachusetts, had delivered to Lord Dartmouth the address of that government asking for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. A false issue was raised, a duel and a succession of newspaper altercations, all to divert attention from the real merits of the case. On Jan. 11, 1774, Franklin, who had assumed all the blame attaching to a clandestine exposure of treasonable correspondence, appeared before the Privy Council; on the 29th he

had his hearing. Wedderburn was solicitor-general. He turned the defense of Hutchinson into an assault upon Franklin as the embodiment of American recalcitrancy. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn, was a Scotch advocate, who had made his way at the bar and in Parliament by mingling equal parts talent, sycophancy, industry, and a fierce, coarse invective that at times rose to eloquence. He knew enough constitutional law to make his services valuable to the court at whose demand his opinions always were unconditionally given. The attack upon Franklin was severe; it made a strong impression, and, though the object of it affected to despise, he still remembered it so vividly that when, in 1783, he signed the treaty of peace at Versailles, he was particular to dress himself in the same suit of clothes which had been worn by him before the Privy Council on Jan. 29, 1774.

Franklin bore himself bravely and with dignity, however, and the sympathy of the people of Philadelphia in particular went out to him. Dr. Rush wrote to Arthur Lee, when the news came, that "Dr. Franklin is a very popular character in every part of America. He will be received and carried in triumph to his house when he arrives amongst us. It is to be hoped he will not consent to hold any more offices under government. No step but this can prevent his being handed down to posterity among the first and greatest characters in the world." (May 4, 1774.) Reed, same day, wrote to his brother-in-law, DeBerdt, that "the scurrilous treatment of Dr. Franklin is highly resented by all ranks of people . . . nothing can exceed the veneration in which Dr. Franklin is now held but the detestation we have of his enemies." To Reed Lord Dartmouth himself wrote that, while he could not approve Franklin's conduct in regard to Hutchinson's letters, he was sorry that what had been said and done "should have contributed to the discontent of the minds of any people in America."

Dartmouth probably would not have believed that feeling could have risen to such a pitch. But in fact the people were intensely irritated, and the least thing made their passions blaze out. Wedderburn and Hutchinson were burnt in effigy on May 3d, after being drawn through the streets in a cart. On the breast of the figure of the solicitor-general was a label:

THE INFAMOUS WEDDERBURN.

A pert prime prater of a scabby race;
Guilt in his heart and famine in his face.
(Churchill allied.)

*Similis Proteo, mutet ul fallacior, Catalina,
Hunc vis Britanni cavate.*

Appended to which is a diatribe which might have been written by the schoolboy who looked out the quotations. There were other labels also, and Hutchinson was given as many faces as the temple of Janus had gateways. After being displayed to the mob,

these effigies were taken to the coffee-house plaza, hung upon a gallows, and then burnt upon a pile of faggots, upon which gunpowder was sprinkled, to be kindled into flame with the aid of Franklin's own electric battery. The newspapers also were filled with epitaphs and epigrams, appeals and invectives, and Wedderburn's name became a by-word of scorn and reproach.

The bill closing the port of Boston and transferring its custom-house to Salem, was passed in March, and news of it received in the colonies in May. Paul Revere was dispatched from Boston on May 13th to secure the support of Philadelphia to the former city in such a crisis. A meeting was called in Philadelphia at the City Tavern, on May 20th. Of this meeting, as has already been suggested, Charles Thomson and John Dickinson were the leading spirits, though conspicuous parts were taken by Joseph Reed and Thomas Mifflin. The object of Thomson and Dickinson was, by an appearance of great moderation, to secure the sympathy and co-operation of the influential body of the Society of Friends. Dickinson's plan was to petition the Governor for an extra session of the Legislature, and that prevailed, and by means of it, Thomson claimed in his letter to Henry Drayton, every practical point was carried. The Governor indeed refused to convene the Assembly for any such purpose, but called them two or three days later about Indian raids on the border, whereupon they forthwith attended to the business on hand by electing delegates to Congress.

At the meeting at the City Tavern a committee was also appointed to act as a general committee of correspondence, and also particularly to write to the people of Boston, assuring them of sympathy, commending their firmness, declaring their cause that of all the colonies, and promising to stand fast for the right. This committee consisted of John Dickinson, William Smith, Edward Penington, Joseph Fox, John Nixon, John Maxwell Nesbitt, Samuel Howell, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Reed, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Benjamin Marshall, Joseph Moulder, Thomas Barclay, George Clymer, Charles Thomson, Jeremiah Warder, Jr., John Cox, John Gibson, and Thomas Penrose. They had discretionary authority given them to act for the people and to call public meetings and correspond with the other colonies. They met next day (Dickinson, Reed, Fox, Nesbitt, Benjamin Marshall, and Penrose being absent) and adopted the draught of a letter, which was delivered to Mr. Revere to take back to the people of Boston. The authorship of this letter is doubtful; Provost Smith claims it; so do the friends of Dickinson. It is firm upon the principle of opposition to taxation, but offers no advice. The letter is rather cold, and its internal evidence is against the idea of its having been written by Dickinson.

The address of the meeting in favor of an extra session of Assembly was fortified by a petition from

nine hundred freeholders; the Governor, however, denied that the peace and good order of the province required any such meeting. Nor were the people of Philadelphia unanimous in opening their churches and closing places of business on June 1st, the day when the Boston port bill went into effect. The Friends gave notice to their own members that to do this would be manifesting an inattention to the principles of their profession. Still, many stores were closed and flags at half-mast. Some sermons were preached in several churches. Christ Church was not opened, but some unauthorized persons entered it and rang a funeral peal upon its muffled bells.



CARPENTERS' HALL.

A general meeting of citizens was called for June 15th, and there was some preliminary caucusing, in order to cut out the work for this mass-meeting; the mechanics met and appointed a committee to co-operate with the merchants' committee. The members of the mechanics' committee were John Ross, William Rush, Plunket Fleeson, Edward Duffell, Anthony Morris, Jr., Robert Smith, Isaac Howell, Thomas Pryor, David Rittenhouse, William Masters, and Jacob Barge. On the 10th a preliminary meeting of representative men of the different classes was held at Philosophical Hall, Second Street, to consult about

business for the mass-meeting. Eight propositions were agreed upon, favoring a general congress of all the colonies and deciding that the representatives of Pennsylvania must be chosen by the Assembly. The Governor's refusal to call the Assembly was to be got round by the members meeting of their own motion. The general meeting was postponed to the 18th, in order to give time to print the propositions in a hand-bill, so that the citizens might consider them.

When the meeting was held on the 18th, Thomas Willing and John Dickinson presided, and Rev. William Smith made the address. The propositions determined in advance were substantially adopted; it was resolved that the act closing the port of Boston was unconstitutional, and that it was expedient to convoke a Continental Congress. A committee of correspondence for the city and county was appointed, with instructions to take the sense of the people in regard to the appointment of delegates to a general congress, and also to raise a subscription for the relief of the sufferers in Boston. This committee numbered forty-three; the chairman was John Dickinson; the members were Edward Penington, John Nixon, Thomas Willing, George Clymer, Samuel Howell, Joseph Reed, John Roberts, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Charles Thomson, Jacob Barge, Thomas Barclay, William Rush, Robert Smith, Thomas Fitzsimons, George Roberts, Samuel Ewen, Thomas Mifflin, John Cox, George Gray, Robert Morris, Samuel Miles, John M. Nesbitt, Peter Chevalier, William Moulder, Joseph Moulder, Anthony Morris, John Allen, Jeremiah Warder, Jr., Rev. Dr. William Smith, Paul Engle, Thomas Penrose, James Mease, Benjamin Marshall, Reuben Haines, John Bayard, Jonathan B. Smith, Thomas Wharton, Isaac Howell, Michael Hillegas, Adam Hubley, George Schlosser, and Christopher Ludwick,—the first really representative committee which had been appointed. Under the call of this committee a conference of delegates met in Carpenters' Hall, July 15th, with Thomas Willing in the chair and Charles Thomson

secretary. The actual weight and influence of the province was here gathered, and the convention acted as if conscious of its powers, asserting colonial rights, condemning Parliament, favoring united action and a Colonial Congress, pledging Pennsylvania to co-operation with the other colonies, and requesting the Provincial Assembly (which was already called) to appoint deputies to the Congress.

John Dickinson drew the instructions; the Assembly, when it met on the 21st, assented to them, and appointed Joseph Galloway Speaker, and Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, George

Ross, and Edward Biddle deputies of Pennsylvania to Congress. The instructions of the Assembly to these delegates affirmed the principles laid down in the propositions of the Convention.

The first Continental Congress met in Carpenters' Hall on Sept. 4, 1774, when the delegates were present from eleven provinces. Some mystery has been sought to be made about the selection of this place of meeting, but it seems very simple. The Provincial Assembly was in session, so that the State-House could not be had. The Convention had had its session in Carpenters' Hall. The Committee of Correspondence probably met there, and there was besides this a desire to conciliate and court the favor of the trades-people and the mechanics, who, for the first time, were given a place in the late Convention and a representation on the Correspondence Committee. The carpenters were the most influential and best organized of the industrial bodies; they offered their hall, and it was accepted. John Adams, in his diary, says, "At ten the delegates all met at the City Tavern¹ and walked to Carpenters' Hall, where they took a view of the room and of the chamber, where there is an excellent library. There is also a long entry, where gentlemen may walk, and also a convenient chamber opposite the library. The general cry was that this was a good room, and the question was put whether we were satisfied with this room? And it passed in the affirmative. A very few were in the negative, and they were chiefly from Pennsylvania and New York."²

When the Congress met, Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen president, and Charles Thomson, secretary. The work done by this Congress belongs to the history, not of Philadelphia, not even of the United States alone, but of the world; its sessions were secret, and but few of its proceedings can have any legitimate place in this record. What a body of men that was,—Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Pendleton, Samuel Adams, John Adams, John Jay, Gadsden, Rutledge, Hopkins, Duane, Ward, Lynch, Sullivan, Bland,—the blood leaps up in one's veins as we write their very names! "We are so taken up with the

Congress," writes Reed to one of his correspondents, "that we hardly think or talk of anything else. About fifty have come to town, and more are expected. There are some fine fellows come from Virginia, but they are very high. The Bostonians are mere milk-sops to them. We understand they are the capital men of the colony, both in fortune and understanding." After an organization had been effected, it was proposed to open the sessions with prayer. The motion came from Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, but it was opposed by Jay and Rutledge, because of the wide division in religious views,—Quakers, Anabaptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists,—and for fear of exciting prejudice or dissension. Samuel Adams arose, however, said he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from any gentleman of piety and virtue who was a friend to his country. He moved that Rev. Mr. Duché be desired to read prayers



REV. JACOB DUCHÉ.

to the Congress to-morrow. The motion was carried, Mr. Randolph secured Mr. Duché's services, and, "accordingly, next morning"—we quote, or abridge, John Adams' diary—"he appeared with his clerk and in his pontificals, and read several prayers in the established form;" then, after reading a psalm, which seemed exactly fitted to the rumors, just heard, of the cannonade of Boston, Mr. Duché struck out into an extemporary prayer, which has often been quoted, and often praised.³

¹ This City Tavern, late called The Merchants' Coffee-House, was completed in 1773, in the style of the best London taverns. It stood on the west side of Second Street, above Walnut, corner of Bank Alley or Gold Street. When first opened it was looked upon as the finest house of its kind in America, having several large club-rooms, two of which could be thrown together to make a large dining-room, fifty feet long. There was every convenience and accommodation for strangers. The house was opened by Daniel Smith in 1774.

² The beginnings of the Carpenters Guild have already been described in another place. This company was established in 1724, incorporating itself with another guild of the same industry in 1752, the original object of the society being instruction, benevolence, co-operation, and relief. The lot on the south side of Chestnut Street, between Third and Fourth, was bought in 1768, the building begun in January, 1770, and occupied in a year, though not finished entirely until 1792. The library of which John Adams speaks was that of the Philadelphia Library Company, which had moved here from its small room in the State-House in 1773.

³ Mr. Duché was a pretty fair example of the typical sentimental clergyman, full of "gush," without much principle behind it; indeed, with no very clear notions of what principle really is. He was good in his way, well disposed, not vicious, conscientious, but weak, ambitious, vain, and so absurd that his vanity became suicidal. His father, Jacob Duché, was a plain man, a useful citizen, of Huguenot stock, who made money and did some public service of importance in a quiet way. His son, born in 1738, studied at the Philadelphia College, and then went to Class Hall, Cambridge, to finish. He, William White, and Thomas Coombe were all preparing for the ministry at the same time. Young Duché was ordained and licensed in England in 1759, and became assistant minister to Dr. Jennings and Dr. Peters. He became quite a fine preacher and a fine writer, too. He was popular. Miss Sally Ewe, in her lively diary, says, "Tom" Coombe tried to be Duché's echo, and she

The Congress was not hurried about its business. It acted slowly and prudently, and so calmly that the people learned to repose upon it. The North Carolina delegates came in on the 14th; on the 15th, John Dickinson was added to the Pennsylvania delegation, and the two months' session did not close until provision had been made for another Congress, to meet in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. Gallo way and Duane attempted a variety of dilatory and obstructive measures, but were baffled, and Congress



REV. JACOB DUCHÉ'S HOUSE.

did all its work well before adjourning. It made the last appeal to Great Britain before resorting to arms. It expressed sympathy and called for material aid

wonders why it is that Mr. Duché sits so long every day to have his hair curled and powdered. Duché had main charge of St. Peter's, the offshoot of Christ Church. He taught elocution in the college, lived in a big house built for him by his father, printed some of his sermons at Franklin & Hall's press, and when the "Letters of Junius" became popular, Duché published his "Letters of Tamoc Caspius," an acrostic on the title of his office,—a dull sort of book it was, yet with some easy, graceful touches. Some of Duché's hearers thought him an enthusiast and mystic, but he simply yielded to the passing emotion. Duché became chaplain of Congress; he preached war sermons; his vestry dropped the prayer for King George from the Liturgy; his patriotic prayers were printed; then, as Howe drew near Philadelphia, the parson resigned his chaplaincy; he declined to take the one hundred and fifty dollars voted him by Congress; he revived King George's prayer when the British entered the city; was imprisoned one night, and came forth the next morning a loyal subject. Ten days later he wrote a mean, pitiful, every way contemptible letter, to Washington, urging him to desert his cause and betray his companions-in-arms. His brother-in-law, Francis Hopkinson, answered it, as Washington would take no notice of the "ridiculous, illiberal performance." In December, 1777, Duché went to England, his family followed some time after, and his property was confiscated. He published two volumes of sermons, dedicated to Lady Juliana Penn, studied Swedeborg, and got an appointment as secretary and chaplain of an orphan asylum. After the war Duché wrote another pitiful letter to Washington, asking his forgiveness, and begging him not to interfere to prevent his (Duché's) return to his former home. When he did return, in 1792, Washington permitted Duché to call on him. He died Jan. 3, 1798, not much regretted. His weakness was of that degree which never fails to make man miserable. Yet he ought to have had a tougher fibre in him. He was taught in early youth by Francis Allison, at Thunder Hill School. His father was a soldier, commander of the Second Association Regiment (Franklin had the first), he was also a vestryman of Christ Church. His grandfather, Anthony Duché, claimed to have come over, with his wife, to Philadelphia in the same ship with William Penn; he was, anyhow, a Quaker and a sturdy man, whether a "first purchaser" and a "Welcome" passenger or not.

from all the colonies for the people of Massachusetts; it took a positive stand against importations, formed an association to that end, adopted a solemn declaration of rights, a memorial to the people of Great Britain and another to the king, and then adjourned. The gentlemen of the city gave the members of Congress a banquet at the State-House, with five hundred covers, during their session. The king's name headed the list of toasts, Hancock's brought up the rear. The entertainment was the finest ever given in the city up to that time. After the session ended the members were again entertained, at the City Tavern, by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. John Adams relates of this dinner that "a sentiment was given,— 'May the sword of the parent never be stained with the blood of her children.' Two or three broadbrims were over against me at table. One of them said, 'This is not a toast, but a prayer; come, let us join in it.' And they took their glasses accordingly."

The Assembly unanimously approved the proceedings of Congress, and appointed the former delegates to Congress, except John Martin in place of Samuel Rhoads, who had been elected mayor, and Gallo way, permitted to withdraw. In May, 1775, when Franklin returned from England, he was straightway elected a delegate, and Thomas Willing and James Wilson were also added to the delegation.

The Committee of Correspondence was still in authority, but their power being questionable, they recommended, in November, that at the ensuing general election a new committee should be regularly chosen for the city, and one also for the county. These committees numbered sixty-seven members for the city and Liberties, and forty-two for the county.

The city, Northern Liberties, and Southwark committee included John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Thomson, John Cadwalader, Robert Morris, Samuel Howell, George Clymer, Joseph Reed, Samuel Meredith, John Allen, William Rush, James Mease, John Nixon, John Cox, John Bayard, Charles Ludwig, Thomas Barclay, George Schlosser, Jonathan B. Smith, Francis Wade, Benjamin Marshall, Lambert Cadwalader, Reynold Keen, Richard Bache, John Benezet, Henry Keppele, Jr., Jacob Winey, Jacob Rush, Joseph Falconer, William Bradford, John Shee, Owen Biddle, William Heysham, James Milligan, John Wilcocks, Sharp Delaney, Francis Gurney, John Purviance, Robert Knox, Francis Hassenclever, Thomas Cuthbert, Sr., William Jackson, Isaac Melchior, Samuel Penrose, Isaac Coates, Blaitwait Jones, Thomas Pryor, Samuel Massey, Robert Towers, Henry Jones, Joseph Wetherell, Joseph Coppertwaite, Joseph Dean, Benjamin Harbeson, James Ash, Benjamin Loxley, William Robinson, Jr., Ricloff Alber son, James Irvine, William Coates. For Southwark,

—Elias Boys, Joseph Turner, Abraham Jones, and Thomas Robinson. For Kensington,—Emanuel Eyres and Jacob Miller. For the county of Philadelphia,—George Gray, Samuel Ashmead, Thomas Potts, John Bull, Jonathan Roberts, Jesse George, Samuel Erwin, John Roberts, Frederick Antis, Benjamin Rittenhouse, Thomas Ashton, Melchior Wagoner, James Stroud, Charles Bousall, Daniel Keaster, Benjamin Jacobs, Joseph Mathers, Jacob Rise, Isaac Hughes, Frederick Weiss, James Deimer, Edward Milnor, John Bringhurst, Archibald Thompson, Isaac Knight, Jacob Styger, Andrew Knox, Abraham Luckens, Henry Derringer, James Potts, John Muck, Edward Bartholomew, Samuel Leech, John Jenkins, Joseph Lowne, Andrew Haney, John Pawling, Sr., John Moore, George Shive, and Alexander Edwards.

These committees entered upon their duties at once. Six sub-committees of inspection and observation were formed, and one committee sat each day at the Coffee-House to watch the arrival of vessels and inspect their cargoes according to the rules of the association formed by Congress. The goods had to be sold in lots or parcels, none less than three pounds or more than fifteen pounds in value. Salt or coal from Great Britain was to be sold at public vendue by cargo, or less, at option of consignee, under direction of the committee. The committee gave importers their election, under inspection, to send back their goods, store them, or sell according to association terms. Citizens were recommended not to buy or use mutton or lamb between January 1st and May, 1775, and no ewe lamb until October 1st. The butchers, sixty-one in number, determined that they would not kill the animals specified within the time mentioned, and signed an agreement to that effect.¹ The object was to encourage home manufactures, by making the raw material plenty and cheap. Other industrial and even political and religious enterprises sprung up on the edge of the war volcano's crater. John Elliott & Co. opened glass-works in Kensington; William Calverly manufactured superior American carpets in Loxley's Court; Richard Wells erected spermaceti works at Arch and Sixth Streets; Hare made American porter; Edward Ryves, Pine Street near Third, made American playing-cards; formulas for making and finding saltpetre were published with significant frequency,—it could be extracted from the tobacco refuse; it could be scraped up in abundance underneath old barns and tobacco-houses, etc. Lumber dealers, fearing a loss of market, sent their timber to Europe in raft-ships, craft made of rough unhewn logs, meant for the saw-mill when their port of destination was reached. The New England Baptists took advantage of the session of Congress and its operation against grievances to bring forward their own,—the discrimination of Massachusetts laws against

their sect. Of course Congress had nothing to do with this, and could not; but the New England Baptists appealed to their co-religionists in Philadelphia; the latter appointed a committee—Robert Strettel Jones, Samuel Davis, Stephen Shewell, Thomas Shields, George Westcott, Alexander Edwards, Benjamin Bartholomew, Rev. William Rogers, A.M., John Evans, John Mahew, Edward Keasby, Rev. Samuel Jones, A.M., Rev. Morgan Edwards, A.M., Rev. William Vanhorn, A.M., Abraham Bickley, Abel Evans, Samuel Miles, James Morgan, and John Jarman—to consider the grievance. This committee consulted the leading Quakers and so fell into the hands of mischief-making Galloway and Israel Pemberton, whom John Adams calls a "wily Jesuit," who tried to make trouble for Congress and perhaps to get up a feud between that body and the Society of Friends. However, the first interview was with the Massachusetts delegation, who told them, sharply enough, that they had no power to alter the Massachusetts statutes, and moreover, that those statutes were not likely to be altered. Then the committee applied to Congress, which bluntly resolved that it was a colony matter, and nobody's business at all in Congress. The last of these schemes was that of William Goddard, the printer, for an independent and American post-office establishment. But Goddard found Congress had its hands too full just now to attend to that matter, and when the mail-service was taken up it was given to Franklin.

Strange time, this, of excitement, feverish anxiety, feverish mental activity. There seemed to be no rest anywhere; all was wakefulness, watchfulness, mistrust, suspicion, contrivance, and invention. The records from January 1st to May 1, 1775, as we gather them from newspapers and the correspondence of the time, are a marvel. Here, one day, a suspected informer or king's man is advertised, handbilled, waited on by a committee, and sent suddenly tramping, with threats—not idle ones, neither, he knows—of fence-rails and tar and feathers ringing in his ears. Here, in the next column, mayhap, the American Philosophical Society pleading for the establishment of an astronomical observatory in Philadelphia. Here, in one place, is almost open war right on us in the Delaware. American schooner "Isabella," from Dunkirk, cargo of contraband wines, teas, gin, silks, etc., seized as she comes up the bay by tide-waiter Francis Welsh; pilot leaves vessel; captain steers her off; Welsh can get no aid anywhere. The Chester justice to whom he appeals refuses warrant; the sheriff promises aid, but takes care not to give it; finally, the vessel sails clear off, putting Welsh ashore at Cape May, and Governor and Council can give him no redress. This is open resistance, and it is approved by the new convention of Pennsylvania delegates in session at the time—Joseph Reed, president; Jonathan B. Smith, John Benezet, Francis Johnston, secretaries—because all resistance is approved by them, and pledges

¹ These sixty-one butchers appear by their names, with very few exceptions, to have been Germans; nine-tenths of them were so, at least.

are given to maintain it. At the same moment, too, the Society of Friends are giving their solemn "testimony" against resistance and violence, in an epistle "to friends and brethren," issued by the meeting for sufferings for New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Some Friends have been carried away by the excitements of the day, but they must be brought back and admonished, "dealt with," in affection and brotherly love. They have joined associations, and given pledges, and engaged in public affairs such as lead them to deviate from our religious principles, which teach us not to contend for anything at all, not even liberty.

It is a part of the divine principles we profess to avoid everything tending to disaffection to the king and the legal authority of his government. We must not approach him but with loyal and respectful addresses, wherefore the testimony is moved "publicly to declare against every usurpation of power and authority in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies," which includes even Congress. This testimony one Quaker, at least, did not sign, but laughed at,—Samuel Wetherill, the patriot and pioneer in manufactures, who spoke out against the general epistle as an indictment against the whole people, and said the Friends seemed to forget that they too contended a great deal sometimes,—about property-rights, for instance. For his own part, he said, he had learned to make allowances for human infirmities, and confessed that he discovered too many imperfections in himself not to be very tender to those of other people. As to the present situation of public affairs, he thought the Friends ought to be as watchmen on the walls, for there was something due from them to the public cause as well as to the king. He believed in the right of petition for redress of grievance, but he was not going to write a general epistle dictating to all how they should act and think. He left that to wiser men. Without taking open ground on the subject, a great many Quakers thought as Samuel Wetherill did, and quietly contributed all they could to promote the good cause. In the face of impending civil war, however, it would have been contrary to human nature to expect the Quakers to abandon their non-resistance principles and expose themselves to be drafted alternately into the provincial or the royal armies.

The activities and energies and restlessness of the times found outlets in other directions. Preparations were made for bridging the Schuylkill at the Middle Ferry, and for erecting three piers in the Delaware at Reedy Island, besides others at Chester and Marcus Hook, and for this the Assembly voted an issue of six thousand pounds, paper money. The Common Council voted to memorialize the Assembly against the continuance of the semi-annual fairs provided for under the corporation charter. The city had outgrown them, and they had become useless and annoy-

ing. The committee having the memorial in charge—Samuel Rhoads, the mayor; Andrew Allen, recorder; Aldermen, Samuel Shoemaker, John Gibson, James Allen, Amos Strettell, Samuel Powell; Common Councilmen, Edward Shippen, Alexander Wilcox, John Potts, and Peter Chevalier—reported so strongly that they overshot the mark and passed a bill doing away with the fairs for ever, whereas the corporation desired power to revive them, "in case the circumstances of the city and province should appear to require the same." A protest was made, but the action stood. The corporation moved at this time also in favor of erecting a city hall and courthouse on the lot set apart for that purpose in the State-House square. A committee was appointed to look into the matter and inquire the expense. On it were the mayor, recorder, and Messrs. Allen, Shippen, Bidle, and Clymer, of the board.

The new provincial convention took steps to protect the city and get it relief from the counties in case its trade was destroyed by some such measure as the Boston port bill. This convention insisted earnestly upon the enforcement of the non-importation agreements, and sought to build up the domestic resources of the province. Among its recommendations were those of killing no sheep under four years old, the culture of flax, hemp, madder wood and other dye-woods, the use of home manufactures and home printing entirely, the organization of associations for encouraging domestic productions, special attention to the manufacture of gunpowder ("inasmuch as there exists great necessity for it, particularly in the Indian trade"), woolen goods, salt, saltpetre, iron, nails, wire, steel, paper, glass, wool, combs, cards, copper in sheets, kettles, malt liquors, and tin-plates.

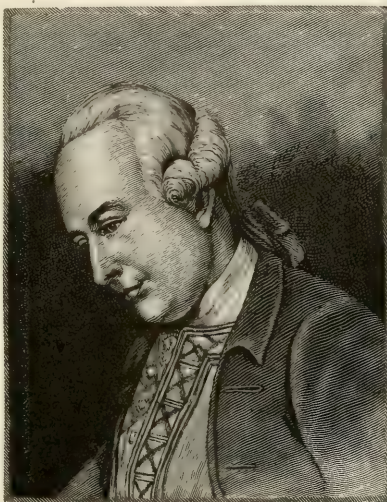
These recommendations in favor of American manufactures were eagerly seconded, and some of the results were permanent and important. A society was formed in March to encourage woolen manufactures, Joseph Stiles being the president, James Cannon secretary, Christopher Marshall, Richard Humphreys, Jacob Winey, Isaac Gray, Samuel Wetherill, Jr., Christopher Ludwick, Frederick Kuhl, Robert S. Jones, Richard Wells, Thomas Tilbury, James Popham, and Isaac Howell, managers. James Hazel exhibited, or offered to exhibit, to this association an apparatus to demonstrate the power of machinery,—a clock-work card- and spindle-machine, by which a girl of ten years old could tend forty-eight spindles and card three hundred and sixty pairs of cards. Other cotton- and woolen-machines were at the same time produced by John Hague and Christopher Tully, and the Assembly next year voted fifteen pounds to each. The society fitted up a factory corner of Ninth and Market Streets, invited farmers to bring forward their wool, flax, and hemp, and asked women to come forward and learn the trade of spinning. It would be doing a service to themselves and to their country at the same time, they were told, and the response

was so prompt that in a month there were four hundred spinners employed. Among other contemporary enterprises was the linen-printing establishment of Walters & Bedwell, on the Germantown road, while John Behrent, joiner, on Third Street, manufactured a piano-forte in a maffogay case. The interdiction against the use of tea throughout the colonies went into effect on March 1st. The event was made the occasion of many effusions in verse, the most of them weaker than tea. It is probable, however, that every one had laid in more or less of a stock of tea before the dreaded day, and its loss was not much felt at first.

The Committee of Correspondence gave notice that the India Company would try to introduce tea by means of Dutch merchants and the West India Islands, but they meant to enforce the recommendations of Congress in the premises. The committee, in fact, had become the only effective and authoritative government in the city, county, and province. The ancient forms were kept up, but the power and direction lay with the committee exclusively. They had power to act in any emergency, and the emergency soon came.

April 24, 1775, at five o'clock in the afternoon, an express came galloping in from Trenton with the greatest haste, excitement in his looks, on his lips, and in his train. He rode up to the City Tavern, the people crowding thither likewise, the members of the committee hurrying to meet him, and delivered his dispatch. It was a brief and hurried message, but it had come a long route, and it was big with the fate of a nation. It was a dispatch from Watertown, on April 19th, announcing that Gage's men had marched out of Boston the night before, crossed to Cambridge, fired on and killed the militia at Lexington, destroyed the store at Concord, were now on the retreat and hotly pursued. Many were killed on both sides, and the country was rising. The message had come by way of Worcester, where it was visé by the town clerk. It had come to Brookline, Thursday 20th, at 11 A.M.; it was forwarded from Norwich at 4 P.M.; it was expressed from New London at seven in the evening. The committee at Lynn received, copied,

and started the rider with it at one o'clock Friday morning; it came to Saybrook before sun-up; at breakfast time another messenger took it up at Killingworth; at eight o'clock it was in East Guilford; at ten in Guilford; at noon, Brandford. It was sent from New Haven with further details on 21st; it was dispatched from the New York committee-rooms four o'clock Sunday afternoon; it came to New Brunswick 2 A.M. Monday; at Princeton at six o'clock; at Trenton 9 o'clock A.M., and indorsed "rec'd the above p. express and forwarded the same to the Committee of Phila." Two days later another express came in, bringing fuller particulars of "the battle of Lexington," as that memorable fight will always be called.



John Cadwalader

The news of Lexington came to Philadelphia too late in the day to spread at once over town. But next morning every one knew it, and, borne by intense feeling, the people assembled in public meeting, as if by common consent, at the State-House. There were eight thousand persons present, but a single life seemed to actuate them. The Committee of Correspondence took charge; their authority was recognized and accepted. A single brief resolution was passed, to "associate together, to defend with arms their property, liberty, and lives against all attempts to deprive them of it," and then, with impatience and eagerness, to action. The time for words was passed. The time for organization, arming, drill, march had come. The enrollment

began at once. The committee besought all who had arms to let them know, so that they might be purchased and secured, and the associators availed themselves of their existing organization to turn themselves forthwith into military companies. It was agreed that two troops of light horse, two companies of riflemen, and two companies of artillery, with brass and iron field-pieces, should be formed right away. Drill began immediately, and the companies were ready to parade by May 10th, when they turned out to receive Congress and also to honor John Hancock.¹

¹ The foot company and riflemen turned out to meet the Southern delegates to Congress at Gray's Ferry. The officers of all the companies mounted, went out to meet the Eastern delegates and Hancock.

So strong was the association and so eager the spirit of the people that it was expected the city and liberties would very soon have four thousand men under arms and fully equipped. Drilling went on night and day, some companies drilling twice a day. In the associators' organization the officers were as follows,—the list is not complete, however:

First Battalion,—John Dickinson, colonel; John Chevalier, lieutenant-colonel; Jacob Morgan and William Coates, majors. Second Battalion,—Daniel Roberdeau, colonel; Joseph Reed, lieutenant-colonel; John Cox and John Bayard, majors. Third Battalion,—John Cadwalader, colonel; John Nixon, lieutenant-colonel; Thomas Mifflin and Samuel Meredith, majors. Among the captains were Peter Markoe, of the light horse; James Biddle, Benjamin Loxley, Thomas Proctor, Joseph Moulder, artillery; Joseph Cowperthwait, the Quaker Blues; Richard Peters, Tench Francis, William Bradford, Lambert Cadwalader, the Greens; with John Shee, John Wilcocks, — Morgan, — Little, — Willing, — Humphreys, — Furman, and Francis Gurney.¹

In June, according to the *Packet* of the 6th, the three battalions, mustering fifteen hundred men, with the artillery company of one hundred and fifty men and six guns (two twelve-pounders and four brass six-pounders), the troop of light horse, and several companies of light infantry, rangers, and riflemen, "in the whole about two thousand men," marched to the commons and drilled, march, brigade evolutions, manual exercisings, firing and manœuvring "with a dexterity scarcely to have been expected from such short practice, in the presence of the honorable members of the Continental Congress and several thousand spectators."

Silas Deane, in a letter to his wife dated June 3d, gives a description of the Philadelphia troops and their appearance at this time. He mentions that there were about thirty companies of them uniformed, out morning and evening at their military exercises, well armed, and making rapid progress in knowledge of their evolutions. "The uniform," he says,—

¹ The Blues and the Greens were companies organized and under drill before the Lexington conflict. Graydon, in his "Memoirs," says of the Quakers that "notwithstanding their endeavors to keep aloof from the contest, a good number of their young men swerved from their tenets, and, affecting cockades and uniforms, openly avowed themselves fighting men. They went so far as to form a company of light infantry, under the command of Mr. Copperthwaite, which was called the *Quaker Blues*, and instituted in a spirit of competition with the *Greens*, or, as they were sneeringly styled, *the silk stocking company*, commanded by Mr. John Cadwalader, and which, having early associated, had already acquired celebrity." Joseph Cowperthwait (the correct name) was sheriff at the time he raised this company; John Cadwalader became afterwards colonel of the Third Battalion, then brigadier and commander of Pennsylvania militia; commanded a division at Trenton, fought as a volunteer at Princeton, Monmouth, Brandywine, and Germantown, and in 1778 was offered by Congress the command of general of cavalry. Graydon, in reference to the "Greens," says their feathers were so fine that Mifflin called them aristocrats. They were seventy in number, drilled twice a day, and usually in Cadwalader's yard, he having the kindness to set out his Madeira for the men to refresh themselves on after drill.

"is worth describing to you. It is a dark-brown (like our homespun coat), faced with red, white, yellow, or buff, according to their different battalions, white vest and breeches, white stockings, half-boots, and black knee-garters. The coat is made short, falling but little below the waistband of the breeches, which shows the size of a man to great advantage. Their hats are small (as Jessie's little one, almost), with a red, white, or black ribbon, according to their battalions, closing in a rose, out of which rises a tuft of fur of deer (made to resemble the buck's tail as much as possible) six or eight inches high. Their cartouch-boxes are large, with the word *LIBERTY* and the number of their battalion written on the outside in large white letters. Thus equipped they make a most elegant appearance, as their cartouch-boxes are hung with a broad white horse-leather strap or belt, and their bayonets, etc., on the other side, with the same, which two, crossing on the shoulders diamond-fashion, gives an agreeable appearance viewed in the rear. The light infantry are in green, faced with buff; vests, etc., as the others, except the cap, which is a hunter's cap, or a jockey's. These are, without exception, the genteeldest companies I ever saw. They have, besides, a body of irregulars, or riflemen, whose dress it is hard to describe. They take a piece of Ticklenbergh, or tow-cloth, that is stout, and put it in a tan-vat until it has the shade of a fallen or dry leaf. Then they make a kind of frock of it, reaching down below the knee, open before, with a large cape. They wrap it around them tight on a march, and tie it with their belt, in which hang their tomahawk. Their hats are the same as the others. They exercise in the neighboring groves, firing at marks and throwing their tomahawks, forming on a sudden into line, and then, at the word, breaking their order and taking their parts to hit their mark. West of this city is a large open square of nearly two miles each way, with large groves each side, in which, each afternoon, they collect, with a vast number of spectators. They have a body of horse in training, but as yet I have not seen them out."²

² There is not much to add to Mr. Deane's clear and graphic description of the uniforms of the Philadelphia associators. The riflemen's uniform he gives was the dress of the Pennsylvania wagoners; sometimes the frock was made of duck, or Osnaburg, and dyed blue. Morgan's riflemen wore homespun frocks, dyed with butternut. Cressa's men appear to have worn the hunter's regular buckskin frock and leggings with fringe. In the early part of the struggle some local companies, already uniformed, went to the front in their parade dress. Thus, Gist's company from Baltimore wore scarlet coats, and so, perhaps, did some of the Virginians. Thompson Westcott, in an article on Revolutionary uniforms in the "Historical Magazine," vol. iv. p. 353, speaks of the erroneous ideas existing in regard to the colors and materials of the uniforms of the Continental troops during the Revolution. "The popular notion is, that the regular colors were blue and buff. Such undoubtedly were the colors of the commander-in-chief and his staff, but the rank and file rarely wore these colors. The prevailing uniforms were brown, mixed up with red or white; and green, with like trimmings." Mr. Westcott says, "I have compiled descriptions of the uniforms of various regiments during the Revolutionary war, as they were advertised in the notices of deserters published in Philadelphia newspapers." The Pennsylvania uniforms, as collected by Mr. Westcott, are as follows:

1776.—Col. John Shee's Third Battalion, associators of Philadelphia: brown regimental coats, white facings, pewter buttons, with "No. 3" upon them; white laced hat, bound with white tape, buckskin breeches.

Pennsylvania musketeers, Col. Perry: blue coats, faced with red, white jackets, buckskin breeches, white stockings, and shoes.

Capt. Josias Harmer's company, First Pennsylvania Battalion: brown coats, faced with buff, swanskin jackets.

Capt. Vernon's Chester County company (Fourth Battalion, Col. Anthony Wayne): dark blue coats faced with white.

Capt. Persifer Fraser's company, Fourth Battalion: brown coat, blue silk facings.

Col. Green's Second Battalion of Rifles (Capt. Cowperthwaite's Lancaster company): green frock and trowsers.

Capt. Jacob Humphrey's company, First Battalion, Pennsylvania Flying Camp: dark hunting-shirt.

First Battalion, Cumberland County: hunting-shirt and leggings.

Capt. Thomas Holme, First Philadelphia County Battalion, Flying Camp, Col. John Moore: brown coat, faced with red, leather breeches, yarn stockings.

Col. Penrose's battalion: short brown coat, of a reddish cast, turned up with red.

Capt. Murray's company of rifles: light-colored hunting-shirt, with fringes.

The troops were reviewed by Gen. Washington on June 20th, and next day he set out for Boston, escorted across New Jersey by the cavalry troop. On June 23d the associators were preached to by Rev. Dr. Smith. They sent in at the same time a petition

Col. Irwin's battalion: blue coats, turned up with red.

Capt. Isaac Farnsworth's company, Flying Camp: blue hunting-shirt. Capt. Robert's company of rifles, Second Battalion, Col. Hart: yellowish hunting-shirt.

Capt. Hazlett's company, Col. John Moore's battalion, Flying Camp: brown coat, faced with green, red woven breeches, white jacket, stockings, round hat.

Capt. Andrew's company, Col. Samuel Mill's rifle regiment: black hunting-shirts.

1777, January.—First Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. De Haas: blue coats, faced with white, "I P. B." on buttons.

March.—Pennsylvania armed boats: brown coats, faced with green, letters "I P. B." on buttons, cocked hats.

Second Pennsylvania Battalion: brown coats, faced with green.

Second Regiment, Col. Irvine's: blue coat, scarlet facings, blue waistcoat, regimental hat.

January.—Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Najet: brown coats, turned up with red, buckskin breeches.

Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion: blue coat, faced with white, buckskin breeches, blue yarn stockings.

March.—Thirtieth Pennsylvania Regiment: brown coat, faced with buff, light-colored cloth breeches, coarse, white woolen stockings, old wool hat.

Capt. David Woolper's company, German regiment: white hunting-frock and breeches, striped leggings.

April.—Capt. James Wilson's company, First Pennsylvania Battalion: light-colored coat, with red facings.

April.—Col. Humphrey's Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment: light infantry caps, blue coats, with scarlet capes and cuffs, white woolen waistcoats, new buckskin breeches.

July.—First Battalion Pennsylvania Regulars: brown coats, faced with green.

August.—Col. Walter Stewart's regiment: blue coats, turned up with red, white metal buttons, with "S. P. R." on them.

1778, May.—First Pennsylvania Regiment: black coats, turned up with white.

Capt. James Wilson's company, same battalion: brown coats, turned up with buff.

August.—Col. Hartley's Pennsylvania regiment: blue uniform coats, faced with yellow, grenadier's light infantry caps.

August.—Col. Richard Butler's Ninth Pennsylvania: brown uniform coat, faced with red, red cuffs and red cape, new cocked hats, white looping.

October.—Col. Thomas Proctor's artillery: blue coat, buff and white facings.

1779.—Col. Benjamin Flowers' First Company Artillery: black coat, faced with red, brown jackets, white buttons, letters "U. S. A." on them, buckskin breeches, white stockings and felt hat.

February.—Gen. Wayne's division: blue regimental coats, lined with white, ruffled shirts, red fannel leggings, and "a sort of cap dressed up with fur."

May.—Third Pennsylvania Regiment: blue coats, turned up with red, white cloth jacket and breeches, old hat, and Continental shirt.

Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment: long blue uniform coats, faced with buff, small round jackets.

Invalid Regiment, Philadelphia, Col. Lewis Nicola: brown coats, faced with green.

1779.—"As black and red have been pitched upon for that of the American Continental army, it is unreasonable for him (Col. Proctor) to make objection to it."—*Washington to President Reed*, April 5, 1779, vii. "Pa. Archives," 293.

1780.—Col. Hubley's Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment: blue regimental coat, faced with red, and buff edging, round hat, and black feathers.

Second Pennsylvania Regiment: blue coats, faced with scarlet, round hat, black fettering.

1782.—First Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. Daniel Brodhead: blue regimental coat, faced with red.

to the Assembly, giving an account of their organization into companies, etc., and asking that provision for their regular pay and subsistence should be made, as well as steps taken for the defense of the waterfront of the city. The Assembly was practically defunct at this time, however, and the Governor and Council, though they continued to meet until December, to look over accounts, appoint civil officers, etc., had really been devoid of executive power during the entire year. Philadelphia at this time was in an anomalous condition. It was under a royal government which did not dare attempt to discharge any of its functions or enforce any of its laws. It was under a municipal government which scarcely ever looked after the routine of watch, lamp, and street-cleaning supervision. It was under a Governor and Council who did nothing except attend to some border affairs, and not even these until the volunteer committees had been consulted, and an Assembly which simply promised to vote to do what it was ordered. A Congress was in session within its limits which had no direct authority except by popular consent, and did not, except by consent, represent either the colonies or the people, and yet was supreme, levied taxes, raised armies, made war, and organized armies. In Philadelphia the only power of the State resided in a large and unwieldy committee, which had been nominated by acclamation at a town meeting, and only represented the mob. Yet it exercised executive and legislative functions at one and the same time, and in the freest manner, and was obeyed cheerfully and implicitly by all, though it made many mistakes from unwieldiness and inexperience.

Order was, however, soon to be evoked out of all this chaos. Benjamin Franklin arrived in Philadelphia from England on the evening of May 5th. He was heartily welcomed by the citizens. The poets sounded his praises in fustian verse; the harassed leaders took him immediately into their counsels. The Assembly was in session, and next morning, as soon as Franklin's arrival was known, the first thing that body did was to elect him delegate to the Continental Congress which was to meet next week. The choice was a wise one,—Franklin was the man for such an emergency. He was practical, matter-of-fact, had immense business capacity, with an intimate knowledge of details and infinite patience to look after them, and he had moreover, unlike many around him, the courage of his opinions. He knew that the die was cast, that reconciliation was impossible, that the only choice was independence or conquest, and he knew that it was every one's duty to set to work to make the best fight he could. He wrote to Dr. Priestly almost as soon as he landed: "The breach is growing wider, and is in danger of growing irreparable." So, while he did not oppose the plan of Jay and Dickinson for sending a second address to the king, he did not look for any important consequences from that address, and took upon himself the responsibility of

elaborating a careful and complete system of defense and government for Pennsylvania, of which he speedily became the head. Franklin's work in Congress and on errands upon which Congress sent him has no rightful place in this narrative, important as it was. But his work in the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania is really the history of the defense of Philadelphia during the first year of the war, from the British without and the lords proprietary within. He took the bull of government by the horns and substituted a compact, energetic committee for the unwieldy Committee of Correspondence. That committee was the creation of the associators, and the associators derived all their functions from a public meeting, called by no one in particular, not representing any power in the State, but only the mob of the city. Franklin, in advance of the general adoption of his scheme by Congress as a good system to recommend to all the colonies, got the Assembly to supersede the Committee of Correspondence and appoint in its stead a Committee of Safety, with discretionary powers, which, in a case of emergency, became virtually dictatorial. This new committee thus had an authoritative and responsible existence. It was appointed by the proper legislative body in the regular manner. The first thing the Committee of Safety did was to resolve, "that this House approves the Association entered into by the good People of this colony for the Defence of their Lives, Liberties, and Property." Thus the acts of the Committee of Correspondence were duly legalized, and the Committee of Safety could take up their work and go on with it.

That work had been not badly done so far. The committee had grasped their unexpected civil functions with firm hands. They had ordered exportations to Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Georgia—colonies not in the Congress—to be suspended, and had rigidly excluded imports. Blair McClenachan, the largest importer in the city, except Robert Morris, had been summoned before them, to explain a consignment of linen goods. When he had explained he was exonerated, but his captain was denounced as guilty of infamous conduct, and published as an enemy to his country. The committee followed up every suspected or mistrusted person in the community very closely. They were so curious about Joseph Galloway's incomings and outgoings at his place of retirement, his seat of Trevoze, that he was constrained to come out with a card "to the public," to deny the "false reports industriously propagated" against him, declare that he was "incapable of entertaining a thought inimical to the country where all I hold dear and valuable is fixed, and where I am determined to spend the remainder of my life," and to deny categorically that he had any correspondence, direct or indirect, with the British authorities or ministry.

But the associators wanted money, the Committee of Correspondence had none to give them, and this

was the lever with which Franklin worked. The Assembly had already been petitioned by citizens and associators to appropriate fifty thousand pounds to put the province in a state of defense, and the Committee of Correspondence wanted two thousand pounds for their immediate necessities. That was granted when the associators, who had an organization in each ward of the city and every township in the counties, asked to have these companies put upon a regular militia footing, mustered in and given a pay-roll. They also demanded extensive defensive arrangements and the appointment of a new committee with discretionary powers. Joseph Reed signed these resolutions as chairman of a sub-committee of the Committee of Correspondence. George Gray, chairman of another sub-committee, presented them. On the 30th of June the Assembly passed the series of resolutions which lodged the power of the State in the hands of a Committee of Safety. These sanctioned the work done by the association; authorized the Committee of Safety in case of invasion, or danger of it, from ships or armies, to employ the associators in actual service, the House providing for the pay and necessary expenses of such service, such pay not to exceed that given by Congress to the Continental forces. The House called on the city and counties to provide arms and equipments in quantities proportioned to their resources; to organize, arm, and equip minute-men, and it resolved that effective measures should be taken to provide Philadelphia with defenses against a naval attack. It offered twenty pounds per hundred weight for good merchantable saltpetre made within the province within three months. "Resolved, that John Dickinson, George Gray, Henry Wynkoop, Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Bartholomew, George Ross, Michael Swope, John Montgomery, Edward Biddle, William Edmunds, Bernard Dougherty, Samuel Hunter, William Thompson, Thomas Willing, Benjamin Franklin, Daniel Roberdeau, John Cadwalader, Andrew Allen, Owen Biddle, Francis Johnston, Richard Reilley, Samuel Morris, Jr., Robert Morris, Thomas Wharton, Jr., and Robert White, be a Committee of Safety for calling forth such and so many of the associators into Actual Service when Necessity requires, as the said Committee shall judge proper. For paying and supplying them with Necessaries while in Actual Service. For providing for the Defence of this Province against insurrection and invasion; and for encouraging and promoting the manufacture of Salt Petre; which said Committee are hereby authorized and empowered to draw orders on the Treasurer, herein appointed, for the several purposes above mentioned." Seven of the committee were to be a quorum; thirty-five thousand pounds in bills of credit were to be issued under the direction of George Gray, William Rodman, Joseph Parker, and Isaac Pearson, committee, with Sharpe Dulany, Lambert Cadwalader, Isaac Howell, James Mease, Adam Hubley, John

Benezet, Samuel Cadwalader Morris, Thomas Prior, Godfrey Twells, John Mease, John Purviance, and William Allen, "or any three of them" for signers; said bills to be delivered to Michael Hillegas, made treasurer, who is to give bond in ten thousand pounds, and to pay the drafts of the Committee of Safety out of them. These bills were to be liquidated by a tax on all estates, real and personal, in the province.

The Committee of Safety met July 3d, and Franklin was unanimously chosen president, William Govett, clerk. It proceeded to business with the utmost energy, meeting every morning (except Sunday) at six o'clock, so that its sessions might not interfere with those of Congress. It looked after more arms and ammunition, appointed inspectors for such as were in hand, sent for the tax commissioners and assessors, went down to Red Bank with a committee of engineers to select a site for a fort, appointed a committee on boats and machines for river defense, bought all sorts of military materials, from flint brushes up to pine-logs for the *chevaux-de-frise*, looked after medicines, hospitals, military prisons, etc., and set up manufactures, in several places, of fire-arms, cannon, gunpowder, shot, cannon-balls, etc.,—seeking out every activity and energy in the province, to enlist them in the service of the public defense. Franklin's hand is apparent throughout all these various operations. He was a master of detailed work.

Such a controlling hand and cool, sagacious head were needed, for there were a thousand things to do, and very little time to do them in. The general committee had much aid from the local committees, which remained in existence for local executive purposes, and to which new members were elected August 16th, but the business of completing an effective organization made severe demands upon the time of all. The Committee of Safety had two sessions every day, and the local committee sat every day. There were so many things to be looked after, and so many points to guard. Two prisoners, John McAllister and Andrew Stuart, were in jail, under sentence of death, for counterfeiting. In June their friends and confederates, a gang of twenty-five persons, attempted to break into the jail and rescue them. As the door could not be broken down, the desperate ruffians forced their way into the cellar, and, finally, baffled there, set fire to the buildings. The magistrates and citizens hastened to the rescue, the flames were extinguished, and some of the conspirators taken. But this riot warned the committee to have a guard stationed at the jail, in spite of whom, however, McAllister contrived to escape, while Stuart coolly walked out of the prison in the daytime, profiting by the presence of the clergyman who had come to pray with and prepare him for execution. In the latter part of the same month the committee detected the ship "Albion," of Liverpool, in an attempt to discharge a cargo of salt, for the account of Henry Cour and Nicholas Ashton. These Liverpool mer-

chants were forthwith published as enemies of America, and their salt sent back to them. A few weeks later, and it would have been confiscated, as a matter of course.

The Committee of Safety made the utmost efforts at once to procure arms, ammunition, muskets, bayonets, gunpowder, and saltpetre. During the first year of the war these articles, and particularly gunpowder, were perilously scarce, not only in every colony, but at the front. Seven or eight times Washington's army at Boston had not more than twenty rounds of ball cartridges apiece, and no cannon-powder.

The defense of the river front was a subject of as anxious concern as that of arms, and many expedients were practiced until more elaborate devices could be contrived. Franklin, who, for all his shrewdness, was not without his "old granny" notions, recommended the manufacture of a pike to arm the militia with in lieu of muskets and bayonets, just as, a year later, he wrote a serious letter to Gen. Charles Lee advocating the regular employment by the army of bows and arrows.¹ The pike was used to some extent on board the improvised Delaware flotilla, and, as its bearers never encountered any enemy, its merits were never tested. Besides the pikes, and the fort on Mud Island, a boom was prepared for the river, and John Wharton built a sort of gun-boat, which he called a "Calevat"; Emanuel Eyre another gun-boat, which was named the "Bulldog." It was determined, instead of using a boom, to obstruct the river with a *chevaux-de-frise* of logs. At the same time a fleet of gun-boats was ordered and built with remarkable expedition by the shipwrights. Eyre had the "Bulldog" afloat and in service in sixteen days, and Wharton's "Experiment" was launched soon after. By the middle of September the committee had a fleet of thirteen gun-boats—of the gondola or galley sort—in service. This navy, which was under command of the Committee of Safety, had Dr. Benjamin Rush for its fleet surgeon; Dr. Duffield, assistant; John Ross, mustermaster; John Maxwell Nesbitt, paymaster; Capt. Peter Syng, ship's-husband. The boats cost five hundred and fifty pounds each, or seven thousand one hundred and fifty pounds for the fleet. They were propelled by sweeps, or oars, like regular galleys, and each was manned by fifty-three men, besides officers, and carried two howitzers, besides swivels, muskets, and pikes. The vessels were named, officered, and built as follows:

Name of Boat.	Builder.	Captain.	Lieutenant.
Bulldog.	Emanuel Eyre.	A. Henderson.	John Webb.
Franklin.	Emanuel Eyre.	Nich. Biddle.	Thos. Houston.
Congress.	Emanuel Eyre.	J. Hamilton.	H. Montgomery.
Experiment.	John Wharton.	Allen Moore.	Benj. Thompson.
Washington.	John Wharton.	—Doughterty.	Nathan Boys.
Effingham.	Carroup & Fullerton.	Allen Moore.	John Hennessey.
Ranger.	Samuel Robbins.	J. Montgomery.	Gibbs Jones.
Chatham.	—	C. Alexander.	Robert Pomeroy.
Dickinson.	John Rice.	John Rice.	James Allen.

¹ Sparks, "Franklin's Life and Works," vol. viii. 167.

<i>Name of Boat.</i>	<i>Builder.</i>	<i>Captain.</i>	<i>Lieutenant.</i>
Burke.	Warnock Coates.	James Blair.	John Chatham.
Camden.	— Sherlock.	Richard Eyres.	George Garland.
Warren.	— Marsh.	Saml. Davidson.	Jer. Simmons.
Hancock.	William Williams.	John Moulder.	David Ford.

The fleet, however, according to Silas Deane, cost the province at the rate of £100,000 per annum, and this was scarcely recouped to the Committee of Safety, either in prizes or in security against the enemy.

The Committee of Safety dealt still more severely and sternly than the Committee of Correspondence had done with cases of disaffected persons or those suspected of being dangerous to the patriot cause. The popular side no longer tolerated discussion. Those who were not for it were counted enemies and were watched, and liable to be violently suppressed upon the slightest provocation. Major Skene, of the British army, ventured to show himself in Philadelphia not long after Bunker Hill. He had come out to take command of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and raise a regiment of loyal Americans. He was a veteran soldier of the old school, had served in Flanders, at Carthage and Porto Bello; at Culloden and Martinique and Havana; under Cumberland, Wentworth, and Amherst; was a loyal and jovial three-bottle man. He heard, *en route*, of the capture of Ticonderoga, tried to slip into Philadelphia unnoticed, and was arrested and put under guard.¹ Skene was exchanged as a prisoner of war, but Tories to the manner born were compelled to recant their errors and confess. Amos Wickersham, for instance, made his written confession (which was published) that he had acted extremely wrong, for which he begged pardon, in making use of rash and impudent expressions with respect to the conduct of his fellow-citizens "who are now engaged in a noble and patriotic struggle against the arbitrary measures of the British ministry"; Mordecai Levy was forced to declare in the same way that his disrespectful speeches about Congress proceeded from "the most contracted notions of the British constitution and the rights of human nature." Better instructed, he asked pardon in the presence of a large crowd in the college yard. Christopher Marshall calls him "the Dutch butcher." John Bergum confessed himself very much to blame for having made use of expressions derogatory to the liberties of the country, and promised to do better in the future. Jabez Maud Fisher was brought before the people at the Coffee-House and made to tell the name of the person who wrote him a letter containing Tory sentiments; and Thomas Loosley was "exalted as a spectacle" at the same place, and made to beg pardon for having vilified Congress. There is a certain grim humor in these punishments which all must have enjoyed except the victims.

The Committee of Safety placed upon its minutes the regulations adopted by the Continental Congress on July 18th for the enrollment of the militia, all able-bodied, effective men between sixteen and sixty being recommended immediately to form themselves into regular companies of militia, consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, one clerk, one drummer, one fifer, and about sixty-eight privates (eighty-three rank and file); each company to choose its officers; each soldier to be furnished with a musket carrying an ounce ball, bayonet, steel ramrod, worm, priming-wire with brush, cutting-sword or tomahawk, a cartridge-box with a capacity of twenty-three cartridges, twelve flints, and a knapsack. The companies to be formed into regiments or battalions, and all officers above the rank of captain to be appointed by the Provincial Assembly or convention, or (in their recess) by the Committees of Safety appointed by said Assemblies. The militia to be well drilled and supplied, each man, with a pound of powder and four pounds of ball; one-fourth the militia in each colony to serve as minute-men, always ready for a special call to service; people whose religious scruples forbid them to bear arms are recommended "to contribute liberally, in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren;" Assemblies to collect stores of ammunition and provide arms; colonies to appoint Committees of Safety and provide coastwise defenses at their own cost. These regulations the Committee of Safety undertook to carry into effect.

They "borrowed" three thousand five hundred pounds from the treasurer of the port-wardens, Peter Reeve. They appointed Franklin, Andrew Allen, Cols. Cadwalader, Wayne, Ross, and Roberdeau, and Maj. Johnston a committee to draw up new rules and regulations for the associators, who had become rather unmanageable. These rules, adopted August 19th, were avowedly framed to promote "just regularity, due subordination, and exact obedience to command." Under them officers were fined five shillings, and privates and non-commissioned officers one shilling, for swearing when on duty, disobedience of orders to be punished by regimental courts-martial. And the same provision was made against officers or soldiers creating any disturbance, drawing on or striking a superior officer, or any person on duty, or using insolent and indecent language, and various injuries entitled officers or soldiers to a court-martial. The duty of regular parade was not to be neglected, on penalty of court-martial, drunkenness on duty punished with fine or censure, at the discretion of a court-martial, and various other penalties were denounced against several offenses of different classes, the conviction to be by court-martial, either general (thirteen members) or regimental (seven members), and a two-thirds vote was necessary to inflict penalties. No penalty could be inflicted at the discretion of a court-martial other than degrading, cashiering, or fining,

¹ Graydon met him, after being captured himself with the garrison of Fort Washington, and received some civilities from him. He was a soldier of fortune perhaps above the average of such gentry,—very loyal himself, he yet did not seem to regard it as a crime in the Americans to take up arms in defense of their liberties.

the fines for officers not to exceed three pounds, and privates twelve shillings, for a single fault, these fines to be used for relief of sick and wounded.

The Committee of Safety was so successful in collecting, and afterwards in manufacturing gunpowder, that it was able to lend some to the Continental army, to New York, and to New Jersey. Lead was very scarce, so that the leaden weights in the standing clocks of Germantown were finally appropriated. A premium was offered for saltpetre, and instructions published in regard to the methods of manufacturing it from offal, manure, tobacco, etc. The Committee of Correspondence appointed Owen Biddle, George Clymer, John Allen, James Mease, Lambert Cadwalader, and Benjamin Rush a committee to superintend a public saltpetre factory set up in a house on Market Street. Thomas Paine made many experiments towards improving and facilitating the nitre manufacture, and so did many other individuals in a private way,—William Brown, Front Street, Southwark; Capt. William Davis, Front Street; Andrew Porter, Union Street; Jonathan Gostelowe, Hugh Howell, Market Street; Charles Pryer, Union Street; James Sutton, Strawberry Street; William Maris, Water Street; and Master Samuel Bryan, aged thirteen years, who made half a pound of saltpetre. Blair McClenachan, the prominent merchant, was very successful in his attempt to produce nitre.

The new jail, Walnut and Sixth Streets, was turned into a powder magazine and kept under regular guard, but a new powder-house was established and the powder moved into it in August, under charge of Robert Towers, general agent for military stores. The Committee of Safety adopted a seal, "about the size of a Dollar, with a Cap of Liberty, and a motto: *This is my right and I will defend it*, inscribed with Pennsylvania, Committee of Safety, 1775." The pay of the crews of the armed boats was fixed at thirty dollars a month for the commodore, twenty dollars for captain, twenty dollars for lieutenant; surgeon, twenty dollars; surgeon's-mate, twelve dollars; gunner, twelve dollars; boatswain, eight dollars; cook, six dollars; privates, six dollars; boys, four dollars. The weekly ration was as follows:

Seven pounds bread or six pounds flour; ten pounds beef, mutton, or pork; sixpence worth of roots or vegetables; salt and vinegar; three and a half pints of rum, or beer in proportion. Clement Biddle was awarded the contract for furnishing this ration, at ten and a half pence per ration per diem.

A permanent lookout scout was stationed at Lewes, and pilots were warned not to bring any British armed vessels up the bay. By October 1st the Committee of Safety had spent £87,237 8s. 3d, and so reported to the Assembly. Of this £20,300 was in remittances to Europe for arms, ammunition, and medicine; £8200, spent at home for same purposes; galleys, £7150; *chevaux-de-frise*, £1700; arms, etc., bought or ordered, about £26,000; pay-roll, £8000; freights, £4000; con-

tingent credits for arms, £10,000. What had been accomplished was summed up in one of Joseph Reed's letters to Washington: "Our coast is yet clear; we are casting cannon; and there is more saltpetre made here than in all the provinces put together. Six powder-mills are erecting in different parts. The two near this city deliver two thousand five hundred pounds per week."

Congress now called on Pennsylvania for a battalion of Continental troops, and passed an order directing Committees of Safety to detain and prevent the departure of all persons likely to do injury to the patriot cause. The battalion, recruited mainly in Philadelphia and Chester Counties, was officered as follows: John Bull, colonel; James Irvine, lieutenant-colonel; Anthony James Morris, major; William Allen, Jr., Jonathan Jones, William Williams, Josiah Harmar, Marion LaMar, Thomas Dorsey, William Jenkins, Austin Willett, captains; Benjamin Davis, Samuel Watson, Jacob Ashmead, Peter Hughes, Adam Hubley, John Reece, Frederick Blankenbury, Richard Stanley, lieutenants; Philip Clumberg, Roger Steiner, Jacob Ziegler, George Jenkins, Christian Staddle, Thomas Rogerson, William Moore, Amos Wilkinson, ensigns.

The order of arrest of persons not recognizing the authority of Congress put a stop to an anomalous condition of affairs, such as that of besieging the king's troops in Boston and petitioning the king by order of Congress in Philadelphia; capturing British soldiers at Ticonderoga and provisioning the British man-of-war "Nautilus" in the Delaware. A good many British officers who came in by accident, like Skene, Etherington, and others, were released on parole, and there was a great deal of illicit intercourse between the opposing forces. In August, George Schlosser, a committeeman, had stopped William Conn, an avowed Tory, and taken from him some forbidden goods. Conn replevied the goods by advice of his counsel, Isaac Hunt, who was forthwith summoned before the Committee of Inspection. He was arrogant and impudent, refused to discontinue the suit or apologize, and the associators, angry and impatient, determined to make an example of him. He was seized, put in a cart, and drawn through the streets, a drum and fife playing the "Rogue's March" before him. With tact and prudence Hunt made his apologies, asked pardon, and put himself under the protection of the associators. The procession stopped in front of the house of Dr. John Kearsley, Jr., a good citizen, but bad tempered and a furious loyalist. Frantic with rage at the spectacle before him, he hoisted a window, drew a pistol, and snapped it at the crowd. He was at once seized, disarmed, and, resisting, was wounded by a bayonet in the hand. Hunt was sent safely home, and the mad doctor mounted on the cart in his stead, and made part of the spectacle. Graydon graphically describes his arrival in front of the City Tavern, and how, having

refused to beg pardon, "foaming with rage and indignation, without his hat, his hair disheveled and bloody from his wounded hand, the doctor stood up in the cart and called for a bowl of punch. It was quickly handed to him, when, so vehement was his thirst, that he drained it of its contents before he took it from his lips." Kearsley would not yield; the associators would not permit him to be tarred and feathered, and he was finally let go, to return to his house, where the mob had broken the windows and done other damage.

Hunt left the country a confirmed Tory, and was the father of Leigh Hunt, the poet and critic. Kearsley wrote an account of his wrongs to England, but the letters, carried by one Christopher Carter, were intercepted with others, and the consequence was that Dr. Kearsley, Leonard Snowden, and James Brooks were arrested and confined in the State-House under guard. They were tried by the Committee of Safety, and condemned as enemies. Kearsley was sent to York as a prisoner, and died there during the war; Brooks was confined in Lancaster, and Snowden and Carter were discharged.

The river was obstructed after September 9th with the *chevaux-de-frise*, about forty vessels being allowed to pass out before the last day of grace. A narrow, intricate channel only was left, the secret of which lay with two trusty pilots, who were in the pay of the State, and whose duty it was to bring up vessels with stores and ammunition, privateers, and other authorized craft. The buoys had all been removed from the Delaware, and pilots were ordered to lay up their boats except when on special service. To prevent the enemy from coming up, fire-rafts were built and a floating battery was constructed. In spite of the exemptions in their favor made by Congress, the Quakers, Mennonists, and Dunkards or German Baptists objected to the general order of the enrollment of the militia, and the former society memorialized the Assembly on the subject, taking ground upon the charter, which secured to them, they claimed, a particular immunity. The Dunkards and Mennonists also sent in their memorials declining both to bear arms and be taxed, at least until it was decided who was the rightful Caesar to whom they should yield tribute.

These petitions were the signal for active hostilities on the part of the patriots. The Committee of Correspondence directed Thomas McKean, George Clymer, Jonathan B. Smith, Benjamin Jones, Sharpe Delany, John Wilcox, and Timothy Matlack to prepare them a remonstrance, armed with which the committee, sixty-two in number, marched two by two to the State-House. The remonstrance thus presented denounced the Quaker address as having an aspect unfriendly to the liberties of America and destructive of all society and government. "These gentlemen," the remonstrance said, "want to withdraw their persons and their fortunes from the service of the country at a time when their country

stands most in need of them. If the patrons and friends of liberty succeed in the present glorious struggle, they and their posterity will enjoy all the benefits to be derived from it equally with those who procured them, without contributing a single penny. If the friends of liberty fail they will risk no forfeitures, but be entitled by their behavior to protection and countenance from the British ministry, and will probably be promoted to office. This they seem to desire and expect." The privates and officers of the association supported the remonstrance with addresses of their own, expressed in vigorous terms, and denouncing leniency to the lukewarm as a fatal mischief. The Assembly could not resist the pressure of public opinion, and in November passed resolutions converting the associators into a regular militia, making defensive service compulsory, and taxing all non-associators £2 10s. above the regular assessment.

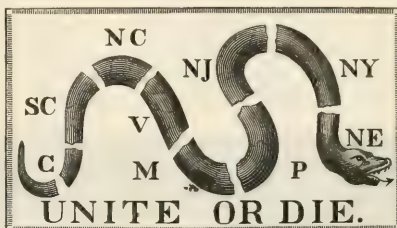
Washington was at first the commander-in-chief of the Continental army and navy too. At Boston one or two small vessels, acting under his directions, brought several valuable prizes into Plymouth. In October, however, Congress, inspired, it is probable, by the successful example of Pennsylvania, resolved to take measures to establish a Continental marine. Two vessels, one of ten guns, the other of fourteen, were authorized to be equipped as cruisers, and next month two more, of twenty and thirty-six guns respectively, were ordered to be fitted out. The Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, thinking a cruiser needed for their service, bought the ship "Sally," but she was immediately sold again to the naval committee of Congress. She became either the "Alfred" or the "Columbus," one of the two cruisers first sent to sea by Congress, when that body shortly afterwards resolved to build thirteen frigates. Four of them were undertaken in Philadelphia, the "Washington," thirty-two guns; "Randolph," thirty-two; "Effingham," twenty-eight; and "Delaware," twenty-four.

The "Alfred" was commanded by Dudley Saltonstall; the "Columbus," by Abraham Whipple; the brig "Andrew Doria," by Nicholas Biddle; the brig "Cabot," by John B. Hopkins; and the brig "Lexington," by Capt. John Barry. This fleet and all the rest of the Continental navy was put under command of Commodore Esek Hopkins. John Adams, a member of the marine committee of Congress, said that Capt. Hopkins was appointed from Providence, one vessel in the fleet being named for his town, and he was the brother of Governor Hopkins. "Alfred" was in honor of the founder of the British navy, "Columbus" for the discoverer of America, "Cabot" for the discoverer of Newfoundland, and "Andrew Doria" for the great Genoese admiral. Capt. John MacPherson, the old privateersman, who was now living in retirement, and rich, at his seat of Mount Pleasant (first called Clunie), opposite Belmont, besieged Congress for the command given to Esek Hopkins, and declared that it had been promised to him by Randolph,

Hopkins, and Rutledge. This is scarcely probable; though, as he was persistent in lobbying and in dining and winning members, some may have said "Yes," to get rid of him. But he could hardly have had such a promise in October, for in November we find he has been pursuing Washington with the same object in view. On the 8th of that month Washington wrote to Reed from Cambridge, "I have been happy enough to convince Captain MacPherson, as he says, of the propriety of returning to the Congress,—he sets out this day,—and I am happy in his having an opportunity of laying before them a scheme for the destruction of the naval force of Great Britain." MacPherson's "plan" was never accepted, though he proposed to carry it out at his own expense.¹

John Paul Jones was the first lieutenant aboard the "Alfred," under Esek Hopkins, and it is said that his hand was the first to hoist an American flag aboard an American vessel, in Philadelphia, in December, 1775. Capt. Schuyler Hamilton, in his "History of the American Flag," says that this ensign was a rattlesnake coiled upon a yellow ground, with the motto "Don't tread on me." Sherburne ("Life of Paul Jones") says the field consisted of thirteen red and blue stripes, and the rattlesnake was not coiled, but running. Cooper claims a pine-tree, with the snake coiled about its roots. A letter preserved by Force, in the "American Archives," says that the American flag was first hoisted at sea, December 3d, on the "Black Prince." The emblem of the rattlesnake was a colonial thought, often employed before the Revolution, to warn the mother-country that the colonies would resist if the attempt were made to impose on them. It was figuratively used in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* as early as

1751; in 1754 the figure of the severed snake and the motto, "Unite or die," were used to insist upon the necessity of colonial union against the French and Indians, and in 1775 this snake was made the head of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, and the idea of the resemblance between the colonies and the rattlesnake was



often brought up in the newspapers. Paul Jones' flag may have been Franklin's own contrivance. It was fierce enough to suit a half-pirate like Jones.

But Capt. John Barry, of Philadelphia, in the "Lexington," first put to sea on a regularly commissioned national vessel for a regular cruise. This was in December, 1775. The fleet all sailed, but the others were caught and detained in the ice for six weeks, leaving the capes on Feb. 17, 1776. When they sailed, says a contemporary account, it was "under a display of the union flag,—thirteen stripes in the field, emblematic of the thirteen colonies."²

The first prisoners of war confined in Philadelphia were received in October. They had been wrecked on Brigantine Beach, N. J., in the ship "Rebecca and Frances," and were captured by the people of New Jersey. The sailors were English, and besides them there were Capt. Duncan Campbell, Lieut. Symms, two servants, and twenty-one privates, on their way to New York. They were sent to the old prison, Third and Market Streets. Peyton Randolph, late President of Congress, died on October 22d, at the house of Benjamin Randolph, a carpenter, living on Chestnut Street, with whom the Virginia members had their headquarters, and Randolph and Jefferson lodged. The body was taken to Christ Church, where a funeral discourse was preached by Dr. Duché, and it was then carried to the burying-ground at Fifth and Arch Streets, followed by a simple but imposing procession, the associators and rifle and artillery companies taking part, with members of Congress, the Assembly, and the Committees of Safety and Correspondence.

¹ MacPherson was probably supernannated and tiresome. One of his sons, Capt. William, was adjutant in the Sixteenth British Infantry. He offered to resign, and when his regiment came to this country, in 1779, Clinton permitted him to do so, but would not let him sell his commission. He was afterwards made major in the American army and rose to be brigadier-general. Capt. John MacPherson, Jr., an associator, was on the patriot side from the first, went to the front, was a volunteer in the expedition to Canada, and fell by Montgomery's side in the attack upon Quebec,—the first Philadelphian of consequence killed during the war. The night before his death he wrote a letter to his father saying that, should he fall, "I could wish my brother did continue in the service of my country's enemies." MacPherson, Sr., tired of Mount Pleasant during the war, and sold it in 1779 to Benedict Arnold, who deeded it, in an ante-nuptial settlement, to Miss Peggy Shippen, soon afterwards his wife. Capt. MacPherson was an oddity. He invented curious machines, lectured on astronomy, was a ship-broker, editor of a price current, and publisher of the first directory of Philadelphia, probably the most literal book ever published, for whatever answer the captain's canvassers got at the houses where they called, that answer the captain put down, and thus recorded no end of members of the "I won't tell you" family among his I's, and the "What you please" among his W's, to say nothing of "Cross Woman" under C, and empty houses where no answer could be got. In 1786 the captain advertised himself as the inventor of "an elegant cut, which bids defiance to everything but Omnipotence. No bedbug, mosquito, or fly can possibly molest persons who sleep in it." In March, 1792, he notified Congress that he had discovered an infallible method of ascertaining the longitude, and wished to be sent out as envoy to the king of France, "our good ally," to announce the fact. He died Sept. 6, 1792, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard.

² John Barry was born in Tacumshane, Wexford County, Ireland, in 1745, and went to sea very young. He came to Philadelphia at the age of fifteen, and soon rose to the command of a ship, and accumulated wealth. When the war commenced he offered his services to Congress, "abandoning," to use his own language, "the finest ship and the first employ in America." He soon acquired great distinction, and after the foundation of the present United States navy, June 6, 1794, Barry was named as the senior officer, and became the first commodore, in which station he died at Philadelphia, Sept. 13, 1803.

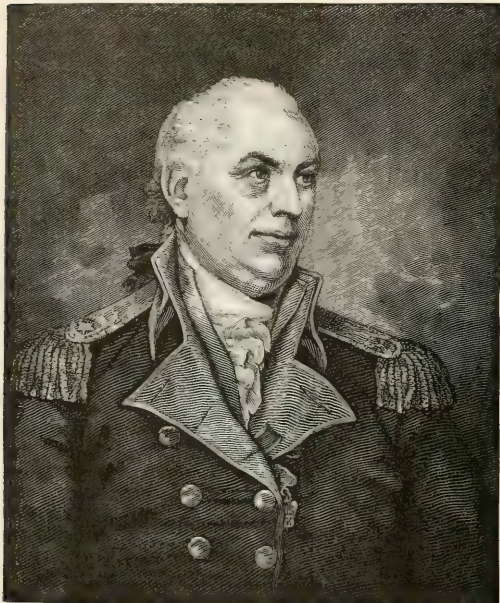
Charles Thomson, Samuel Rhoads, Henry Pawling, and Israel Jacobs were not re-elected to the Assembly this year; the first, because his duties to Congress absorbed all his time; the others, because younger and more active patriots were sought. The Assembly, in re-electing the Committee of Safety, made but few and inconsiderable changes.

In the latter part of November, "Lady Washington" came to Philadelphia on her way to the camp at Cambridge. The general-in-chief had sent an express for her, because the friends of the ministry said

(local committee of correspondence) was urged to act and prevent the expected disturbances. With but one dissenting voice it was agreed, after due deliberation, that no ball should be held in Mrs. Washington's honor, nor any other in the future while the existing troubles continued. A delegation was appointed to notify the managers of the ball of this determination, and to request Mrs. Washington not to attend, at the same time expressing the great regard and affection of the committee for her, and "requesting her to accept of their grateful acknowledgment and respect

due to her upon account of her near connection with our worthy and brave general, now exposed on the field of battle in defense of our rights and liberties." Mrs. Washington received the committee with great politeness, thanked them for their esteem and concern for her welfare, and assured them that the desires of the committee were agreeable to her own sentiments. Two days later she left for Cambridge under an escort of associators.

In January, 1776, the Committee of Inspection detected tea in Philadelphia which had been brought from New York. Notice was given that any more such tea found would be sent back. The committee had been invested with discretionary powers in regard to the admission of such articles for sale and their prices. There was much complaint of engrossing and forestalling, and the committee determined to arrest the efforts of monopolists by establishing an arbitrary scale of prices, —rum, 4s. 6d. per gallon, by the hogshead; molasses, 2s.; coffee, 11d. per pound, by the bag; cocoa, £5 per thousand; chocolate, 10d. per pound; pepper, 5s. per pound, by the quantity; loaf-sugar, 14d. per pound; lump-sugar, 10d. per pound; Muscovado, 6s. per hundredweight; Lisbon salt, 4s. per bushel; Liverpool salt, 5s. per bushel; Jamaica spirits, 5s. 6d. per gallon. Persons violating these prices were to be "exposed by name to public view as sordid vultures," preying on the vitals of the country. Congress, it was



John Baney

that she was loyal and had separated from him in consequence of his treason. She was met at the Schuylkill ferry by the troop of light horse and officers of the other companies and escorted into the city. It was proposed to give her a ball, but, as Congress had recommended the people to abstain from "vain amusements," the Assembly programme met with opposition, and threats were even made to attack the City Tavern if it came off. Samuel Adams was conspicuous in his efforts to prevent the entertainment, he and Harrison, of Virginia, having high words on the subject. The Committee of the City and Liberties

said, when these prices were set, ought to open trade with the countries from which the people had been getting their supplies, and Congress accepted the suggestion by determining that goods might be exported to any country except Great Britain, and imported from every country except Great Britain and the East Indies. The importation of slaves was forbidden. The effect of this was to vacate the powers of the Committee of Inspection and make trade free, as far as regulation of prices was concerned.

In other respects, however, their authority was exercised freely, and published recantations attested

the efficiency of their discipline. In March, Herr Juncken was forced to ask pardon publicly and of his own free-will; in April, William Sitgreaves and Peter Ozeas apologized for asking extortionate prices. All these apologies were couched in the humblest language. Capt. McCutcheon was sent to prison for offering to bribe a pilot to bring the man-of-war "Asia" from the Narrows to the Delaware; Arthur Thomas was mobbed for cursing Congress; Thomas Lightfoot and — Mingo, of Germantown, were compelled to answer before the people for their transgressions; Thomas Rogers (of Elbow Lane), Joseph Sermon (of Second Street), Benjamin Sharpless (tanner), Townsend Speakman (druggist), John Drinker (batter), Thomas Fisher, and Samuel Fisher (of Joshua Fisher & Sons) were "proclaimed enemies to their country, and precluded from all trade or intercourse with the inhabitants," for refusing to take Continental currency.

These offenders were chiefly Quakers, their society being in strong antagonism to the popular cause. The Yearly Meeting issued its "Ancient Testimony" on Jan. 20, 1776, signed by John Pemberton, clerk, a very loyal address, counseling the members of the society not to be shaken in their allegiance, but to unite firmly against every design of independence. Thomas Austin, a member of the Committee of Inspection, became disaffected, was examined before the Committee of Safety, and resigned his seat, while protesting his fidelity to the cause. Joshua Fisher & Son's goods, which had been seized, were sold at auction, and bought by the Committee of Safety. This firm had almost a monopoly of salt, which they imported, and held so high that Congress was compelled to require the Committee of Inspection to set a maximum price.

In January one hundred and five prisoners were transferred from the old prison to the new one, at Walnut and Third Streets. They comprised felons, debtors, prisoners-of-war, and Tories, and six of them broke jail the night after their transfer. Among the Tories was Henry Sylvester Price, locked up for speaking profanely of Congress and wishing the Continental powder-wagons would blow up. Dr. John Smith, the notorious Dr. Connolly (Lord Dunmore's agent), Allen Cameron, Gen. Donald McDonald, chief of the North Carolina Tories, Col. Allen McDonald, and twenty-five more of their set, Col. Moses Kirkland, a South Carolina Tory, captured at sea by Washington's privateersman Capt. Manley, and the British Gen. Prescott, removed from the City Tavern and kept close prisoner in jail on account of the ill treatment bestowed on Ethen Allen and other Continental soldiers captives in Canada. The hardships endured by these captives in the Philadelphia jail were palliated by the assistance they received from the "Society for the Relief of Distressed Prisoners," which systematized relief and gathered up contributions of food and other articles for their comfort.

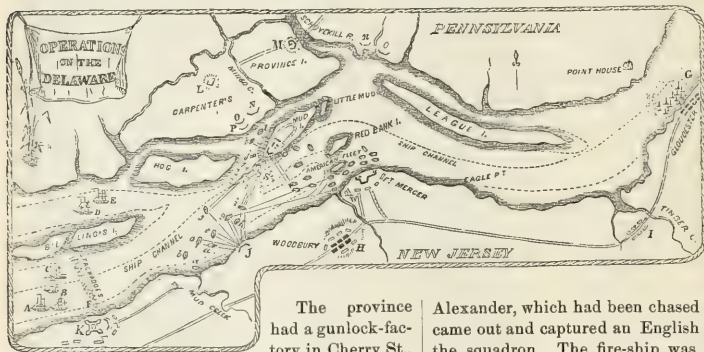
In February, 1776, Congress directed a solemn commemoration of the death of Gen. Montgomery at the State-House and the German Calvinist Church, where a discourse on the death of the brilliant young soldier was pronounced by Rev. Dr. William Smith before the members of Congress, the Assembly, mayor and corporation, City Committees, associators, and military. The address was so unpopular — John Adams styled it "an insolent performance" — that Congress refused to publish it.

Governor Ward, a delegate in Congress from Carolina, died at this time of smallpox, and was buried in the Baptist churchyard.

May 17th was kept as a fast day by direction of Congress. The Quakers did not close their stores, but the committees issued handbills forbidding the people to molest them. There was a petition presented to the Assembly in April in favor of liberating negro slaves. The Society for Promoting American Manufactures applied to the Assembly for aid, having seven hundred spinners, weavers, and bleachers in their employment. Their efforts were obstructed by the high price of flax, and they asked the Assembly to introduce a system of bounties "on the Dublin plan." A new labor-saving spinning-wheel was also recommended to favor, and the Assembly made some provision for its introduction and more extensive use. The House also granted small bounties to John Marshall, a thread-maker, for a twisting- and throwing-mill, and also to Christopher Tally and Joseph Hague. A proposition to manufacture salt at the sea-shore was made by Thomas Savage, if the Assembly would give him an advance of twelve hundred pounds to set up his vats and machinery, and a manufactory for paper-hangings and playing-cards was at this time started by Edward Ryves, paper-stainer, in Pine Street.

The Committee of Safety was burdened with a throng of multifarious and arduous duties at this period, and their minutes, as they appear in the "Colonial Records," are a curiosity. There were military, naval, civil, and executive duties of the highest importance all devolving on the committee at once. Ammunition and arms were still deficient in supply and far below the urgent demands for them. The Secret Committee of Congress bargained in January to pay Oswald Eve and George Loesch to manufacture gunpowder for them at eight dollars per hundredweight, Congress supplying the nitre. The committee not only distributed directions for making saltpetre by means of handbills, but also appointed Henry Deringer and Marshall Edwards to instruct the citizens of Philadelphia in the process, and offered to make advances of one hundred and fifty pounds each to persons establishing powder-mills within fifty miles of the city, supplying the saltpetre likewise. The mills proposed to be erected in consequence of this bounty were two by George Loesch, one by Dr. Robert Harris, one by Henry Huber, one by John Flack,

one by Thomas Heinberger, one by William Thompson, and one by Dr. Van Leer. The mills of Harris, Huber, Loesch, and Heinberger went into operation. The Assembly provided a public powder-mill besides, and Congress erected a Continental powder-mill on French Creek, in Chester County. Numerous attempts were made at the same time to secure supplies of sulphur from native sources. The Committee of Safety, acting on the suggestion of Louis Nicola, had a new powder-magazine built in April, with a capacity of one thousand barrels. The builders were Isaac Coats and William Melcher, and the site was west side of Fourth Street, opposite the barracks. The furnaces of Morgan Busted, Benjamin Loxley, Samuel Potts, Thomas Rutter, that of James Old, at Reading, and the Warwick and Hibernia furnaces in New Jersey were engaged to manufacture cannon. It was a long while, however, before these experiments in casting succeeded, and Congress lent guns to Pennsylvania.



The province had a gunlock-factory in Cherry St., near Third, superintended by Maj. Meredith; Capt. Wilcocks, Capt. Peters, and Peter De Haven, and Joshua Tomlinson were paid fifty pounds to set up a mill for boring gun-barrels and making the process public. In May people were requested to bring in all the lead they had to Commissary Towers, who was authorized to pay sixpence a pound for it.

The Committee of Safety had a survey made of the Delaware, with a view to its more extensive fortification. Leave was obtained from New Jersey to construct works on that side of the river; a permanent fort was determined upon at Billingsport; the fort at Fort Island was hurried to completion, and it was decided to fortify Liberty Island, the work being undertaken by Robert Allison and George Worrell. A boom was stretched between two piers, and additions made to the *chevaux-de-frise* by Arthur Donaldson, John Cobourn, and John Rice. To the naval flotilla were added the floating-battery "Arnold," the ship-of-war "Montgomery," the fire-ship "Ætna," and some guard-boats for Philadelphia harbor.

This force soon had a chance to show its mettle. On May 6th, news came by express from Fort Penn that two war-ships, a schooner, and three tenders were coming up the river. The Committee of Safety ordered the gun-boat flotilla, and the "Montgomery" and "Ætna," under command of Commodore Andrew Caldwell and Capt. James Reed, to attack the enemy. His vessels were the frigate "Roebuck," forty-eight, Capt. Hammond, the sloop-of-war "Liverpool," twenty-eight, Capt. Bellew, and their tenders. Capt. Procter, in command of the fort at Fort Island, volunteered for the fight with one hundred of his men, and served on board the "Hornet." The "Montgomery," the Continental ship "Reprisal," Capt. Wickes, and the battery "Arnold," Capt. Samuel Davidson, remained near the *chevaux-de-frise*, in a line with the forts; the boats went down the river to the mouth of Christiana Creek, coming up with the enemy on the afternoon of May 8th. Fire was opened on both sides at once and was maintained with

spirit until dark. The "Roebuck" ran ashore and careened, the "Liverpool" came to anchor to cover her, the province boats withdrew for more ammunition. During this engagement the Continental schooner "Wasp," Capt.

Alexander, which had been chased into Wilmington, came out and captured an English brig belonging to the squadron. The fire-ship was not brought into use, and before morning the "Roebuck" was afloat. The flotilla renewed the attack at five o'clock in the morning, the ships retired, and the Philadelphia navy pursued them as far as New Castle. The officers of the flotilla complained grievously of the supplies furnished them by the Committee of Safety; they were defective in quality and deficient in quantity; the powder was bad, the men had to cut up their clothes and equipments to make the cartridges serviceable, and there were many other defects, so that the officers threw the whole blame of their failure upon the committee. The Assembly investigated the matter, however, and exonerated the committee. The American loss was one killed and two wounded; the British lost one killed and five wounded, and the engagement was palpably not at close quarters. The flotilla people, however, brought up some splinters from the enemy's ships to exhibit at the Coffee-House, and the "Roebuck" and "Liverpool" returned to their stations at Cape May, depending upon New Jersey for poultry and fresh provisions.

Congress and the province were admonished by this skirmish to increase their navies; the Committee of Safety added to the galleys and other vessels named the sloops "Sally," Capt. Martin Wirt; "Salamander," Charles Lawrence; schooner "Lydia," James Simpson; the "Porcupine," Robert Tatnall; "Brimstone," Capt. William Watkins; and "Vulture," Capt. Greenaway, guard-boats; the sloop "Hetty," Capt. Henry Hoover; "Eagle," Capt. Jacob Haull; and "Terror," Capt. Robert Hardie. There were the fire-rafts besides, commanded by Capt. John Hazlewood. The whole force was seven hundred and forty-three men. Commodore Caldwell resigned command of the flotilla soon after the fight with the frigates, and Samuel Davidson was appointed; but this led to such opposition from other officers that he never took command, and was shortly afterwards dismissed the service, not, it appears, from any demerits of his own, but because of the jealousies of rival officers.

The Committee of Safety organized a system of privateers and letters of marque at this time, with the sanction of Congress, creating a Court of Admiralty (George Ross, judge; Matthew Clarkson, marshal; Andrew Robinson, registrar, and before July there had been commissioned the brig "Hancock," twelve guns, Wingate Newman commander; the "Congress," six guns, Capt. John Kaye, with a crew of thirty men; and the sloop "Chance," six guns and thirty-four men, Captain James Robertson. These two last-named vessels had

already gone out with letters of marque, and were now formally commissioned. In May they took three valuable ships from Jamaica bound to London, with large cargoes of rum, sugar, and molasses, 22,420 pieces of eight, 187 ounces of plate, and a fine turtle, intended to be presented to Lord North. The president of Congress received this tortoise. The privateer "Congress" captured the schooner "Thistle"; the privateer "Franklin," of Philadelphia, took a British storeship with seventy-five tons of gunpowder and one thousand stand of arms; the ship "Lexington," Capt. Barry, captured the tender "Edward"; the "Wasp," Capt. Alexander, took the schooner "Betsy." Meantime, the "Roebuck" and "Liverpool," with their tenders, made many captures of vessels about the Delaware Capes, chasing others ashore.

Two more battalions, the Fourth and Fifth, were

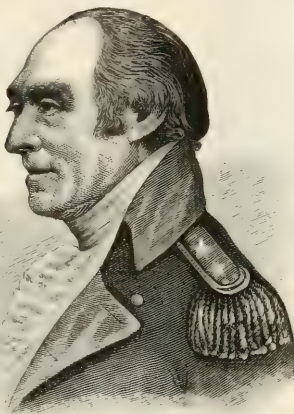
added to the forces of the associators. The latter was a "shirt" or rifle battalion, commanded by Col. Timothy Matlack; Daniel Clymer, lieutenant-colonel; Lawrence Herbert, George Miller, majors. Thomas McKean was colonel of the Fourth Battalion. Drafts of men under marching orders were made from the associators as soon as news came of Clinton's arrival in New York, and the men showed great eagerness to go to the front. The associators were at this time petitioning the Assembly to protect their interests more effectually, allow them compensation for expenditures and lost time and cease discriminating in favor of the non-associators, who really contributed nothing to the cause. The Assembly was, however, tardy to respond, beyond regulating rank and precedence, and acquiring non-associators to surrender their arms. The Assembly thought the opposition to the cause

ought to be conciliated,—the result was that in a few weeks they found the great body of the associators arrayed against them.

The four battalions raised for Continental service were organized and officered in January: John Shee¹ (of Philadelphia), Anthony Wayne (of Chester), Arthur St. Clair (of Westmoreland), and Robert Magaw were elected colonels; Lambert Cadwalader and William Allen (of Philadelphia), Francis Johnston and Joseph Penrose, lieutenant-colonels; and Joseph Wood, Nicholas Hauser, George Nagel, and Henry Bicker, majors. The First Battalion, Col. Bull, six hundred and eighty strong, was in January or-

dered to march to Canada. Col. Bull resigned on account of difficulties with his officers, and John Philip De Haas was appointed colonel in his stead.

The Committee of Safety, in February, applied to the Assembly to raise a force of two thousand men for the defense of the province, but the House resolved on fifteen hundred men, comprising two battalions of rifles and one of musketeers. Samuel Miles was made colonel of both rifle battalions, the command of the musketmen being given to John Cadwalader, who declined, desiring command of the First



John Shee

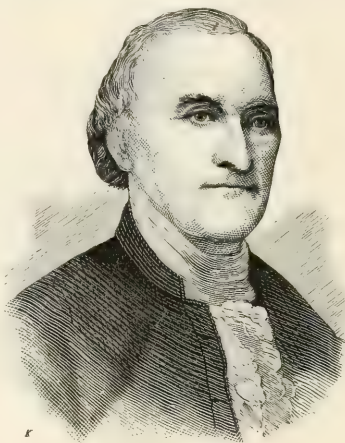
¹ Col. John Shee was a prominent merchant of Philadelphia at the breaking out of the war, and rendered distinguished service during the Revolution. He was treasurer of the city from 1790 to 1802, and brigadier general commanding the Republican Legion. From 1802 to 1805 he was flour inspector, and in 1807 was collector of the port, and probably died while in office.

Battalion. Samuel Miles was born at White Marsh, Montgomery Co., Pa., in 1739. His grandfather was a native of Wales. In his sixteenth year Samuel Miles joined a company of militia and took part in the defense of Northampton County against the depredations of hostile Indians. For his gallantry displayed upon this occasion the Governor commissioned him an ensign in the Pennsylvania forces. He was three years in active service, during which time he was advanced to the command of his company, and he was only once slightly wounded. At the close of the war he married Catharine, daughter of John Wistar, and entered into commercial pursuits in Philadelphia. When the Revolutionary war began he was among the first to show his patriotic ardor, and, during that great struggle, performed distinguished service, and was promoted to brigadier-general. Gen. Miles was deputy quartermaster-general for Pennsylvania, and in 1783 was appointed one of the judges of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. He was an alderman of Philadelphia, a member of the Colonial and State Legislatures, and in 1790 mayor of the city. In October, 1805, he was elected member of Assembly, took sick at Lancaster, and died at his seat, Cheltenham, Montgomery Co., Dec. 29, 1805, aged sixty-six years. Gen. Miles was a zealous Baptist, and took an active interest in everything that tended to advance that religious denomination.

Samuel Atlee, of Lancaster, was appointed commander of the musketmen; Emmor Williams was made lieutenant-colonel, and James Potts and John Patton, majors of the rifle battalions; Caleb Parry, lieutenant-colonel of the musketmen; Ludwick Spregel, muster-master, and John Maxwell Nesbitt, paymaster, of all the Pennsylvania forces. Among the regulations was a fine of thirty to fifty dollars for harboring deserters, imprisonment if not paid; and an allowance to inn-keepers of sixpence per meal to marching soldiers; each man to have a pint of cider.

The rifle battalions were marched in June to Sussex, Del., to hold the Tories there in check; and four companies of the musketmen were detailed for service as city guards. The associators wanted Congress to station a Continental general and a few Continental battalions in the city, and named Gen. Mifflin as their favorite. At this time Congress resolved to have formed a flying camp of ten thousand men to serve

until December 1st, six thousand being apportioned to Pennsylvania, three thousand four hundred to Maryland, and six hundred to Delaware. For the command of this force Maryland was to appoint one brigadier-general and Pennsylvania two. The privates of the associators asked Congress, when this resolution was made public, to give them officers whom they could trust. They had not had entire confidence in the Committee of Safety since the "Roebuck" affair, and they wanted to elect their own officers, there being many members of Assembly notoriously hostile to military defense, and to measures necessary for the defense of the people. Such a Legislature ought not to be trusted with the appointment of general to command the associators. This position, boldly taken, was resolutely maintained; the delegates of the associators met in convention at Lancaster, fifty-three



GEN. SAMUEL MILES.

battalions being represented, and Daniel Roberdeau and James Ewing were elected brigadier-generals. "The associators kept up their dignity with great resolution, and would allow of no contempt of their authority. In April they compelled one John Webb, who had been guilty of trampling upon a copy of their articles of association signed by the officers of the Fourth Battalion, to publicly beg pardon for his transgression; and Jacob Reith, having endeavored to prevent persons from signing the articles of association or paying their fines for neglect, was compelled to humble himself in a similar manner. Thomas Lightfoot, of Germantown, for speaking

disrespectfully of Congress, of the associators, and of the Continental currency, was brought to a knowledge of his error by like means."¹

On May 27th the troops then in the city were reviewed on the commons by Gens. Washington, Lee, and Mifflin. There were four associated battalions, the light horse, and three companies of artillery, in all nearly two thousand five hundred men, and two Continental battalions besides. The review was witnessed by the members of Congress and a large number of spectators, among whom were thirty Indians belonging to the Six Nations.

There is a close connection between the events leading to the Declaration of Independence and those which led to the overthrow of the charter government in Pennsylvania. The same men who strove for the

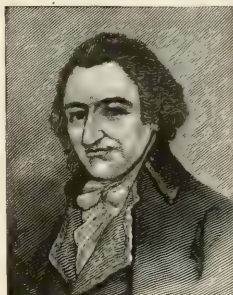
¹ Westcott, "History of Philadelphia," chapter ccxxvii.

overthrow of the proprietary government, struggled also to hasten the Declaration; the same class of men who opposed the one were hostile to the other. A few members, like Reed, favored the Declaration and the modification of the powers of the Assembly without favoring the entire overthrow of the charter. A few, like Dickinson, were ardent Whigs and true patriots, yet did not like changes, and were persuaded that the people could get security for all their rights without upsetting the existing forms.

All these things and many more concerns of the future had been actively discussed in private for many weeks, when Thomas Paine broke the ice with his pamphlet of "Common Sense."¹

¹ The country has not dealt fairly by Thomas Paine. They have been willing to bury even Benedict Arnold's leg, shot off at Saratoga, with the honors of war; but they have never been able to divorce Thomas Paine, author of "Common Sense" and "The Crisis," from Thomas Paine, author of the "Age of Reason." History has nothing to do with the latter, but it cannot neglect the former without lessening its own dignity. Paine was an unpleasant fellow, to be sure, not particularly high in principle, truthful, or decent; he was not well bred, nor had he either the instincts or the feelings of a gentleman. At the same time, he was not near so depraved and scandalous a reprobate as Wilkes, nor more of a drunkard than Pitt, nor were his fanatical ravings worse than Burke's, or his manners so coarse and indecent as Johnson's. Paine's parents were Quakers, his father a staymaker, and he was born at Thetford, Norfolk, Jan. 29, 1736, received a scant grammar schooling, and then was given his father's trade. At twenty he was a staymaker, who had been to sea in a privateer; at twenty-five he had a wife and a place as gauger in the excise; at thirty-two he had married his second wife, was grocer, tobaccoist, exciseman, member of and debater in a Whig club in Lewes, and an occasional poet of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. He lost his place in the revenue in consequence of complicity with smuggling practices, it is said; at any rate, he was dismissed, and he and his wife separated at the same time, by mutual consent. He went up to London, an adventurer, met Franklin, and was by him advised to come to this country, where, accordingly, he arrived in Philadelphia in the beginning of 1775, at once finding employment as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine or American Monthly Museum*, at a salary of £25 (currency) a year. The publisher was Robert Aitken, a Scotch printer and bookseller, who had come to Philadelphia in 1769. Aitken took the popular side during the Revolution, and came near going to the New York prison-ship. The *Magazine* ran from January, 1775, till June, 1776; it had Francis Hopkinson and Dr. Witherspoon among its contributors, and in Aitken's shop Paine met Dr. Rush and others of the literary *guidances* of Philadelphia. On Jan. 15, 1776, Paine's pamphlet of "Common Sense" was published, for which he received very little direct pay. The Legislature, however, voted him £500, the college gave him the degree of M.A., he volunteered in the army, served Congress for two years, as secretary of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, being dismissed for disclosing the secret of Beaumarchais' relations to the government, and the spuriousness of Silas Deane's claims. In 1780 he became clerk to the Assembly of Pennsylvania; in 1781 he went out with Col. Laurens on his mission to Europe to obtain a foreign loan, returning with two and a half millions; in 1782 his "Letter to Abbe Raynal" was published, and in 1787 he returned to England, with his model for an iron bridge. Here he published his "Rights of Man," in reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*; and in 1794, while a prisoner in the Luxembourg, the first part of his "Age of Reason" appeared; the second in 1796. He died very wretchedly in 1819, at New Rochelle, where the Legislature of New York had given him a farm of three hundred acres. Congress had voted him three thousand dollars for his services. His pen was the most vigorous and had the most practical force of any wielded during the Revolution. He took in a situation at a glance, and wrote of it in a common-sense way, so that the people found or fancied themselves uttering their own private thoughts. There never have been more effective "tracts for the times" published than the nineteen numbers of "The Crisis," the first appearing Dec. 19, 1776; the last, April 19, 1783. His faults as a writer were those of his character,—vanity, intemperance, and a degree of recklessness. His merits were "very great. He had the art of

This pamphlet was published by Robert Bell, bookseller in Third Street. Bell was a Scotchman, who had been bookseller in Dublin for several years, having George Alexander Stevens for his partner. He came to Philadelphia in 1766, first setting out as book auctioneer. In 1772 he reprinted Blackstone, five volumes, octavo, and was so successful that he issued a second edition in quarto, besides editions of Robertson's "Charles V.," and Ferguson's "Essay on Civil Society." Paine, according to Wharton, was Bell's clerk when "Common Sense" was published. The war broke up his business, and he resumed his trade of itinerant auctioneer of books, traveling from New Hampshire. He died in Richmond in 1784, a good



THOMAS PAINE.

business man, fair and upright and companionable, but eccentric and fond of big words, calling himself "provedore to the sentimentalists," and addressing his subscribers as "intentional encouragers, who wish for a participation in this sentimental banquet" of Blackstone! The sale of "Common Sense" was so rapid, and it excited such a sensation throughout the country, that new editions were called for. Bell advertised a second on the 29th of January, another was offered by William and Thomas Bradford, to which the author appended a note declaring that Bell's second edition was unauthorized; he had received no profit from the first. Bell owed him fourteen pounds, and there were thirty pounds profits to his share, the half of which he meant to devote to the purchase of mittens for the Pennsylvania troops ordered to Canada. Bell replied in kind, disparaging the pretensions of the "anonymous author" to be considered father of the entire work, and denouncing Paine, "the foster-father author," as not the real one, yet as pretending so, and boasting of it in every ale-house.

saying a familiar thing in a familiar way, and at the same time imparting to it great spirit and freshness. He could sometimes introduce an apposite story almost as well as Franklin. His wit was ready and apposite enough. . . . It was this word and a blow, this powerful expression in ordinary symbols, which gained Paine the ear of the public during the Revolutionary war. His phrases put American resistance in an incontrovertible form."—*Duyckinck's Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, i, 200.

The allusions of Bell grew out of the fact that Paine's pamphlet was really a collation and condensation of matters and opinions everywhere the subject of conversation, and that Dr. Rush and some others claimed to have had at least a share in the paternity of "Common Sense." Rush, in a letter quoted in Cheatham's ignoble life of Paine, says that he called upon Paine at this time and suggested to him the propriety of preparing our citizens for a perpetual separation of our country from Great Britain by means of a work of such length as would obviate all objections to it. Paine read the sheets to Rush as he composed them, and Franklin and Samuel Adams also saw the manuscript. Franklin altered nothing beyond striking out a sentence; Rush suggested "Common Sense" for the title, instead of "Plain Truth," as Paine had proposed to call it. John Adams, in his diary, says, "In the course of this winter there appeared a phenomenon in Philadelphia,—a disastrous meteor. I mean Thomas Paine. He came from England, got into such company as would converse with him, and ran about picking up what information he could concerning our affairs; and, finding the great question was concerning independence, he gleaned from those he saw the commonplace arguments, such as the necessity of independence at some time or other; the peculiar fitness of it at this time; the justice of it; the provocation to it; our ability to maintain it, etc. Dr. Rush put him on writing on the subject, furnished him with the arguments that had been used in Congress a hundred times, and gave him his title." But all this is afterthought on the part of John Adams. A month after the book was out he wrote to his wife, "I sent you from New York a pamphlet entitled 'Common Sense,' written in vindication of doctrines which there is reason to expect that the further encroachments of tyranny and depredations of oppression will soon make the common faith; unless the cunning ministry, by proposing negotiations and terms of reconciliation, should divert the present current from its channel." The stale arguments, the retracting of which Adams makes so light of, are here obviously fresh and pointed enough.

There can be no doubt, in fact, that Paine wrote "Common Sense," and wrote it without assistance and without much prompting. His mind was strong, original, he saw clearly, and he wrote as neither Adams nor Rush could pretend to do. The author of "The Crisis" was the author of "Common Sense," and no one else could have written such papers, though many would have liked to be able to do so.

There can be as little doubt of the strong and instantaneous impression made upon the whole community of the United Colonies by this pamphlet, of which one hundred thousand copies were shortly in circulation. Rush says it was published "with an effect which has been rarely produced by types and paper in any age or country." "I think," said Dr.

Ashbel Green, in his autobiography, "that this pamphlet had a greater run than any other ever published in our country. It was printed anonymously, and it was a considerable time before its author was known or suspected. In the mean time large editions were frequently issued, and in newspapers, at taverns, and at almost every place of public resort, it was advertised, and very generally in these words: 'Common Sense, for eighteenpence.' I lately looked into a copy of this pamphlet, and was ready to wonder at its popularity and the effect it produced when originally published. But the truth is, it struck a string which required but a touch to make it vibrate. The country was ripe for independence, and only needed somebody to tell the people so with decision, boldness, and plausibility." Paine did this, and the attempts to detract from his merits in doing it will recall to the sensible reader the fable of Columbus and the egg. All such things look simple when they are done. The merit and the art consist in having set the example.

The excitement caused by this pamphlet in Philadelphia may be measured by the numbers of replies and rejoinders it provoked, both for and against independence. Among these pamphleteers was John Adams himself, who did not approve Paine's views about government. One of the first of these replies, written by one of the Allens, was called "Plain Truth," "wherein is shown that the Scheme of Independence is Ruinous, Delusive, and Impracticable; that, were the Author's Associations respecting the Power of America as Real as Nugatory, Reconciliation on Liberal Principles with Great Britain would be Exalted Policy; and that, circumstanced as we are, Permanent Liberty and True Happiness can only be obtained by Reconciliation with that Kingdom. Written by Candidus, etc." This was printed by Bell, and was dedicated by the author to John Dickinson. "Rationalis," another answer to "Common Sense," was bound up with "Plain Truth," and the reply of "Cato" to "Common Sense" followed next. Another pamphlet of the day was "The True Interest of America," impartially stated in certain strictures on a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense." By an American. Printed and sold by James Humphreys, Jr., corner of Black Horse Alley and Front Street. The author of this calls Paine's work "one of the most artful, insidious, and pernicious pamphlets I have ever met with. It is addressed to the passions of the populace at a time when their passions are much inflamed."

The controversy to which Paine had given articulate speech soon began to be heard in the affairs of Philadelphia and the province. An important election was impending, the Whigs renewing their efforts to get control of the Assembly. New committees of inspection had been elected throughout the province on February 16th. For Philadelphia, the number elected was seventy-six; Northern Liberties and

Southwark, twelve each. The term of service was six months, and these committees, renewed fresh from the people at such short intervals, felt themselves truly the people's representatives. The City Committee, almost as soon as it met, recommended the holding of a provincial conference on April 2d, to counteract the lukewarmness and unfriendliness of the Assembly, in which three interior counties—Bucks, Chester, and Lancaster—had a controlling majority, while Philadelphia, in spite of its large population, was allowed only two burgesses to represent it. The partial and unjust rules for the government of the associators were loudly complained of also. To quiet these complaints and counteract the alarming movement for a conference the Assembly increased the representation of Philadelphia to four, ordered the election for May 1st, increased the State forces, and voted an issue of eighty-five thousand pounds in bills of credit. This arrested the movement for a convention for the time being.

The friends and enemies of the Assembly, however, the conservatives and liberals of the day, kept up the war of pamphlets with vigor: "Cato" (Rev. Dr. William Smith) defended the legislative body, aided by "Moderator," and both denounced the proposition of independence; on the other side of the question, "Cassandra" (James Cannon), "Leather Apron" (a reminder of Franklin's Junto), and "Forester" (Tom Paine) spared neither their opponents nor the cause upheld by them. "Leather Apron" accused "Cato" of seeking to keep the government in the hands of "gentlemen," and asked, "Is not one-half of the property in Philadelphia owned by men who wear leather aprons? Does not the other half belong to men whose fathers or grandfathers wore leather aprons?" The people who were now hesitating, vacillating, and procrastinating were neatly hit off in a squib called "The Progress of an American's Creed for obtaining a redress of grievances and bringing about a reconciliation with Great Britain," in which the mental confusion of men like Dickinson, who were always proposing peace measures while acting war, is keenly exhibited.

As election-day approached the excitement increased and the canvass became eager. The Whigs met, April 19th, at William Thomas' school-house, Videll's Alley, with Christopher Marshall, the Quaker patriot and diarist, in the chair, and James Cannon, secretary. The "moderate men," and the Tories also, had their meetings. The Whigs agreed to support George Clymer, Col. Roberdeau, Owen Biddle, and Frederick Kuhl, while the Moderates and Tories united upon Samuel Howell, Andrew Allen, Alexander Wilcox, and Thomas Willing. The election handbills were sharp and spiteful, and the election was hotly contested, but the Whigs were beaten, George Clymer being the only one of their candidates elected, and he, perhaps, because all the Tories would not vote for Thomas Willing, who was half a Whig

himself and was Robert Morris' partner. The vote was:

<i>Whigs.</i>		<i>Tories and Moderates.</i>	
George Clymer.....	923	Samuel Howell.....	941
Frederick Kuhl.....	904	Andrew Allen.....	923
Owen Biddle.....	903	Alexander Wilcox.....	921
Daniel Roberdeau.....	890	Thomas Willing.....	911

In Christopher Marshall's invaluable diary the election is thus described: "Stayed till past ten, the sheriff having proclaimed 'to close the polls in half an hour.' This has been one of the sharpest contests, yet peaceable, that has been for a number of years, except some small disturbances amongst the Dutch, occasioned by some unwarrantable expressions of Joseph Swift, viz., that 'except they were naturalized they had no more right to vote than a negro or an Indian;' and also, past six, the sheriff, without any notice to the public, closed the poll and the doors and adjourned till nine to-morrow. This alarmed the people, who immediately resented it, flew to the sheriff and the doors and obliged him to open them again and continue the poll till the time above prefixed. I think it may be said with propriety that the Quakers, papists, church, Allen family, with all the proprietary party, were never so happily united as at this election, notwithstanding Friends' former protestation and declaration of never joining with that party since the club or knock-down election. Oh! 'tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Askalon, how the testimony is trampled upon.'" Marshall himself was a "hickory Quaker," and full of fight.

This triumph of the unpopular party exposed them to immediate, serious, and incessant attack from all the elements of the opposition, and determined the patriots to overthrow the proprietary government, the Assembly, and the charter. The Committee of Inspection led the assault, and they doubtless derived much encouragement and many hints from Congress, which was anxious to pull down all the old colonial and proprietary governments. The committee began by recommending "the Justices of his Majesty King George the Third's Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas" to exercise no more authority until a new government was framed. This would be in compliance with the resolutions of Congress against oaths of allegiance, and a judge could not qualify a grand juror while he was in opposition to the king and obedient to Congress. The committee also reflected upon office-holders in general as preferring salary to the public good, and upon the Quakers, now the strenuous upholders of extreme authority, who a little while ago made it a duty and merit of conscience not to bow to any.

The objects and aims of the Whigs in Pennsylvania were formulated precisely in John Adams' resolution which Congress adopted on May 10th. "That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the united colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been

hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the majority of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and of America in general." The adoption of this resolution led to a struggle between the Whigs and the Tories and Moderates in Pennsylvania for the advantage in the formation of the new government. The latter thought the Assembly ought to have charge of the matter; the former stood out for a convention of members to be elected. They had their meetings, protested against the pretensions of the Assembly, and resolved that a provincial convention should be soon held. There was a public meeting called to meet at the State-House Monday morning, May 20th, at nine o'clock. It was rainy weather, but four thousand people were present. Maj. John Bayard, chairman of the Committee of Inspection, stated the object of the assemblage, Daniel Roberdeau was made chairman, and Thomas McKean made the principal address, declaring the Assembly to be unworthy of confidence. They had never rescinded the instructions of Nov. 9, 1775, to the delegates in Congress, to oppose or reject any proposition for separation or change of government. They had refused to do this when petitioned by the people. No faith could be put in the Assembly, Mr. McKean said, because the members were chiefly office-holders under the crown; they certainly had no authority to form a new government. This fact the meeting emphasized by adopting a protest, and passing resolutions also denouncing the "instructions," declaring that the present House was not elected for the purpose of forming a new government, and to attempt to do so would be to assume arbitrary power; that the existing government is incompetent, and that a provincial convention ought to be chosen by the people.

This protest was presented in the Assembly on May 22d. The Moderates, a few days later, presented a remonstrance against the protest, which, it was said in the *Gazette* in June, had received six thousand signatures. The Philadelphia County Committee of Inspection sided with the Moderates and took ground against the protest and against disunion. The Assembly acted cautiously. The protest and remonstrance and resolution of Congress were referred to a committee, who made no report, but the instructions of November 9th were rescinded and the delegates in Congress were authorized "to concur with other delegates in such measures as may be for the liberties and safety of America."

The city committees meanwhile were very active in exerting all the influences they could bring to bear to help the movement towards independence. They canvassed among the people and the armed battalions, inducing the latter to take votes on the general subject of new or old government. On June 18th there was a conference at Carpenters' Hall of the Committees of Safety. The delegates to this conference were

elected by the Committees of Inspection and Observation in each county. For the city and liberties of Philadelphia they were, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas McKean, Sharpe Dulany, John Cox, John Bayard, George Schlosser, Christopher Ludwick, Jonathan B. Smith, James Milligan, Benjamin Loxley, Timothy Matlack, Jacob Schreiner, Joseph Deane, Jacob Barge, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Christopher Marshall, Sr., Joseph Moulder, Francis Gurney, Samuel Cadwalader Morris, William Coats, Samuel Brewster, Joseph Blewer, William Robinson, George Goodwin, and William Louman. For the county of Philadelphia, William Hamilton, Henry Hill, Robert Lewis, Jr., Enoch Edwards, Joseph Mather, James Potts, Matthew Brooks, Robert Loller, Edward Bartholomew, Frederick Antis, and John Bull. Col. Thomas McKean was elected president of the conference, Joseph Hart, vice-president, and Jonathan B. Smith and Samuel Cadwalader Morris, secretaries. The Patriotic Society presented their impeachment of the conduct of the Committee of Safety, in the matter of the encounter of the galleys with the "Roebuck," and because the loyalty of many members of the committee to the cause of the people was questionable. The decision of the conference was, that it was necessary to call a provincial convention to form a new government, and that this convention should emanate from the people; that provision should be made, in accordance with the will of Congress, to raise four thousand five hundred militia for the flying camp, and that no person elected as delegate to the convention should take his seat or vote until he had professed his faith in the Christian religion, the Trinity, and the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures. This test caused much dissatisfaction.

After the adjournment of the conference, on June 25th, a dinner was given to the members at the Indian Queen Tavern, on Fourth Street. Gen. Wooster was among the guests. The toasts drunk were to "The Congress," "The free and independent States of America," "Washington," "The Army and Navy," "A wise and patriotic convention to Pennsylvania on the 15th of July," "Lasting dependence to the enemies of independence," etc. It is obvious that the adoption of the Declaration of Independence was assumed for a fixed fact, and much greater anxiety was felt in regard to the complexion of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, which was to meet on the 15th proximo. The committees next day issued particular instructions to associators to exercise great care in the election of delegates, selecting good men, and eschewing all such as were in the proprietary interest.

While Pennsylvania was on the brink of this crisis, Congress had gradually brought itself face to face with the question of independence and the expediency of an immediate declaration of it, and the instant severing of all ties and ligaments binding the united colonies to the mother-country. It is not necessary

in these volumes to recite over again that thrilling and brilliant page of American history. There are, however, ambiguities in the connection of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia with the events of that momentous period which ought to be cleared up, if it can be done.

When Congress met on May 10, 1775, eleven colonies were represented (there were no delegates from Georgia and Rhode Island) by delegates having diverse and uncertain powers. All had been chosen before the clash of arms occurred at Lexington. They were compelled to meet all the time new and unexpected contingencies, and these were often not covered at all by their credentials. As the year wore on the members consulted with people at their homes, and in many cases obtained new instructions, or had new instructions forced upon them by the colonial Assemblies or Conventions. Rhode Island sent its first delegates to Congress on May 15th; Georgia's delegates came in in September. In the first instance, in every case, the credentials gave power to seek redress of grievances and reconciliation on the basis of English liberty. It was not until January, 1776, that the Council and Representatives of Massachusetts, in electing and instructing new delegates, suggested vaguely an idea of government independent and secure against the powers and acts of the British administration. The instructions of November 9th to the Pennsylvania delegates explicitly commanded them to "dissent from and utterly reject" any proposition leading to or likely to end in separation. John Morton was Speaker of the Assembly at this time; he signed these instructions and forwarded them to the delegates.

But with the beginning of 1776 a great change had begun to work. It was with great difficulty, after Lexington and Bunker Hill, that John Dickinson and John Jay had procured the consent of Congress to the second petition to the king. That paper, written by Dickinson, had been forwarded to England by Richard Penn, one of the proprietaries. He delivered it to Lord Dartmouth on August 21st, and asked for an audience on the subject on August 23d. On that day the king issued a proclamation declaring the colonies in rebellion, and invoking all the forces of the empire to suppress the rebellion. The petition was flung aside without notice. Howe was sent to supersede Gage in Boston; Dartmouth himself was supplanted by Lord George Germaine, and the bargain was consummated for sending the soldiers of Hanover, Darmstadt, and Hesse across the ocean to help conquer the Americans. The news of these things began to be received in Philadelphia about November 1st. At the same time Washington forwarded news of the burning of Falmouth. The king's arms seemed to be checked in their progress everywhere; the colonies were a unit; their levies and musters prospered, and Congress assumed a bolder tone, while the Moderates became propor-

tionately discouraged. The press and the people simultaneously took up the cry of independence; the only question was as to the expediency of particular times and methods. The correspondence of the day between the patriots teems with the one idea of permanent separation and independent government. As George Mason said, speaking the sentiment of Virginia, "When the last dutiful and humble petition from Congress received no other answer than declaring us rebels and out of the king's protection, I from that moment looked forward to a revolution and independence as the only means of salvation." From "that moment" the revolution went forward with irresistible impulse, and the spirit of union dominated more and more over the spirit of disaffection, doubt, and hesitancy.

In December armed Virginia resisted and broke Dunmore's power. Then came Paine's pamphlet crystallizing the thought of independence and shaping it into a visible, tangible object. In April, 1776, Chief Justice Drayton, of South Carolina, charged the Court of General Sessions to the effect that "The Almighty created America to be independent of Great Britain: to refuse our labors in this divine work is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people." This idea of a special Providence making use of British tyranny to cement together a free people got abroad and obtained general currency. Samuel Adams urged independence and a confederation from day to day, with the persistency of Cato demanding the destruction of Carthage. The camps around Boston took up the idea so absolutely that prayers for the king became distasteful. Adams was opposed by Dickinson, Jay, Morris, and the Assemblies and conservative influences of all the middle colonies, but he had the earnest support of the best and ablest leaders everywhere,—John Adams, Hawley, Gerry, Sullivan, Warren, Thornton, Greene, Ward, of New England; Franklin, Rush, McKean, Reed, of Pennsylvania; Chase, Johnson, Carroll, Tilghman, of Maryland; Lee, Wythe, Henry, Jefferson, Mason, Washington, of Virginia; Harnett, of North Carolina; and Gadsden, of South Carolina. These all agree with Paine that "the period of debate is closed; arms, as the last resource, decide the contest. The appeal was the choice of the king, and the Continent has accepted the challenge. . . . Everything that is right or reasonable pleads for separation . . . our strength and happiness is Continental, not provincial. . . . The time hath found us. The general concurrence, the glorious union of all things, prove the fact."

The feeling spread rapidly, in Congress and out of it. The refusal of Congress to print Dr. Smith's eulogy of Montgomery was in consequence of his representing that body to be in favor of continuing in a state of dependence on Great Britain. Massachusetts sent Gerry to supplant Cushing. The commission sent by Congress to Canada was on the basis of separation and independence. Congress next ad-

vised the local authorities to disarm the Tories, and authorized the equipment of privateers, and Franklin wanted a declaration of war to accompany the resolutions in favor of letters of marque. Congress next threw open the ports of the country to all nations, and opened correspondence with foreign powers. Silas Deane was sent out in March, and in his instructions the probability of independence making a French alliance desirable was freely stated. The proclamation for the general fast (March 16th) is couched in the language of an independent power; in April, Franklin was able to say that nothing was lacking but general consent to form Congress into a supreme legislature. "The novelty of the thing," he said, "deters some; the doubt of success, others; the vain hope of reconciliation, many. Every day furnishes us with new causes of unceasing enmity and new reasons for wishing an eternal separation; so that there is a rapid increase of the formerly small party who were for an independent government."

Massachusetts had set up an independent constitution by the people in July, 1775, and it was perfected in January, 1776. In the same month New Hampshire adopted a republican constitution and did away with the forms of royal authority. South Carolina, in spite of the large loyalist population, adopted a republican constitution in March upon the memorable basis that "the consent of the people is the origin, and their happiness is the end of government." On May 15th Congress recommended that all the colonies should follow the example of these three. This was succeeded by members of Congress asking instructions on the subject of independence. North Carolina's Provincial Congress, pressed as it was by Clinton on one side and Tories on the other, on April 18th instructed its delegates in Congress to concur with delegates from the other colonies in declaring independence and forming foreign alliances. Next Rhode Island acted, instructing Stephen Hopkins and William Ellery to promote the strictest union and confederation between the united colonies. Massachusetts followed May 1st, and May 10th putting the question of independence to a vote of the people. The Virginia convention met at Williamsburg on May 6th, a body of illustrious men, "rich in revolutionary fame." The resolutions in favor of independence, drawn by Edmund Pendleton, advocated by Patrick Henry, were unanimously adopted May 14th, and the declaration of rights was agreed to June 12th. The resolutions, published in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of May 28th, declared "that the delegates appointed to represent the colony in the General Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the united colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain." These resolutions were carried to Congress by their mover in the convention, and formed the basis of the final action of that body.

On Friday, 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of the Virginia delegation, offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

The resolution was seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts.

Tradition relates, says Lee's biographer, that he prefaced his motion with a speech, setting forth the resources of the colonies and their capacity for defense. He dwelt on the advantage to be derived from an independent position in dealing with foreign powers, and "urged the members so to act that the day might give birth to an American Republic." The motion, offered in the train of the resolution, included the force of that, a proposition that it was expedient forthwith to take effectual steps for forming foreign alliances, and that a plan of confederation should be prepared and submitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation. The consideration of the motion and resolutions (described in the journal as "certain resolutions respecting independence") was postponed to the next day, June 8th (Saturday). Members were "enjoined to attend punctually at ten o'clock, in order to take the same into their consideration." On that day John Hancock presided. The resolves were at once referred to the committee of the whole, Benjamin Harrison, chairman. They were debated with animation until seven o'clock in the evening, when the committee rose, reported progress, and asked leave to sit again on Monday. At that day's session Edward Rutledge moved to postpone the question for three weeks, and the debate was again sustained until evening. James Wilson, Robert R. Livingston, Rutledge, John Dickinson, and others, while they admitted the impossibility of the colonies being ever again united with Great Britain, were opposed to adopting Lee's motion at that time. They were fearful of the consequences of the lack of unanimity in the colonies. John Adams, Lee, Wythe, and R. H. Lee ably combated this position. But, as Jefferson said, "It appearing in the course of these debates that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them." It was agreed in committee of the whole to report to Congress a resolution, which was adopted by a vote of seven colonies to five. This postponed the vote on the resolution for independence to Monday, July 1st, "and in the meanwhile, that no time be lost in case the Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect of the first said resolution." This committee, chosen the next day by ballot, consisted of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman, of

Connecticut; and Robert R. Livingston, of New York. At the same time it was resolved that a committee be appointed "to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between these colonies." This committee, appointed June 12th, consisted of Josiah Bartlett, of New Hampshire; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts; Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; Robert R. Livingston, of New York; John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania; Thomas McKean, of Delaware; Thomas Stone, of Maryland; Thomas Nelson, of Virginia; Joseph Hewes, of North Carolina; Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina; and Button Gwinnet, of Georgia. A committee to prepare a plan of treaties to be proposed to foreign powers was composed of John Dickinson, Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Harrison, and Robert Morris.

The Virginia resolutions had a strong influence on the action of other colonies. The Assembly of Connecticut, on June 14th, instructed its delegates in favor of independence, confederation, and foreign alliances; New Hampshire, June 15th, voted in favor of declaring the thirteen colonies free and independent States, and pledged lives and fortunes to the support of the measure. June 21st the Provincial Congress of New Jersey superseded the Provincial Convention, and directed the delegates in Congress to join with the other delegates in the most vigorous measures for supporting the just rights and liberties of America, and, if necessary or expedient, "we empower you to join with them in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain," confederating and making foreign alliances. On the other hand, Delaware and Pennsylvania hesitated. Maryland, influenced by Eden's popularity, the proprietary control of affairs, and the large sway of a wealthy land-holding interest, renewed in May (21st) its previous instructions against independency, and nullified the resolutions of Congress of May 15th. The popular leaders determined not to abide by this decision, but to take the sense of the people. County meetings were held, resolutions passed in favor of independence, and condemning the convention. Another convention met at Annapolis, and on June 28th it recalled the instructions against independence, and authorized the delegates to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring the united colonies free and independent States, and in forming a confederation. In Georgia the instructions were ambiguous; they did not direct delegates to support a policy of separation, but neither did they forbid it. In New York action was delayed, uncertain, and balked by imminent external danger and bitter internal strife. The Provincial Congress, after repeated solicitation, finally notified the delegates in Congress that they were not authorized to vote for independence, that Congress declined to instruct them on that point, and that "it would be imprudent to require the sentiments of the people relative to the question of inde-

pendence, lest it should create division and have an unhappy influence."

Pennsylvania was the battle-ground of the conflicting opinions. The discussions of the question of independence had nowhere been so actively carried on. The press of Philadelphia reproduced everything on both sides; here were Franklin, Paine, Congress, Dickinson; here were the proprietary government and the Quakers. The independence cohorts were active, well armed and equipped, and they had the preponderance in numbers, at least in Philadelphia; but the opposition had many veterans in its ranks, and it was strongly entrenched. There were the Moderates, besides,—Morris and Dickinson, who were in favor of independence, but not now; Charles Thomson, in favor of the Declaration, but wishing to retain the old charter, the charter government, and the Assembly. Here were the Germans, seeking political privileges denied them on account of their birth, but opposed to independence. It needed a revolution to get order out of this chaos. The Assembly, after much goading and urging, adopted, on June 14th, a series of instructions rescinding those of November, and authorizing the delegates, in consequence of enumerated recent acts of king, ministry, and Parliament, "to concur with the other delegates in Congress in forming such further compacts between the united colonies, concluding such treaties with foreign kingdoms and States, and in adopting such other measures as, upon a view of all the circumstances, shall be judged necessary for promoting the liberty, safety, and interests of America." This, too, was signed by John Morton. The word "independence" does not occur in the paper of instruction; the word "reconciliation" occupies a prominent place. On June 24th the Conference of Pennsylvania, after a strong preamble, declared that "we, the deputies of the people, assembled in full Provincial Conference, do, in this public manner, in behalf of ourselves, and with the approbation, authority, and consent of our constituents, unanimously declare our willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the United Colonies free and independent States."

Counsels so divided in a crisis so sharp could have but one sequel. One party or the other must rule. A revolution was necessary, but it was effected without bloodshed, and we may give the results here in advance of the regular chronicle. The Assembly had been in a state of confusion and uncertainty ever since it rejected the 15th of May resolves of Congress. Half the time the Whigs prevented a quorum by absenting themselves. There were but thirty-five members present when Speaker Morton signed the instructions of June 14th. Joseph Reed attended no more sessions after June 8th. He had sought to save the charter, but he now saw that all efforts to that end were useless. The people would

never forgive the charter on account of the Assemblies acting under it and the ambiguous position in which the province was placed in regard to independence. As William B. Reed said, the effect of such instructions "might have been anticipated. Of the seven Pennsylvania delegates in Congress on the vote of the 1st of July in committee of the whole, three voted for independence, and four against it, and on the 4th two of those who voted adversely to independence being absent, the vote of Pennsylvania was accidentally, and by a majority of one, given in its favor." This was the doom of the charter and the proprietary government. On the day of election of members of the Provincial Conference, out of which the new government was to spring, the Assembly adjourned till the 26th of August. Then the Speaker and seventeen members were present. The Conference had long since developed into the Convention. The Convention had matured, but had not yet published the new Constitution, and it had quietly, and as a matter of course, assumed all the power of government. The rump Assembly adjourned from August 28th to September 23d. On the 26th, twenty-three members being present, a member whose name is not given in the journal, moved a series of resolutions denouncing the proceedings of the Convention. They were carried under the previous question. "The House then rose" and passed out of existence. The charter government of Pennsylvania was no more.

But this is anticipating. The people had decided in favor of a declaration of independence, and that it should be made promptly. The form and language of the declaration had yet to be determined. The committee appointed to prepare the declaration brought in a draft of a form on June 28th. It was read and laid upon the table. The committee had requested Jefferson to prepare the form, and he did so. His manuscript was submitted separately to Franklin and to Adams, and each made a few verbal alterations. Then the paper was read in a meeting of the committee and accepted without further alterations. This is the whole history of the production of the Declaration of Independence, unless we choose to lose ourselves in the quicksands of legend and tradition, where malignity and ignorance are the only guides and equally untrustworthy.¹

¹ The day has gone by when the question of the authorship of the Declaration of Independence can be raised as a question in which the historical critic has any interest. The similarities and identities so laboriously traced are all capable of rational explanation without making it at the expense of Jefferson's character. That character is so much better understood now than of old that there is no need to call up George Mason's ghost to prove that Jefferson did not rob him. The ingenuity is as impotent and futile as it is base and mean which will persist in claiming for Hamilton the authorship of Washington's Farewell Address, for Edward Everett the composition of Daniel Webster's letter to the Chevalier Hulsemann, and in distributing to the Mecklenburg Declaration, to George Mason, to the Virginia's Bill of Rights and Constitution, to Jay's Address to the English People, to Drayton's Charge, and to the Virginia Instructions the most material parts and most pregnant phrases and sentences of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.

On the same day that Jefferson reported to Congress the committee's draft of the Declaration, Francis Hopkinson, one of the five new members from New Jersey, presented the instructions he and his fellow-delegates had received to support independence. The Congress, when it met in Independence Hall on the 1st of July, consisted probably, according to Bancroft, of fifty-one members. Some of them met for the first time. Some were just entering public life, while others were gray and bent under the cares of protracted service to the State. It was a body full of individuality and contrasting character. It is but seldom we will find in a body of fifty members three such merchants as John Hancock, Robert Morris, and Thomas Willing, such divines as Witherspoon, such a genius as Franklin, such masters of political science as Jefferson and John Adams, such orators as Rutledge, Pendleton, Lee, such lawyers as Dickinson, McKean, Paca, Adams, Chase, Stone, Wythe, Nelson.

In accordance with the resolution of postponement Congress went into committee of the whole House to consider the resolution of independence offered by R. H. Lee. After due deliberation the chairman of the committee (Harrison) reported Lee's resolution, which, at the request of South Carolina, was not acted upon until the next day. July 2d the resolution was adopted, and the Declaration was taken up in Committee of the Whole. It was again discussed on July 3d. On Thursday, July 4th, Mr. Harrison, from the committee, reported the Declaration of Independence. It was adopted, and copies were ordered to be sent out to the several Assemblies, Conventions, Committees or Councils of Safety, etc., throughout the country, and to the commanders of the Continental troops, so as to have it everywhere proclaimed. As soon as the Declaration was adopted Franklin, Jefferson, and John Adams were appointed a committee to prepare a device for a seal for the United States. In the words of Judge Drayton at the time,—"A decree is now gone forth not to be recalled, and thus has suddenly risen in the world a new empire, styled the United States of America."

The traditions concerning the debate on Lee's resolution and on the Declaration of Independence are not many nor startling. The proceedings were with closed doors. The secretary's record is but a meagre memorandum of business, dry as a docket-entry in the court's minutes. Few speeches were made, and none have been reported. Only John Dickinson wrote down in outline a sketch of his own remarks upon the first day. When the resolution came up Lee himself was absent at Williamsburg. There was silence for many minutes when the question was called and until the new members from New Jersey, Richard Stockton in particular, showed themselves importunate for a discussion. Then all eyes were turned upon John Adams, and, at the suggestion of Rutledge and other members, he recapitulated the

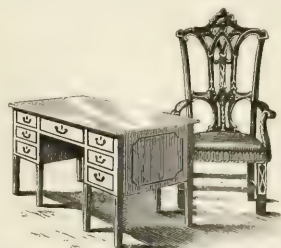
arguments. He spoke, as he said, like one feeling himself oppressed with the weight of the subject and the momentousness of the occasion, and John Dickinson replied, with all the force, earnestness, and grace in which he was so rich. He desired the Assembly to witness the integrity, if not the policy, of his conduct, he said. The issue would be settled by arms, not votes, and he did not believe the Declaration would add a single soldier to the armies. Dickinson, in fact, believed that defeat was certain, and that the country ought not to commit itself to a position where defeat would be ruin also. The difference between him and Adams was one of temperament chiefly. Adams had hope and faith; it was natural and inevitable for Dickinson to look upon the dark side. Adams rejoined to Dickinson, and now James Wilson, Dickinson's own colleague, and who had been co-operating with him throughout, rose and said that he meant to obey the instructions of the conference of committees and would vote for independence. Paca, McKean, Rutledge, perhaps others, spoke, but the occasion was one for thought rather than utterance, and far too solemn and weighty for oratorical display, "a scene," said George Walter, one of the delegates from Georgia, "which has been ever present to my mind."

The trial vote of July 1st was indecisive; the committee rose and reported to the House, and, by agreement, the final vote was postponed until next day, in the vain hope of securing unanimity. New York had been excused from voting; the votes of South Carolina and Pennsylvania were given in the negative, and the two delegates from Delaware tied. Nine colonies voted yea. During the night McKean sent express for Cæsar Rodney, of Delaware, to help him outvote Read, and the next day Rutledge brought the South Carolina delegates to vote yea, while Pennsylvania's *pro forma* affirmative was secured by the absence of two members.

The fact of the adoption of the Declaration was ordered to be published on July 5th. Next day it was printed on broadsides, and sent to the Assemblies. It was printed with great accuracy in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Saturday, June 6th, signed by order of Congress, John Hancock, president, and Charles Thomson, secretary. It appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, July 11th; *Continental Journal* (Boston), July 18th; and *New Hampshire Gazette*, July 20th.

July 2d, the day of the adoption of Richard Henry Lee's resolution, is the real independence day. John Adams wrote to his wife next day: "The 2d of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America." But the 4th was the day of the formal adoption of the formal public declaration of reason for the act, and Congress resolved to celebrate that day as the official birthday of American independence. This was secured by a resolution adopted July 19th, to the effect that "the Declaration passed on the 4th be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the

title and style of 'The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America,' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress." The journal further says, August 2d, that "the Declaration being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members."



PRESIDENT'S CHAIR, AND THE DESK UPON WHICH THE DECLARATION WAS SIGNED.

The signers, however, are not identical with the members who voted on July 2d and 4th. The act of Congress was the substantial matter, not the official assignment of reasons for it, prompted by (in Jefferson's words) "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." The members of Congress on July 4, 1776, were as follows, the date given being that of their last certificate:

NEW HAMPSHIRE. Feb. 29, 1776.—William H. Whipple, John Langdon, Josiah Bartlett.

MASSACHUSETTS. Feb. 9, 1776.—John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

CONNECTICUT. Jan. 16, 1776.—Roger Sherman, Oliver Wolcott, Samuel Huntington, Titus Hosmer, William Williams.

NEW YORK. May 11, 1776.—Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Alsop, William Floyd, Lewis Morris, John Jay (who, with those whose names follow, attended May 15th), Henry Wisner, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, Francis Lewis, Robert R. Livingston, Jr.

NEW JERSEY. June 28, 1776.—Richard Stockton, Abraham Clark, John Hart, Francis Hopkinson, John Witherspoon.

PENNSYLVANIA. Nov. 3, 1776.—John Morton, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle, Thomas Willing, Andrew Allen, James Wilson.

Lower Counties on the DELAWARE. May 11, 1775.—Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Read.

MARYLAND. Sept. 13, 1775.—Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Thomas Stone, John Hall.

VIRGINIA. Sept. 13, 1775.—Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, George Wythe, Francis Lightfoot Lee. Feb. 23, 1776.—Carter Braxton. (The Legislature had elected

new delegates on June 30th, but the certificates were not presented until the 28th of August.)

NORTH CAROLINA. *May 11, 1775.*—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes. *October 13.*—John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA. *April 24, 1776.*—Thomas Lynch, John Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr.

GEORGIA. *May 20, 1776.*—Lyman Hall, Button Gwinnett, Archibald Bullock, John Houston, George Walton.

RHODE ISLAND. *May 14, 1776.*—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

Of the above-named members the following did not sign the Declaration: John Langdon, Titus Hosmer, James Duane, John Alsop, John Jay, Henry Wisner, George Clinton, Robert R. Livingston, Jr., Philip Schuyler, John Dickinson, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle, Thomas Willing, Andrew Allen, Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Robert Goldsborough, John Hall, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Sr., Archibald Bullock, John Houston.

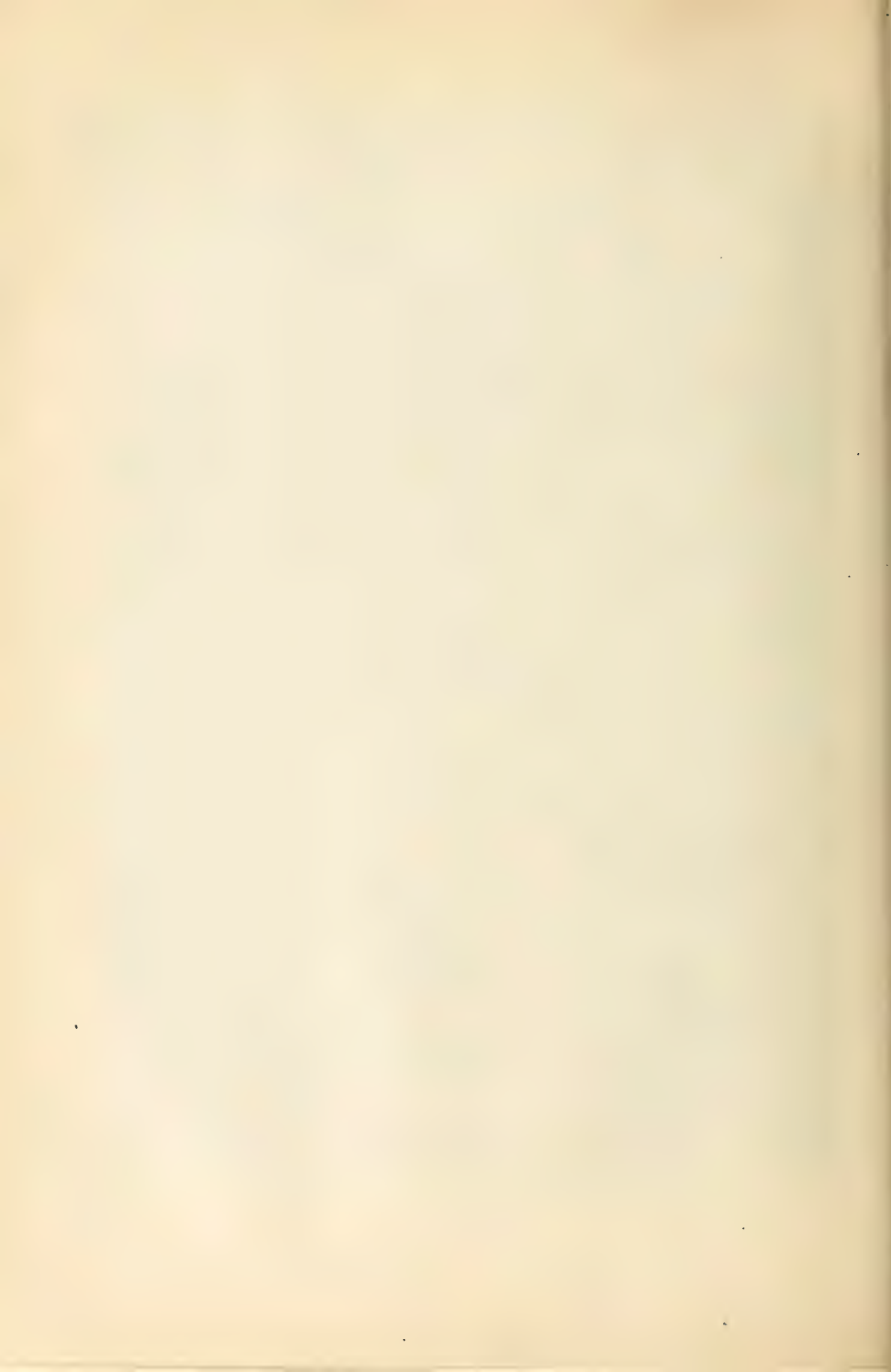
John Langdon, appointed agent of prizes for his State, June 25th, was probably not present on July 4th; Titus Hosmer and William Williams were alternates for Sherman, Wolcott, and Huntington, in case of their failure by sickness or other cause. Williams signed on August 2d, nevertheless, though Connecticut was only entitled to three delegates. Alsop was probably not present; he was an opponent of independence, declaring, in a letter of July 16th, that the instructions of the New York Provincial Congress were against his judgment and inclination. He was willing to serve the cause, but resigned his seat when the door was closed to reconciliation. John Jay was in the Provincial Legislature of New York on July 4th, and had no opportunity to sign. It is not certain that he would have voted for the resolution of July 2d. James Duane was also in the Provincial Congress, and Gen. Schuyler was absent in the field. Robert R. Livingston was on the committee to draw up the Declaration; his presence, however, is not ascertained, he also being a member of the Provincial Congress. Henry Wisner was in Congress on July 4th, but appears to have been in New York on August 2d. Edward Biddle, of Philadelphia, died during the session of a lingering disease, which probably disabled him at the time of the Declaration. John Dickinson was the victim of his own timidity and hair-splitting irresolution. Charles Humphreys was, like Dickinson, opposed to the Declaration, and so was Thomas Willing. Robert Morris was equally opposed, and resolute and outspoken in his judgment of the inexpediency of the measure at that time, as his letters witness; but he signed, nevertheless, in a hand bold and characteristic as Hancock's. He was the sort of a man to bend to accomplished facts, and not, like Dickinson, let opportunity vanish in the fog of dubitation. Andrew Allen, who had been a prominent Whig, a member of the Committee of Safety, became fright-

ened and hung back. When he lost his re-election to Congress in consequence, he deserted the American cause, went off to Trenton to put himself under the protection of Gen. Howe, and withdrew to England, dying there. His property was confiscated and sold. Robert Goldsborough and John Hall, of Maryland, were both superseded in the new appointment of delegates from that colony made on July 4th. These delegates took their seats July 18th; hence neither Hall nor Goldsborough signed on August 2d. Tilghman and Johnson were members of the new delegation; it is not known whether they were present or absent. The elder Lynch, of South Carolina, was in bad health, and his son acted in part as his alternate. John Rutledge was doing both civil and military duty in his own State,—member of the Constitutional Convention and commander-in-chief of the State militia. Archibald Bullock was attending to his official duties as president of the Council of Georgia. He convened that body upon receipt of news of the Declaration, and read the instrument before them.

Something further needs to be said about the vote of Pennsylvania. That was carried for independence on July 2d by a majority, not of the delegation, but of members in their seats. According to a letter of Thomas McKean's, in the *Freeman's Journal* of June 16, 1817, Dickinson and Morris were present, but did not take their seats on that day. That left only five members in their seats; Franklin, Morton, and Wilson voted for Lee's resolution; Humphreys and Willing voted against it. The tombstone of John Morton, in the graveyard of the Episcopal Church at Chester, erected to him in 1845 by some of his relatives, has an inscription to the effect that, "In voting by States upon the question of the independence of the American Colonies, there was a tie until the vote of Pennsylvania was given, two members from which voted in the affirmative and two in the negative. The tie continued until the vote of the last member, John Morton, decided the promulgation of the glorious diploma of American freedom." This claim is not well founded. There is no contemporary evidence for it. There was no tie of States for the vote of Pennsylvania to loose, the vote of the colonies being nine to four. In the Pennsylvania delegation Morton's vote did no more than Franklin's or Wilson's to give the majority to independence. The opportunity for Mr. Morton's vote to be of value and critical consequence on July 4th grew out of the withdrawal of John Dickinson and Robert Morris. They were opposed to the Declaration. They were present, but did not take their seats, because they were willing to sacrifice their convictions to the appearance of unanimity. If Charles Thomson judged Dickinson aright, in his letter to William Henry Drayton, this sort of self-abstention and of securing the accomplishment of an end while ostensibly opposing it, was characteristic of him. When Pennsylvania and South Carolina had been secured, the con-

INTERIOR VIEW OF INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1876.





currence of New York was still wanting before the Declaration could be described as the unanimous measure of the thirteen colonies. The convention of New York at White Plains furnished the needed and convenient instructions to the New York delegates, but, as we have seen, John Alsop resigned rather than submit to that sort of dictation.

There are conflicting accounts of the signing of the Declaration. Jefferson, in his memoirs, and in other of his writings, declares that the instrument was signed generally on the 4th, and again on August 2d. If so, the manuscript must have been lost. John Adams wrote, on July 9th, that, "As soon as an American seal is prepared, I conjecture the Declaration will be superscribed by all the members." Thomas McKean says that "probably copies with the names then signed to it were printed in August, 1776." "One of the signers," says Frothingham, "Thornton, was not a member until November 4th. But the list is otherwise incorrect. The early lists, in law-books and other works, omitted the name of McKean, which is not in the list printed by Ramsay in 1789, nor in the journals of Congress, published by authority, by Folwell, in 1800."

McKean, in his letter to Dallas (1796), says no one signed on the 4th of July. By the secret journals of Congress it appears, he says, that Congress, on July 18th, directed the instrument to be engrossed on parchment and signed by every member. This was done on August 2d. McKean's name was left out of the printed journals by accident, and he had trouble to get it restored.

The names of signers and persons mentioned as signers, who were not members of Congress on July 4, 1776, are Matthew Thornton, of New Hampshire, admitted Nov. 4, 1776; Dr. Benjamin Rush, Col. George Ross, George Clymer, Col. James Smith, and George Taylor, all of Pennsylvania, and all admitted July 20, 1776; Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and Samuel Chase, both of Maryland, admitted July 18, 1776. Neither Robert Morris nor George Read, of Delaware, voted for independence on the 1st, 2d, or 4th of July, yet they both appear as signers. Morris, in his well-known, manly letter to Joseph Reed, of July 20th, after giving the reasons for his votes, says,—

"I did expect my conduct on this great question would have procured my dismissal from the great council; but I find myself disappointed, for the convention has thought fit to return me in the new delegation, and although my interests and inclination prompt me to decline the service, yet I cannot depart from one point which first induced me to enter the public line. I mean an opinion that it is the duty of every individual to take his part in whatever station his country may call him to in times of difficulty, danger, and distress. While I think this a duty, I must submit, although the Councils of America have taken a different course from my judgment and wishes. I think that the individual who declines the service of his country because its counsels are not conformable to his ideas makes a bad subject. A good one will follow if he cannot lead."

Mr. Read's objection to the Declaration was that it was premature. His opposition to independence did not cost him the confidence of his constituents, who

re-elected him to Congress and honored him with many high appointments.

Jefferson himself explained many of the circumstances given above in connection with the signing of the Declaration of Independence. It was his work; the original report submitted was in his handwriting, with no material alterations. He was chairman of the committee to prepare it; young as he was, his admitted mastery with the pen had secured to him the largest number of ballots. An able State paper was demanded, and Jefferson was the fittest person for the task, particularly so, as Bancroft has aptly said, "from the sympathetic character of his nature, by which he was able with instinctive perception to read the soul of the nation, and having collected in himself its best thoughts and noblest feelings, to give them out in clear and bold words, mixed with so little of himself, that his country, as it went along with him, found nothing but what it recognized as its own." He wrote "from the fulness of his mind, without consulting one book." "His genius for political science," says Frothingham, "and his talent of compressing sentiment into maxims, enabled him to embody so faithfully the current thought of his countrymen as to mirror the soul of the nation. This, and not originality, is the crowning merit of this immortal paper." "To say that he performed his great work well," is Daniel Webster's weighty judgment, "would be doing him injustice; to say that he did it excellently well, admirably well, would be inadequate and halting praise. Let us rather say, that he so discharged the duty assigned him, that all Americans may well rejoice that the work of drawing the title-deed of their liberties devolved upon him."

The house in Philadelphia where the Declaration was written has been the subject of inquiry; its site is part of the local history of these great events. Nicholas Biddle, in his eulogy of Jefferson, delivered before the American Philosophical Society, April 11, 1827, was the first person to make an investigation of the subject. Jefferson, he said, when charged with the task by Adams, repaired to his lodgings and set to work. These lodgings he had selected, with his characteristic love of retirement, "in a house recently built on the outskirts of the city, and almost the last dwelling-house to the westward, where, in a small family, he was the sole boarder." That house, enlarged by the addition of a fourth story, and changed for business purposes, was until early in 1883 a warehouse standing at the southwest corner of Market and Seventh Streets, and on the second story were the rooms of Jefferson, where the Declaration of Independence was written. Dr. James Mease had written to Jefferson on the subject, and the latter answered, Sept. 16, 1825, that he "lodged in the house of a Mr. Graaf, a new brick house, three stories high, of which I rented the second floor, consisting of a parlor and bedroom ready furnished. In that parlor I wrote habitually, and in it wrote this paper particularly.

The proprietor (Graaf) was a young man, son of a German, and then newly married. I think he was a bricklayer, and that his house was on the south side of Market Street, probably between Seventh and Eighth Streets, and, if not the only house on that



HOUSE WHERE JEFFERSON WROTE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

part of the street, I am sure there were few others near it."

Graaf, as Jefferson spells it, was Jacob Graff, Jr., bricklayer, son of Jacob Graff, Sr., brickmaker. June 1, 1775, he bought of Edward Physick and wife a lot south side of High Street, west side of Seventh Street, fronting thirty-two feet on High Street, and running back on Seventh Street one hundred and twenty-four feet to a ten-foot alley. Here he built a three-story brick house, the door of which was in the middle of the building, on Seventh Street, the entry and stairs dividing the building in the centre, and the stairs going directly up opposite the door on Seventh Street

¹ On the corner. A writer in *Potter's American Monthly* (May, 1876) contends that the house was on the western half of the lot and next door to the corner. But Mr. Westcott, in his "Historic Mansions of Philadelphia," shows conclusively that Graff's house was the corner one, and that the one next the corner was not built until twenty years after the writing of the Declaration.

The fact is settled beyond dispute by the following entries in the private diary (manuscript) of Jacob Obillzheimer, who bought the house at the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets in 1777:

"1796, January 10. Cloudy forenoon. Edward Wells came to see me; conversed with each other concerning the house he is to build for me next spring, in Market Street, adjoining the southwest corner of Seventh and Market.

"1796, April 11. Thursday. . . . Mr. Barge laid the foundation-stone at the house I am going to build adjoining the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets.

"1796, April 28. Mr. Lybrand, the carpenter, put the first floor of joint, next to my house at Market Street.

"1796, July 9. Saturday. . . . Had the raising supper on the second floor of the house adjoining the house at the southwest corner of Market and Seventh Streets, which was begun in April last, intended for a store."

to the second floor. It was a retired situation, but still near the State-House. When Jefferson came to Philadelphia he lodged first with Benjamin Randolph, on Chestnut Street. On May 23d he took the rooms at Graff's, paying thirty-five shillings sterling per week. He had the whole second floor for his use, the front room, facing on Market Street, for his parlor, and the back one his bedroom. His meals he took chiefly at Smith's City Tavern on Second Street. While in the city Randolph, the joiner, made him a writing-desk from Jefferson's own design. It was fourteen inches long by ten inches broad, and three inches deep. This desk, on which the Declaration was written, Jefferson presented, in 1825, to Joseph Coolidge, Jr., husband of his granddaughter, and it is now in Boston.

Christopher Marshall, in his diary, under date of July 2d, has this line,—

"This day the Continental Congress declared the United States Free and Independent States."

On the 6th he writes of attending a committee meeting in Philosophical Hall:

"Agreed that the Declaration of Independence be declared at the State-House next Second Day. At the same time the King's Arms there are to be taken down by nine Associates, here appointed, who are to convey it to a pile of casks erected upon the commons, for the purpose of a bonfire, and the arms placed on the top. This being Election Day, I offered the motion. . . . July 8.—At eleven went and met Committee of Inspection at Philosophical Hall; went from there in a body to the lodge; joined the Committee of Safety (as called); went in a body to State-House yard, where, in the presence of a great concourse of people, the Declaration of Independence was read by John Nixon. The company declared their approbation by three repeated huzzas. The King's Arms were taken down in the Court-Room, State-House, same time. . . . I went and dined at Paul Fook's. . . . Then he and the French Engineer went with me on the commons, where the same was proclaimed at each of the five Battalions. . . . There were bonfires, ringing bells, with other great demonstrations of joy upon the unanimity and agreement of the declaration."

Such appears to have been all the celebration which took place at the time in Philadelphia. Fable has supplied much else, but it is no more than fable. In Council of Safety, in the minutes for July 6th, we find,—

"The President of the Congress this day sent the following Resolve of Congress, which is directed to be entered on the Minutes of this Board:

"In Congress, 6th July, 1776.

"Resolved, That Copies of the Declaration be sent to the several Assemblies, Conventions, and Councils of Safety, and to the several Commanding officers of the Continental Troops, that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the Head of the Army.

"By order of Congress. (Signed) JOHN HANCOCK, President."

"In Consequence of the above Resolve, Letters were wrote to the Counties of Bucks, Chester, Northampton, Lancaster, and Berks, Inclosing Copy of the said Declaration, requesting the same to be publish'd on Monday next, at the places where the Election of Delegates are to be held.

"Ordered, That the Sheriff of Philad'a read or Cause to be read and proclaimed at the State-House, in the City of Philadelphia, on Monday, the Eighth day of July, instant, at 12 o'clock at noon of the same day, the Declaration of the Representatives of the United Colonies of America, and that he cause all his officers, and the Constables of the said city, to attend the reading thereof.

"Resolved, That every Member of this Committee in or near the City be ordered to meet at the Committee Chamber before 12 o'clock on Mon-

day, to proceed to the State-House, where the Declaration of Independence is to be proclaimed.

"The Committee of Inspection of the City and Liberties were requested to attend the Proclamation of Independence, at the State-House, on Monday next, at 12 o'clock."

The sheriff of Philadelphia at this time was Thomas Dewees. The reader of the Declaration, as Marshall witnesses, was John Nixon (not Capt. John Hopkins, as Watson wrongly supposes), who was a member of the Committee of Safety. Col. John Nixon was born in West Chester, Pa., and was an ardent and most efficient friend of America in the revolutionary struggle. He was for some time an alderman of Philadelphia, and commanded a regiment on Long Island and at Valley Forge. He was a director of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and upon the establishment of the Bank of North America was its president, continuing in this office until his death about Jan. 1, 1809.

The place of reading the Declaration of Independence was the old "observatory," erected by the American Philosophical Society to observe the transit of Venus from in 1769. It was a rough frame scaffolding or stage, standing midway on the line of the eastern walk, between Fifth and Sixth Sts.,—"that awful stage in the State-House yard," as John Adams calls it. Mrs.

Deborah Logan, who lived in the Norris mansion at the time, says she distinctly heard the reading from the garden of that house. "The bells rang all day and almost all night," says John Adams, "and even the chimers chimed away,"—alluding to the chimers of Christ Church, the congregation of which were suspected of lukewarmness to the Revolutionary cause, even when they were not accused of open devotion to Toryism.¹

The welcome extended to the Declaration was en-

thusiastic in nearly every part of the country. The formal proclamation was made a holiday occasion at every point of public assemblage. The newspapers of the day teem with accounts of their celebrations, yet in all the chief features each one was like all the rest,—“the civil authorities were present. The military paraded, bearing the standard of the United States. The salutes were often by thirteen divisions. The population gathered as on gala-days. The Declaration was read amidst the acclamation of the people, mingled with the roll of drums and the roar of cannon. Then followed the feast and the toasts, and in the evening bonfires and illuminations, with

the removing or destruction of the emblems of royalty.”²

The Congress held its sessions, during all these memorable proceedings, in a room on the first floor of the eastern end of the central building of the State-House, thenceforth forever known as Independence Hall. The building and grounds were the property of the State until 1818, when they were sold to the city for \$70,000. About 1800, persons in authority in Philadelphia, the city commissioners it is supposed, actuated by the restless American spirit of innovation and blinded by bad taste and utter imperviousness to the force of venerable association, undertook to “modernize” and

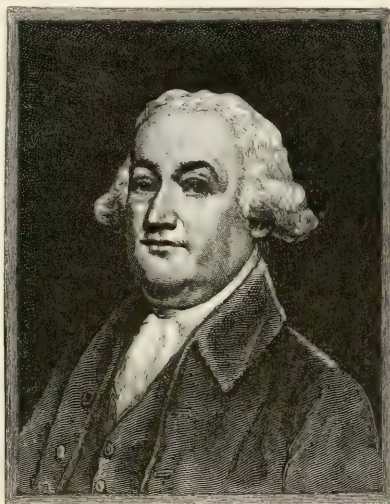
remodel the interior of this sacred chamber. As Mr. Westcott says (“Historic Mansions”), “They tore out the ancient panelling, wainscoting, car-

citizens who were good Whigs were much opposed to it; however, they were soon reconciled to it.”

Mr. Biddle confounds July 4th, the day of the Declaration, with July 8th, the actual day of the reading. His statement that “very few respectable people” were present, is presumed to refer to people of wealth, family, and position. In this particular Mr. Biddle agrees with Mrs. Deborah Logan, who also heard the reading. “The first audience of the Declaration was neither very numerous or composed of the most respectable class of citizens.”

The name of “General * * *,” who spoke against the Declaration, is stated to be “entirely obliterated and illegible in the manuscript.” In all probability Gen. John Dickinson was meant.

² Frothingham, p. 548.



¹ In the “Autobiography of Charles Biddle” he says, “On the memorable Fourth of July, 1776, I was in the old State-House yard when the Declaration of Independence was read. There were very few respectable people present. General * * * spoke against it, and many of the

ried off the carvings and old furniture, and modernized the apartment so that it would be fit for use as a court-room. About the same time the plain front doorway in the centre of the building was torn out, and something 'prettier' substituted, with pillars, round arch, and mouldings. There was not even originality in this change, the substitution being merely a copy of the western doorway of St. James'



INDEPENDENCE HALL IN 1778.

Episcopal Church, Seventh Street, above Market Street."

The reception to Lafayette in this room in 1824 opened the eyes of the community to the sacrifices of association and propriety which had been made with these alterations. The Pennsylvania Historical Society began its work about this time, and Watson's Annals were published in 1880, all tending to promote the taste for local history and revive the sympathy for ancient associations. In the last-named year petitions were sent to the Common Council asking the restoration of Independence Hall to its original condition, and that the apartment, in the future, should be devoted to dignified purposes only. In 1833, twelve hundred dollars was appropriated to carry this out, and John Haviland, architect, was charged with the work. He used the old material as far as it would go, and restored the original appearance of the room with some few exceptions, portraits and relics of the Revolutionary period being added, the old Liberty bell among other things, and since then Independence Hall has been a Mecca for the sons of American liberty. As Edward Everett said in his Fourth of July oration of 1858, "That old hall should forever be kept sacred as the scene of such a deed. Let the rains of heaven distill gently on its roof and the storms of winter beat softly on its door. As each successive generation of those who have been benefited by the great Declaration made within it shall make their pilgrimage to that shrine, may they not think it unseemly to call its walls Salvation and its gates Praise."

CHAPTER XVII.

PHILADELPHIA DURING THE REVOLUTION.

PART II.—FROM JULY 4, 1776, TO THE END OF THE BRITISH OCCUPATION.

ON the 8th of July, 1776, the day of reading the Declaration of Independence, an election was held at the State-House for members of the Convention to form a Constitution for the State. The delegates elected to this Convention were,—from Philadelphia City, Benjamin Franklin, Frederick Kuhl, Owen Biddle, George Clymer, Timothy Matlack, James Cannon, George Schlosser, and David Rittenhouse. From Philadelphia County there were Frederick Antis, Henry Hill, Robert Loller, Joseph Blewer, John Bull, Thomas Potts, Edward Bartholomew, and William Coats.¹ Benjamin Franklin was elected president of this Convention; George Ross, vice-president; John Morris, secretary; Jacob Garrigues, assistant secretary. As soon as it was organized, the Convention assumed a degree of executive and legislative power not contemplated in the call for the election, and which practically superseded the Assembly, deposed the Governor, and ignored the existence of the propri-

¹ Owen Biddle was a descendant of William Biddle, one of the proprietors of West Jersey, and long time member of Council for that colony. Owen was born in Philadelphia in 1737. He was brother to Clement Biddle, and with him signed the non-importation agreement of 1765. He was member of Committee and Council of Safety, and delegate to Provincial Conference in 1775; member of the board of war in 1777; of the Convention of 1776; and in 1777 deputy commissary of forage. The enemy burnt his residence during their occupation of Philadelphia. It was where Girard College grounds now are. Owen Biddle was a member of the American Philosophical Society, and took a deep interest in scientific subjects. He died 10th March, 1799. Joseph Blewer was born in Pennsylvania, his parents English. At the outbreak of the war he was a captain in the merchant service, and was appointed on the navy board, besides holding many other responsible posts in those critical times, among them a place on the committee to arrest the Quakers and Tories suspected of disaffection, and membership of Assembly in 1779-80. He became port-warden of Philadelphia, and died Aug. 7, 1789. John Bull was born in Providence township, Philadelphia Co., 1730, and joined the provincial service as captain in 1758. He had command at Fort Allen, was with Forbes at the capture of Duquesne, and did important service in negotiating with the Indians. After the French war he owned the Morris plantation and mill. He was delegate to the Provincial Conferences of January and June, 1775; member of Convention July, 1776, and Pennsylvania board of war, 1777. In 1775 he was appointed colonel of the First Pennsylvania Battalion, but resigned; was commissioner to treat with Indians at Easton in 1777; had command of the Billingsport fortifications, and became adjutant-general of the State. His barns were burnt and stock carried off by the British, and he succeeded to the command of the Second Brigade of Pennsylvania militia when Gen. Irvine was captured, afterwards being engaged in erecting the defenses of Philadelphia, acting as commissary of purchases; after the war served in the Assembly, and ran for Congress. Col. Bull lived to be ninety-four years old. James Cannon was a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, born 1740, educated at the High School, immigrated to Philadelphia, 1765; became tutor in the college. He was a leader of Whigs and associators, secretary of the Manufacturing Society, etc., wrote the "Cassandra" letters, and had great influence. He had

etary government. The suggestion of Congress to organize a new government had been complied with fully; it was a time of revolution, and the Convention revolutionized the provincial government by

much to do with the text of the State Constitution of 1776; was justice of the peace, member of Council of Safety, and became Professor of Mathematics in the University, dying in 1782. George Clymer was born in Philadelphia, of English parents, March 16, 1739, was brought up by William Coleman, his uncle; in 1767 was member of Commow Council; active in the tea-meeting; chairman of committee; alderman in 1774; delegate to Provincial Conference in 1775; member of Committee of Safety, of Convention of 1776, and of Continental Congress in July that year, thus signing the Declaration. He was member of Congress also in 1777; commissioner to treat with Indians in 1778; in 1780 again member of Congress, and one of the founders of the Bank of North America; served in Assembly 1785-88; member of Convention to frame Federal Constitution, and in 1788 elected to First Congress of United States. In 1791, Washington made him collector of excise for Philadelphia; in 1796 commissioner to treat with Cherokee and Creek Indians; retired from public life; was president of Pennsylvania Bank and Academy of Fine Arts; died Jan. 23, 1813. William Coats, born in Philadelphia County in 1721; educated at Friends' school; served in provincial militia; member of Provincial Conference of 1775 and Carpenters' Hall Conference; of Committee of Inspection for Northern Liberties; and Convention of July, 1776. He was major in First Battalion of Philadelphia associators, and saw much active service; was in battle of Princeton; member of Assembly in 1777; made prisoner by British in 1778, and confined in Philadelphia jail; exchanged in 1779; justice of the peace in 1778; member of Assembly in 1779, and died Jan. 24, 1780, a gallant and tireless soldier. Henry Hill, son of Richard Hill, born in 1732 on his father's Maryland plantation; bred a merchant, and settled in Philadelphia, engaging extensively in the Madeira wine trade, his father, a wealthy Quaker, having removed to the island in 1750. "Hill's Madeira" was one of the choicest brands in the Philadelphia market. He was justice of the peace for Philadelphia in 1772; member of the Carpenters' Hall Conference of 1775 and of the Convention of 1776; commanded a battalion of associators during the Jersey campaign of 1776; in 1780 subscribed five thousand pounds for relief of the Continental army; member of Assembly, 1780-84, and of Executive Council, 1785-88; died, September, 1798, of yellow fever. Frederick Kuhl, native of Philadelphia; member of Committee of Inspections in 1775; manager of the American Manufactory; member of Constitutional Convention and justice of the peace; in 1784 member of Assembly; in 1791 trustee of the University. Robert Loller, born in Philadelphia (now Montgomery) County, 1740; farmer, but had classical education; taught school at Chestnut Hill in 1772; member of Carpenters' Hall Conference and the July Convention; major in battalion of associators; fought at Trenton, Princeton, and Germantown, hurt in latter battle; military surveyor and commissioner to arrest Tories in Delaware in 1777; member of Assembly, 1777 to 1789; register of wills, 1789; associate judge, 1791; died October, 1808, and buried in Abington Presbyterian churchyard; surveyor and conveyancer by occupation; endowed Haboro' Literary Institute with eleven thousand dollars. Timothy Matlack, Quaker parents, born in Haddonfield, N. J., 1730; Free Quaker; member of Carpenters' Hall Conference and of July Convention; appointed Secretary of State from 1776 to 1783; active associator; member and secretary of Council of Safety; after the war the committee presented him with a silver urn for his patriotic services; member of Continental Congress, 1780-81; commissioner of flying camp; in 1800 made master of the rolls till 1809; then prothonotary in Philadelphia; died at Holmesburg, 1829, aged ninety-nine years. Thomas Potts, born at Colebrookdale, Philadelphia Co., May 29, 1735; engaged in iron business in Philadelphia with his uncle, Thomas Yorke; member of Assembly, 1775; captain of Continental riflemen 1776; colonel of battalion of associators; member of Convention of 1776; active in Jersey and Pennsylvania campaigns; member of Assembly, 1776-77; after war, pioneer in Pennsylvania iron mining, giving his name to Pottsville; died March 22, 1785. George Ross, vice-president of the Convention, son of Rev. George Ross, minister of the Established Church, born in New Castle, Del., May 10, 1730; classically educated, studied law, began practice in Lancaster; 1768-75, member of Assembly; active Whig and leader; member of Provincial Conference, 1774; member of First Continental Congress; raised company of associators in 1775; president of Lancaster Military Convention, July 4, 1776; member of Provincial Convention, July 16, 1776, chosen vice-president;

assuming that it derived all necessary powers from the people to reconstruct the institutions of Pennsylvania from the foundation. New delegates to Congress were elected. Upon application from Congress the common prison was removed to its former quarters in the old building corner of Third and Market Streets, and the use of the new one at Sixth and Walnut Streets given to Congress for the custody of State prisoners and prisoners of war. Thomas Dewees, the sheriff, doubting the authority of the Convention to make such changes, applied for an indemnity to protect him from the consequences of such act. He was directed to comply and to apply to the commanding officer of the City Guard for a guard for the old jail. This patrol and guard had been instituted early in July at the request of the officers of the associators. There were three patrols, each having a separate district assigned to it, each composed of a commissioned officer and four privates, who traversed the streets from eleven o'clock at night until daybreak, not superseding, but assisting and supplementing, the city watch. The chief guard-house was adjoining the prison, Market Street above Third. A guard was stationed at the State-House, and the patrol service was apportioned among the associator companies then in the city.

On July 23d the Convention elected a Council of Safety to discharge the executive duties of the State government, thus dissolving the Committee of Safety. The new Council was composed of David Rittenhouse, Samuel Mifflin, Jonathan B. Smith, Timothy Matlack, Samuel Morris, Jr., Owen Biddle, James Cannon, Samuel Howell, Nathaniel Falconer, Frederick Kuhl, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Henry Keppeler, Jr., Joseph Blewer, George Gray, John Bull, Henry Wynkoop, Benjamin Bartholomew, John Hubley, Michael Swope, Daniel Hunter, William Lyon, Peter Rhoads, David Epsey, Joseph Witzell, and Samuel Moore. David Rittenhouse was appointed chairman, and Jacob S. Howell secretary.

On the 25th the Convention adopted a resolution approving of the Declaration of Independence. It prohibited tavern-keepers from taking out licenses from officers of the old government, continued the Committees of Inspection, offered bounties for volunteers for the "flying camp," and ordered four new

sent to Congress; signed Declaration; Indian commissioner at Pittsburgh in 1776; judge of Admiralty Court, 1779, and died July that year. George Schlosser, son of Rev. George and Sophia Joannetta (Ellwesten) Schlosser, born at St. Arnald, Saarbruck, Nassau, Germany, 1714; came to Philadelphia in 1751; became successful merchant; deputy to Provincial Convention of 1774; January, 1775; Carpenters' Hall Conference, 1775, and Provincial Convention of July, 1776. Schlosser was one of the Philadelphia Committee of Observation in 1775; lent the State two thousand dollars in 1778; worked with Stephen Girard and Peter Helm against the yellow fever of 1793, and died in 1802, aged eighty-eight years. Col. Frederick Antis (or Antes), of Philadelphia County; commanded one of the associators' battalions, in active service; was member of the Provincial Convention of 1776, of the Council of Safety, etc.; justice of the peace, judge of Common Pleas and Orphans' Court; commissioner to survey the Upper Delaware, etc.]

battalions to be raised, Philadelphia's quota to be six hundred and twenty-eight men. Provision was made for returning deserters to their ranks and for disarming non-associators. As there were no courts in existence, an order was passed discharging debtors from confinement on the surrender of their property for the benefit of their creditors, those in confinement on *meine process* upon giving proper security. All criminals were discharged also, except those guilty of capital offenses and "practices against the present virtuous measures of the American States." Commissioners were appointed for the several counties, those for Philadelphia being George Bryan, James Young, Jacob Schreiner, John Bull, Henry Hill, and Peter Knight, who had power to hear and determine the cases of all persons in prison. An ordinance was passed decreeing the penalty of death for counterfeiting Continental money. Justices of the peace were appointed by the Convention, and the members of the Council of Safety were declared to be vested *ex officio* with the authority of magistrates. For the city and county of Philadelphia the following justices were commissioned: Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, George Bryan, James Young, James Biddle, John Morris, Jr., Joseph Parker, John Bayard, Sharpe Delaney, John Cadwalader, Joseph Cowperthwaite, Christopher Marshall the elder, Francis Gurney, Robert Knox, Matthew Clarkson, William Coats, William Ball, Philip Boehm, Francis Caspar Hasenclever, Thomas Cuthbert the elder, Moses Bartram, Jacob Schreiner, Joseph Moulder, Jonathan Paschal, Benjamin Paschal, Benjamin Harbeson, Jacob Bright, Henry Hill, Samuel Ashmead, Frederick Antis, Samuel Erwin, Alexander Edwards, Seth Quee, Samuel Potts, Rowland Evans, Charles Bensel, and Peter Evans. Before assuming the functions of their office, these justices were required to take an oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania and renouncing the authority of George III.

An ordinance was passed against speaking, writing, obstructing, or opposing "the measures of the United States for the defense of the freedom thereof," any one magistrate having power to hold to surety for good behavior upon this charge, and two or more to commit, without bail, for such time as they might determine, or during the war. Another ordinance condemned non-associators to pay a personal fine of twenty shillings per month per capita, and a tax of four shillings per pound on the annual value of their estates. The Convention appointed under this law to carry it into effect for Philadelphia City and County the following officers: *Commissioners for city*, Jacob Morgan, Joseph Moulder, and Jacob Bright; *for county*, Thomas Potts, Samuel Erwin, and John Williams; *assessors for city*, Michael Shubert, Benjamin Harbeson, William Will, and William Hollingshead; *for county*, John Brown, William Robinson, Samuel Ingle, Andrew Knox, Henry Derringer, and Isaac Hughes.

The last act of the old Provincial Assembly, besides a protest against the usurpation of the Convention, was to vote one thousand pounds to Governor Penn and eleven thousand pounds in salaries to other of the old provincial officers. The Convention took no notice of the expiring Assembly, but adopted the new Constitution and adjourned, having completed its labors, on September 28th.

The new Constitution provided for an Assembly, to be elected annually, and a supreme executive council, composed of twelve members, chosen by districts, to hold their offices for three years. The Assembly was to appoint the delegates to Congress, the supreme executive council exercising all the powers needed for the public safety and the proper execution of the laws. Members of the Assembly could not be re-elected more than four times in seven years. The official oath was to support the Constitution, to act faithfully, to subscribe to a belief in one God, Creator, Governor, rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked, and in the divine inspiration of Scripture. The Constitution could not be altered for seven years, but at the expiration of that time a council of censors was to be elected, who were to consider and balance all the benefits and defects of the system. If they thought amendments were needed, they had power, with the consent of two-thirds the voters, to call a Convention to meet two years afterwards.

The new Constitution encountered opposition as soon as published. Franklin's plan (for it was his) of a single legislative body was denounced, and so also was the requirement of a profession of religious belief. It was too explicit, and at the same time too loose, as it would admit deists, Jews, Mohammedans, and other enemies of Christianity. There were other objections, and the newspapers teemed with communications for and against the instrument from the pens of "A Friend of Christ," "Orator Puff and Mr. Easy," "Casea," "Scipio," "Lucius," "A Real Friend of Christ," "Cassius," "Andrew and Benjamin," "Montesquieu," etc. A town-meeting was even held at the State-House on October 21st, Col. John Bayard presiding. A series of resolutions analyzing and criticising the Constitution, which had been agreed upon previously at Philosophical Hall, were submitted, and debated by Thomas McKean, John Dickinson, and others, in opposition to the Constitution, and James Cannon, Timothy Matlack, Dr. Young, and Col. Smith, of York County, in favor of it. The resolutions were adopted at an adjourned meeting, but they accomplished nothing. The elections were duly held under the Constitution at the time specified. The anti-constitutional ticket prevailed in both city and county by a majority more than double. The delegates elected to the Assembly on November 5th were Joseph Parker, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Michael Shubert, John Bayard, and Samuel Morris, Jr.; and at a meeting of the voters

electing them, and who were opposed to the Constitution, a series of "instructions" was adopted, commanding them, in effect, to make radical changes in the Constitution, or make what was really a new and entirely different instrument. This violent action was not approved, however. Other meetings were called, and meantime public attention was directed to the critical military situation. The members of the Assembly organized under the new Constitution, without heeding the instructions, and the Constitution continued to be the supreme law.

In the mean time, independent of military crises and political excitements, there were many other things to disturb the equanimity of Philadelphians. There was scarcity or an uncertain and fortuitous supply only of many articles of necessity. Salt, in particular, was very scarce, and yet must be had at any price. It had become the most precious of commodities, more inquired for than either gunpowder or saltpetre, and the government sought to remedy a difficulty in regard to the supply, which was aggravated by the efforts of the forestallers and engrossers. The capitalists and leading business men were Quakers. They were not well affected towards the patriot cause; they preferred hard money or goods to Continental and Pennsylvania currency, and they bought and stored away salt in utter disregard of the needs of the community. It would be premature here to discuss the distresses growing out of a degraded and devalued currency, since the crisis had not yet come; but it is evident that depreciation had already set in with sufficient force to affect the prices of all articles in daily use. We may judge from Christopher Marshall's diary and other contemporary records that the stringency in price and scarcity of some classes of articles began about the time of the Declaration, and that from that date onward it was impossible for the committees to regulate prices by any fixed or arbitrary scale.

We find Marshall speaking of the committee's having settled the prices of salt and tea "for the present" on June 1st at a meeting at Philosophical Hall. Marshall had the granting of permits to buy such articles of prime necessity. His diary speaks of his wife's anxious quest along the wharves for the winter's supply of firewood—twenty-nine shillings for hickory, twenty shillings for oak, etc. "August 31, paid ten pounds for eleven and a half cords of oak firewood. Paid for hauling, carrying, and piling, forty-two shillings ten and a half pence. September 2d, Been fixing the quantity of salt to be sold to each county, being what was Messrs. Shewell and Joshua Fisher and Sons'. 7th, Yesterday arrived a Bermudian vessel with two thousand five hundred bushels of salt. 8th, it is said that two more vessels are just come in with salt; quantity, it's said, two thousand bushels. . . . October 7th, a vessel from Bermudas with salt. . . . 12th, two vessels arrived with salt within these two days past, and yet it's said some

are selling it at three dollars per bushel (so inhuman are some of our citizens to poor people). . . . a wonderful Ordinance published in *Evening Post*, No. 270, inviting all masters of vessels coming with salt to sell it to them for fifteen shillings per bushel. O rare Council of Safety! . . . 14th, two more vessels, it's said, with salt. . . . 17th, another vessel, it's said, arrived yesterday with twenty-five bushels of salt from Bermudas. . . . On the twenty-first, arrived a schooner with twelve hundred bushels of salt, it's said," etc. etc. Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg's diary, under date of Friday, November 8th (written in Reading), says,—“Bought a quarter of pork for the family, cost thirteen shillings sixpence. There is complaint upon complaint heard among the inhabitants in town and country. The finest salt, which before the war could be got for two shillings per bushel, has risen already to twenty-five shillings, and not easily gotten. A pair of shoes, which cost seven shillings sixpence, now costs fifteen shillings. A pound of butter, which at its highest prices was one shilling, now costs two shillings and two shillings sixpence. Wool three times as dear as before the war. Linen, which could be purchased for three shillings per yard, now costs nine shillings to twelve shillings. A pound of meat, which cost fourpence to fivepence, now costs eightpence to tenpence. A cord of wood, which used to cost previously one pound, now costs two pounds; and flour is beginning to rise in price, because the last crop did not turn out well, and the rich Quakers are purchasing large quantities, as they would rather store up wheat than Continental paper. So the Lord by degrees allows our bread to become dear that we may not become independent.” Sunday, December 1st, Muhlenberg wrote that F. M. had been to the city, and reported a frightful state of things there. “There is a great scarcity of salt. The people push and jostle one another wherever there is the smallest quantity to be found about town. The country people complain and threaten because they suppose there are hidden stores of salt in Philadelphia. Next to bread salt is the greatest necessary of life, and it seems as if the government had more care for the articles of death than of life. There is great pains taken to provide saltpetre and powder, but a magazine of salt is forgotten.”

It is apparent from these figures that the enhancement in the price of salt was many times greater than that of other articles of consumption. The Committees of Safety and Inspection took such measures as occurred to them for preventing the storing away of salt for higher prices. Stephen and Joseph Shewell had hoarded four thousand and fifty-nine bushels, in defiance of regulations, selling only at twelve shillings per bushel for coarse salt instead of 7s. 6d., and two shillings per half-peck for fine salt instead of twelve pence. They were brought before the committee, refused to apologize, were published as enemies of the country, and all their stock was seized. Three thou-

sand bushels, belonging to Joshua Fisher & Sons, had been seized under similar circumstances in 1775. The committee made a general distribution of these seizures at the June prices, the quantity reserved for Philadelphia being two hundred and seventy-nine bushels of fine and ninety-eight and one-half bushels of coarse salt, three thousand bushels of fine and one hundred and six of coarse salt being reserved for Philadelphia County. Congress also passed resolutions at this time intended to prevent the monopoly of salt. There had been salt-works set up at Tom's River, guarded by the military, but these yielded nothing so far, and in December the Council of Safety withdrew all restrictions on the price and traffic in this article of necessity.

The Tories and disaffected gave great trouble after the Declaration of Independence, and when the Howes had issued their proclamations of amnesty to individuals, upon beginning their march into the Jerseys. Congress was in part to blame for this, since they received Gen. Sullivan as a *quasi* ambassador from Lord Howe, and also sent John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Edward Rutledge as commissioners to ascertain his powers to treat. The weakness of Congress at this time, however, the broken and enfeebled condition of the army, the apparently irresistible advance of Sir William Howe's fierce forces, and above all, the example set by the Quakers and many of the leading families of the province and city, had a still greater effect. This was the period when the Allens, Gallows, patriots whose courage failed them, and many more of the most influential citizens went over to the enemy. It was not until 1778, however, that there was any general attempt to call these deserters from this cause to account, either in their persons or estates. In the meanwhile arrests were being made every day. Arthur Thomas and his son, Arthur Thomas, Jr., were imprisoned by order of Congress for assisting the Tory leader, Col. Kirkland, of South Carolina, to escape, and warrants were out for the elder and younger John Hatton for the same offense. Alexander Maurice, of New Castle, William Sutton, of New York, and James McConaughty, of Chester, were imprisoned in the new jail as suspects, and in October they were reinforced by thirty-three Tories, brought on from New York. John Biles, of Northern Liberties, was imprisoned for treason. James Thompson, of Oxford, made to apologize for imprudent language. John Baldwin, cordwainer, Joseph Fox, late barrack-master, and Jonathan Reynolds were published as enemies for refusing to take Continental money. Capt. Hare, of the Continental army, was brought before the United States treasury board for buying specie at a premium in Continental money. Twelve canisters of illicit tea, on the sloop "Sally," Capt. Ball, from St. Croix, were thrown into the Delaware by Cpts. Heysham, Simpson, and John Leamington, under orders from the Committee of Inspection. These committees, however, were dissolved in September.

The Tories were encouraged by the withdrawal of the committees to new aggressions and insolence, until finally a public meeting was called to consider their conduct. Thomas McKean was chairman, and John Chaloner clerk of this meeting, held at the Indian Queen, November 25th. It appeared that Tory clubs were in the habit of meeting at taverns and singing "God Save the King." The result was a number of arrests and penalties, more or less severe. Among those committed were James Prescott, William Smith, Richard Footman, Joseph Stansbury, Samuel Jeffries, David Shoemaker, Joel Zane, Robert Burton, Leatherbury Barker, William Barker, William Bagwell, Littleton Townsend, William Redding, Daniel Bancroft (spy), and one Cunningham.

The Quakers, in the latter part of December, when all believed that Howe would be in Philadelphia in a very few days, issued their usual "testimony," urging upon the faithful a patient spirit in order to enable them with Christian firmness and fortitude "to withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary injunctions and ordinances of men who assume to themselves the power of compelling others, either in person or by assistance, to aid in carrying on war," etc.

The State navy built two new galleys, the "Delaware," built at Kensington, by William Williams, and commanded by Henry Dougherty, and the "Convention," captain, John Rice. Arthur Donaldson built the new floating battery, the "Putnam," the captain of which was William Brown. Twelve fire-raft boats were ordered; Thomas Seymour was commissioned as fleet commodore, Samuel Mifflin having declined to serve. The Continental frigate "Washington" was launched in August, and the fleet of privateers greatly increased. Among those newly commissioned were "General Mifflin," brigantine, John Cox, Chaloner, and others owners, 12 guns, 90 men, Capt. John Hamilton; "General Putnam," brigantine, Matthew Irwin and Benjamin Harbeson owners, 12 guns, 90 men, Capt. Charles Ferguson; "Jupiter," sloop, N. Low & Co. owners, 14 guns, 95 men, Capt. Francis Illingsworth; "Congress," sloop, John Bayard and Joseph Dean & Co. owners, 6 guns, 40 men, Capt. William Greenway; "General Thompson," Edmund Beach & Co. owners, 6 guns, 12 men, Capt. Connell; "General Lee," brig, John Bayard, Henderson & Co. owners, 12 guns, 90 men, Capt. John Chatham; "Speedwell," ship, John Maxwell, Nesbitt & Co. owners, 10 guns, 25 men, Capt. Thomas Bell; "Friendship," sloop, John Wilcocks & Co. owners, 6 guns, 20 men, Capt. Robert Collings; "Industry," brig, Blair McClenachan owner, Capt. Michael Barstow; and "Rutledge," brig, Alexander Gilson owner, 12 guns, 60 men, Capt. James Smith.

These letters of marque and privateers that set a sea before them were very successful. The "Hancock" sent into Portsmouth, Va., a large ship that had once carried twenty guns, with a cargo of seven hundred hogsheds of sugar, two hundred hogsheds

of rum, and other valuables; a British transport with two hundred and fifty Hessian soldiers aboard; a Jamaica ship with five hundred hogsheads of sugar and five hundred dollars; another sugar-ship; another with logwood and mahogany; with three brigs sent into Philadelphia,—eleven prizes in all for one vessel. The "Congress" took the ship "Richmond," with a two thousand pounds cargo; the "Chance" brought in the ship "William," cargo of rum and sugar; the "General Montgomery" took the large ship "Thetis," which went ashore in Delaware Bay; another prize, a large ship also, reaching port safely. The Continental ships were successful also: the "Reprisal," Capt. Wickes, the vessel which took Franklin out to Nantes as minister to France, sent in a ship, a brig, and a schooner; the "Lexington," Capt. John Barry, captured an armed sloop; the "Providence" took the "Sea Nymph"; the "Sachem" took the brigantine "Three Friends"; the "Andrew Doria," Capt. Nicholas Biddle, took a ship and five brigs; the "Independence" took the sloop "Sam," with twenty thousand dollars and two and one-half tons of ivory; and the "Wasp" brought in a fine ship, which was burnt in port.

The blockaders made many prizes, but did not succeed in closing the port. The "Nancy," Capt. Montgomery, a ship of the province, with arms and ammunition, was closely chased at Cape May, showed fight, aided by Capts. Barry and Wickes, but finally was run ashore and blown up, saving part of her arms and gunpowder. The British sailors were boarding the vessel at the moment of the explosion, and many lives were lost. Other vessels were captured by the blockaders,—the "Roebuck," "Kingfisher," and "Orpheus," with six tenders,—but a good many vessels came through with arms and other military stores.

The campaign of 1776 in the field was not only extremely disastrous to the American arms, but it transferred the field of operations from Boston to the vicinity of Philadelphia. The necessity for the evacuation of Boston was no sooner perceived by the British government than they determined to seize upon New York. Their plan was, holding this city as a naval and military rendezvous, to connect it by a line of posts with Albany and Canada, from which New England could be harassed in the rear. The colonies severed at this point, New Jersey could be overrun and a new *cordon sanitaire* established by means of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, while independent expeditions might easily overrun the South. In advance of the evacuation of Boston Clinton had looked into New York, but found Charles Lee there to watch him, and Lee, with his flying corps, followed Clinton down the coast to Charleston, where Moultrie and Gadsden defeated him and Sir Peter Parker.

Boston was evacuated March 17, 1776; Washington's army reached New York April 14th, and now

efforts were made to defend that city with new levies of troops drawn in part from the Middle States. Pennsylvania had already been called on to contribute her battalions to the expedition towards Canada under Sullivan. She was now called upon again to send troops to take part in the battle of Long Island and the defense of Fort Mifflin, to form a flying camp in New Jersey, and finally to muster all her levies of minute-men, militia, and associators to prevent the line of the Delaware from being broken.

The student of Washington's military operations will have noticed that the American general, in the course of this year (1776), established the "quadrilateral" upon which all his subsequent operations rested. The line, with respect to the Hudson, extended from Newburg to Morristown, with West Point for the final rally and last stand. For the Delaware and Schuylkill peninsula it extended from Trenton to the "safe place" or rendezvous at Germantown and Chestnut Hill round to the Perkiomen, with a final retreat, if necessary, to the Cumberland Valley and the valley of Virginia, where Washington said he could carry on the war for twenty years. The "safe place" above Germantown was really the central point, the pivot of the greatest military operations of the war. Here the campaign of Trenton and Princeton was planned; here the army was swung around to meet Howe at Brandywine; here again it waited to decide between New York and Yorktown for the closing campaign; here was the outpost of Valley Forge; and the key that held Howe prisoner in Philadelphia until the Monmouth retreat ended almost in a fox-chase. The manœuvres and military movements from the Perkiomen to the Brandywine, in the peninsula between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, are part of the proper history of Philadelphia. Of other movements we need particularize nothing, except so far as concerns soldiers who were themselves citizens of Philadelphia.

Henry P. Johnston's Centennial volume, describing "the campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn," a work published by the Long Island Historical Society, gives an excellent summary of the part played in that struggle by the soldiers of Pennsylvania: "Her troops," he says, "participated in nearly every engagement, and had the opportunity in more than one instance of acquitting themselves with honor. Besides her large body of 'associators,' many of whom marched into New Jersey, the State sent four Continental regiments, under Cols. Wayne, St. Clair, Irvine, and De Haas, to Canada, and eight other battalions, three of them Continental, to the army at New York. Of these, the oldest was commanded by Col. Edward Hand, of Lancaster. It was the first of the Continental establishment, in which it was known as the rifle corps. Enlisting in 1775, under Col. Thompson, it joined the army at the siege of Boston, re-enlisted for the war under Col. Hand in 1776, and fought all along the continent from Massachusetts to South Carolina, not

disbanding until peace was signed in 1783. Hand, himself a native of Ireland, and like many others in the service, a physician by profession, had served in the British army, was recognized as a superior officer, and we find him closing his career as Washington's adjutant-general and personal friend. The two other regiments raised on the Continental basis were commanded by Col. Robert Magaw, formerly major of Thompson's regiment, and John Shee, of Philadelphia. The remaining battalions were distinctively State troops, and formed part of the State's quota for the flying camp. Col. Samuel Miles, subsequently mayor of Philadelphia, commanded what was known as the First Regiment of Riflemen. Unlike any other corps, it was divided into two battalions, which, under their enlistment, in March, aggregated five hundred men each. The lieutenant-colonel of the first was Piper, of the second, John Brodhead. The majors were Paten and Williams. Another corps was known as the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Musketry, under Col. Samuel John Atlee, of Lancaster County, originally five hundred strong, and recruited in Chester and the Pequea Valleys. Atlee had been a soldier in his youth in the frontier service, afterwards studied law, and in 1775 was active in drilling companies for the war. Mercer, who knew a good soldier when he met him, wrote to Washington that Atlee was worthy his regard as an officer of "experience and attention," and his fine conduct on Long Island proved his title to this word of commendation from his superior. How much of a man and a soldier he had in his lieutenant-colonel, Caleb Parry, the events of Aug. 27th will bear witness. The three other battalions were incomplete." In speaking of the death of Col. Parry in the description of the battle, Mr. Johnston says, "The men shrunk and fell back, but Atlee rallied them, and Parry cheered them on, and they gained the hill. It was here, while engaged in an officer's highest duty, turning men to the enemy by his own example, that the fatal bullet pierced his brow. When some future monument rises from Greenwood to commemorate the struggle of this day, it can bear no more fitting line among its inscriptions than this tribute of Brodhead's,—'Parry died like a hero.'"

Shee's, Magaw's, and Lambert Cadwalader's commands were the defenders of Fort Washington, and the survivors became prisoners of war when that untenable post surrendered. The story, as told by Alexander Graydon, may still be read with interest, though it is not told without prejudice. After this disaster, Washington had but the poorest third of his army left him, and that melting rapidly by desertions and the expiration of terms of enlistment. One-third had been lost on the field by disease, wounds, and capture; one-third was inert and idle under Lee on the east side of the Hudson, and Lee would not bring it up because he wanted a separate command to himself, and expected that Howe would secure it for him by speedily

dispersing Washington's feeble remnants. The latter was retreating towards the Delaware, with Howe pressing upon him. His rear left New Brunswick as the van of Cornwallis' entered the town. He made a night march to Princeton, then, leaving a rear guard there under Stirling, the general hurried to the Delaware, and prepared to defend that line, scarcely hoping to succeed. He sent Reed to the New Jersey authorities to hurry up the levies, and Mifflin to Philadelphia to rouse Congress and the provincial authorities to the critical character of the emergency. Reed met with but scant success. "The defenseless Legislature" of New Jersey, says Sedgwick, "with their Governor, William Livingston, at their head, wandered from Princeton to Burlington, from Burlington to Pittstown, from Pittstown to Haddonfield, and there, finally, at the utmost verge of the State, dissolved themselves, on the 2d of December, leaving each member to look to his own safety, at a moment when the efforts of legislators would be of no avail, and when there was no place where they could safely hold their sessions." The Jersey yeomanry were not fully roused to take the field until they had bitter experience of the impartial rapine of the Hessians visited upon all, Whig and Tory, male and female, alike. Mifflin prospered better. He was eloquent and could speak plainly, and tell the truth bluntly. "His countrymen," he wrote to Washington, "appeared to be slumbering under the shade of peace, and in the full enjoyment of the sweets of commerce." He gave them a talk, several of them, and, as he said, these talks were "well seasoned." Washington retreated across the Delaware at Trenton, secured all the boats for seventy miles up and down the river, and prevented Cornwallis and Grant from crossing immediately.

The delay thus gained undoubtedly gave a year's respite to Philadelphia and saved the cause from the peril of immediate total wreck. But the situation was still as desperate as it could well be. Apathy was seen on one side, disaffection and treason on the other. Men like Lee and Gates were selfishly conspiring; men like George Clinton were puzzled and complaining; almost every one looked upon the Revolution as "a ruined enterprise." The loyal Jerseymen were supine. "Sorry am I to observe," wrote Washington, "that the frequent calls upon the militia of this State, the want of exertion in the principal gentlemen of the country, and a fatal supineness and insensibility of danger, till it is too late to prevent an evil that was not only foreseen, but foretold, have been the causes of our late disgraces. If the militia of this State had stepped forth in season (and timely notice they had), we might have prevented the enemy's crossing the Hackensack. We might, with equal possibility of success, have made a stand at Brunswick, on the Raritan. But as both these rivers were fordable in a variety of places, it required many men to guard the passes, and these we had not." As for the disloyal Jerseymen, there were legions of them. Gov-

error Livingston characterized the population of his own village of Elizabethtown as being made up of "unknown, unrecommended strangers, guilty-looking Tories, and very knavish Whigs."

Howe's proclamation brought the people flocking in and determined hundreds in adjacent colonies to wait for the opportunity of submission. "On all sides," says Gen. W. W. H. Davis,¹ "this period was considered the most critical. In Europe the cause of the colonies was thought to be lost. In England Franklin was said to be a fugitive, or had come to offer terms. The English government believed that Cornwallis would sweep the American army from the field in the spring, and thus end the quarrel. At New York all was gayety, and wine and dance and song went round in exultant glory over the anticipated defeat of the patriots. The haughty Britons seemed to forget that there was a Providence on this side of the Atlantic, and that in a just cause He was not always on the side of the strongest battalions.

"Circumstances conspired to make this the most trying time of the Revolution. Several prominent men, among the most ardent patriots at the beginning of the struggle, were growing lukewarm, or had already made their peace with the king. Samuel Tucker, president of the Convention which framed the Constitution of New Jersey, had made his submission under Howe's proclamation. On this side the Delaware, Joseph Galloway, the three Allens, and others had followed his example. John Dickinson, so zealous and patriotic at the breaking out of the war, feeling that the Declaration of Independence was premature, refused a seat in Congress from Delaware. . . . But Washington and a compact body of patriots did not grow faint-hearted in the darkest hour."

Washington reached Trenton on Dec. 3, 1776, and on the 8th he was already across the river with his rear-guard. He had sent Col. Hampton in advance from New Brunswick to collect boats, and with the request to Putnam to collect lumber and build rafts, and to Congress to order all boats to be secured and brought over to the west side. Washington's headquarters were in George Clymer's house, afterwards Morrisville, a site in later years suggested for the capital of the United States. He had been on the west side of the river before, examining the topography of the country, the condition of the fords and ferries, and seeking the means to repel an enemy attempting to cross the river in force. Greene, Putnam, Maxwell, and Ewing were instructed to collect all boats and destroy such as could not be secured on the west side, from New Hope down to Philadelphia. The fords were all heavily guarded, a brigade at every one, and Washington had already selected that "strong ground

near Germantown" where he expected to make his final stand in case the enemy forced the passage of the river. This point, Trenton, Red Bank, Valley Forge, and the field of Brandywine, were all within a radius of forty miles from the steeple of the State-House in Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence had been proclaimed. Historic ground!

It is now proper to inquire, with more detail, what troops Philadelphia was contributing for her defense. Congress, on July 3d, by request of the Provincial Convention of New Jersey, addressed the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, asking for as many troops as could be spared, to be sent to Monmouth Court-House, to be placed under the commander-in-chief, to hold in check the troublesome Tories of Amboy and defend the approaches from Staten Island. One battalion of five hundred riflemen, under Lieut.-Col. Brodhead, was at once sent forward to Bordentown. The resolutions for the flying camp were passed July 2d; until it could be formed the Philadelphia associators were asked to come forward. A conference was held at the State-House of the officers of the five city battalions,² the members of Congress from New

² The regular battalions were State militia under pay, in contradistinction to Continental regiments, which were officered and paid by Congress, and the battalions and companies of associators, who were volunteers, not paid unless mustered into actual field-service. To neglect these distinctions will cause confusion. The "Pennsylvania Archives" give two muster-rolls of "men in actual pay, officers included, in the service of the Province of Pennsylvania." These rolls are made up to July 1, 1776, and Aug. 1, 1776, respectively, from the muster-rolls as follows:

July 1st.		August 1st.	
<i>First Battalion Rifle Regiment.</i>		<i>First Battalion Rifle Regiment.</i>	
Col. Samuel Miles.		S. Miles, Esq. colonel.	
Lewis Farmer's company.....	102	Lewis Farmer's company.....	78
Philip Albright's ".....	86	Philip Albright's ".....	84
Andrew Long's ".....	81	Andrew Long's ".....	81
Henry Shadle's ".....	69	Henry Shadle's ".....	72
Richard Brown's ".....	65	Richard Brown's ".....	62
Casper Weitzell's ".....	70	Casper Weitzell's ".....	70
	443		417
<i>Second Battalion of Rifles.</i>		<i>Second Battalion of Rifles.</i>	
John Morrow's company.....	81	John Morrow's company.....	71
Peter Grubb's ".....	65	Peter Grubb's ".....	68
John Marshall's ".....	70	John Marshall's ".....	78
William Peeble's ".....	93	William Peeble's ".....	91
Joseph Erwin's ".....	57	Joseph Erwin's ".....	58
Henry Christ's ".....	62	Henry Christ's ".....	64
	428		430
<i>Battalion of Musketry, Samuel Atter, Esq.</i>		<i>Battalion of Musketry, Samuel Atter, Esq.</i>	
Patrick Anderson's company	56	Patrick Anderson's company	49
Peter Z. Lloyd's ".....	61	Peter Z. Lloyd's ".....	38
Francis Muncy's ".....	62	Francis Muncy's ".....	49
Abraham Marshall's ".....	44	Joseph McCallan's ".....	50
Abraham Deluff's ".....	64	Abraham Deluff's ".....	59
Thomas Herbert's ".....	57	Thomas Herbert's ".....	55
John Nice's ".....	65	John Nice's ".....	60
Joseph Howell's ".....	65	Joseph Howell's ".....	47
	444		397
Total.....	1315	Total.....	1244
Capt. Thomas Proctor's company of artillery.....	117	Capt. Proctor's artillery.....	121
Number carried forward.....	1442	Carried up.....	1365
The navy men and officers.....	743	Men and officers in navy.....	798
Total number of land and fleet forces.....	2175	Fleet and land forces.....	2133

¹ "Washington on the West Bank of the Delaware, 1776:" read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Jan. 12, 1880.—*Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. iv. No. 2.

York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and the Committees of Safety and Inspection, Thomas McKean presiding. It was resolved to march by companies to Trenton, the three regular Pennsylvania battalions

Proctor's company was the first Pennsylvania artillery during the Revolution. Thomas Proctor was born in Ireland in 1739, came to Philadelphia with his father, Francis Proctor; married to Mary Fox, Dec. 31, 1766; was by trade a carpenter. Oct. 27, 1775, Proctor applied to the Committee of Safety to be commissioned captain of an artillery company to be raised for garrisoning Fort Island. He was commissioned that day and given authority to raise his company. In December he had ninety men at Fort Island. Aug. 14, 1776, Proctor's command was raised to a battalion of two hundred men, two companies, one commanded by John Martin Strobogh, the other by Thomas Forrest, Proctor commanding battalion as major. On July 31, 1776, Proctor's muster-roll showed one hundred and fourteen men and twelve musicians; three were sick in town, seven on furlough, three recently discharged as apprentices. The roll that day was,—Captain, Thomas Proctor; first lieutenant, Hercules Courtenay; captain-lieutenant, Jeremiah Simmons; second lieutenant, John Martin Strobogh; lieutenant fire worker, Francis Proctor; quartermaster-sergeant, John Webster; corporal and company clerk, Patrick Duffy; sergeants, Charles Turnbull, Jacob Parker, John Stephenson; corporals, William Ferguson, Thomas Healy, George May; bombardiers, David Shadaker, Nicholas Coleman, David Fisk, William Turner, Robert McConnell, John Holden, George Bonrk, Nicholas Burr; gunners, Thomas Newbound, Jacob Climer, Isaac Bunting, John Reynolds, Thomas Kenney, Francis Bell, Michael Amerlin, Henry Suiter, Jacob Harkishimer, Owen Williams, Daniel Forbes, William Fitch, Henry Love, George Jeffries, David Wilson, Thomas Wiggins, Samuel Newton, William Newbound, William Clayton, James Cuckley, James Norris, Andrus Cressman, George Whiteside, Ephraim Reese; with sixty-nine matrosses, six musicians, one fifer, and five drummers. At this time Proctor was energetically sending out recruiting parties and increasing his force, with the view to detach one company to the relief of Washington. On December 1st the second company, under Capt. Forrest, with fifty privates and two brass six-pounder guns, marched to Trenton to join Washington, and by Christmas-day the entire brigade was ready to obey the general's command. Forrest and his section of guns took part in the battle of Trenton, and captured Rahl's Hessian band of music that he loved so well. Knox wanted to annex Proctor's command to the Continental artillery, but on Feb. 6, 1777, he was commissioned colonel, with instructions to recruit an entire regiment of artillery. Part of Proctor's command was captured at Bound Brook; the regiment was under Wayne at Brandywine, engaged in the artillery duel with Knyphausen at Chadd's Ford, and Proctor had his horse shot under him, and lost his guns and caissons when Sullivan was routed. It was one of Proctor's guns, under Lieut. Barker, that was brought up to batter Chew's house at Germantown during that battle, and the remnants of the regiment wintered at Valley Forge. On Sept. 3, 1778, Proctor's regiment was drafted into the Continental army as part of Pennsylvania's quota, and he received his commission as colonel of artillery, United States army, May 18, 1779, and marched to Wyoming, shattering the British and Indians with shell, round-shot, and grape at the battle of Newtown. Proctor was in Wayne's Bergen Neck expedition, satirized by André as the "Cow Chase,"—

"And sons of distant Delaware,
And still remoter Shannon,
And Major Lee with horses rare,
And Proctor with his cannon."

Proctor and President Joseph Reed were always at dagger's point with one another, Proctor's Irish blood making him independent and obstinate, while Reed was querulous and irritable both from natural perversity and disease. In 1793, Proctor was commissioned, by Governor Mifflin, brigadier-general of Pennsylvania State troops, and marched against the whiskey insurgents at the head of the First Brigade, eighteen hundred and forty-nine men. After this war he became major-general of Philadelphia militia. He was sheriff of Philadelphia County in 1783-85, and city lieutenant of Philadelphia in 1790, commissioner to treat with the Micmacs in 1791, and died in 1806. A part of his regiment of artillery, the company under Capts. Douglas and Ferguson, has maintained its organization down to the present day as the Second United States Artillery. (See *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. iv. No. 4, p. 454, *et seq.*, "A Sketch of General Thomas Proctor.")

forming part of the force, and all to remain in the field until the flying camp should be formed.

The associators were not well prepared for field service, only looking to be called on for operations near home. They responded promptly, however, and the Committee of Safety busied themselves to secure the needed supplies. The good women of the town looked after lint and bandages; awnings, sails, and canvas were sought for tents; clock and window weights were collected to be cast into bullets; six cannon were procured and brought on from New York, and one hundred thousand stand of arms ordered to be sent to New Jersey. Congress advanced one hundred thousand dollars to the committee to expedite the preparations, and persons competent to forge cannon, make guns and locks, or assist in building *chevaux-de-frise*, were restrained from going into the field. The arms of non-associators were seized for the public use, and public provision was made for the support of the families of associators who were poor. The committees for this service were, for the First Battalion, Isaac Coats, William Moulder, Jacob Schreiner; for the Second, Moses Bartram, Caspar Guyer, Ephraim Bonham; for the Third, George Meade, Richard Dumois, Robert Bailey; for the Fourth, George Green, Frederick Dushon, Peter Knight; for the Fifth, John Hart, John Tittermary, William Drury. These committees received their funds from the Committee of Safety, and attended to their duties faithfully.

The associator battalions marched into New Jersey about the middle of July, and took the lines in and near Amboy, to watch the British on Staten Island. In this camp were the First Battalion, Col. John Dickinson; the Second, Col. John Bayard;¹ the Third, Col. John Cadwalader; the Fourth, Col. Thomas McKean; the Fifth, the rifle battalion, Col. Timothy Matlack. There was still another associators' battalion in Philadelphia, the Sixth, John Bull, colonel; Robert Corie, lieutenant-colonel; George Wright, Thomas Rees, Dr. Abel Morgan, majors; John Becker, standard-bearer. A county battalion had Jonathan Paschall for colonel.

¹ John Bayard was born on Bohemia Manor, Cecil Co., Md., Aug. 11, 1738, a descendant of Peter Bayard and Augustine Herman. He was an active merchant in Philadelphia at the outbreak of the Revolution, and took a prominent part on the side of the colonies. He was a member of the Provincial Congress of July, 1774, and of the Committee of Sixty of the associators, member of the Provincial Convention of January, 1775, and was elected major of the Second Battalion of City Associators; in 1776 his firm, Hodge & Bayard, was engaged in privateering, furnishing Congress with arms, etc., while he in person acted for the Committee of Safety in superintending the building of powder-mills. Mr. Bayard was member of the Carpenters' Hall Conference, and in September, 1776, of the Council of Safety; in October he presided over the meeting in opposition to the Constitution, and took his seat as member of Assembly. In the winter of 1776-77 he made the Trenton-Princeton campaign at the head of his battalion, and was very zealous and earnest in procuring reinforcements for Washington. In March, 1777, Bayard became a member of the State Board of War, and was one of the State Committee to visit the Valley Forge camp. He was Speaker of Assembly in 1778, official auctioneer and revenue commissioner in 1780, member of Supreme Executive Council in 1781, member of Congress in 1785. He removed to Brunswick, N. J., became mayor and judge of Common Pleas, and died in 1807.

Col. Dickinson's battalion was stationed at Elizabethtown, Bayard's at Amboy, with Samuel Mifflin's artillery park, comprising the First Philadelphia Artillery, Capt. Benjamin Loxley; Second, Capt. Joseph Moulder; Third, Capt. Joseph Stiles; and two New Jersey companies. The other battalions of associators were stationed at Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, and intervening points; the regiments of Cols. Miles and Atlee and the battalion of Lieut.-Col. Brodhead supporting them. Capt. Loxley's journal of the events of this campaign is still in existence; it gives little information, reciting simply the routine of ordinary camp-life, with the enemy's fleet and army in sight to compel discipline, vigilance, and sobriety.

The flying camp formed but slowly; only two hundred and seventy-four men had mustered by August, and the associators began to grow uneasy and impatient, while desertions became frequent. The Pennsylvania State Convention issued a proclamation against deserters, giving them eight days to return to camp, after which a reward of three pounds each was to be paid for their apprehension. At the same time a bounty of three pounds was offered for every volunteer to the flying camp. Gen. Washington, and Gen. Roberdeau, their more immediate commander, both issued addresses to the associators, to urge the need of their remaining in camp. Roberdeau's language was pointed and effective. The men who wanted to go, the men who had families, were the very men, he told them, who ought above all to stay. "Here is the spot to make your defense. If you have a mind to keep the enemy from ravaging your country, fight them on the seashore. . . . There is no difference in effect between retreating and being defeated. Consider it well, gentlemen. Think for your country's good; look but across the water; and for your honor's sake never let it be said that an army of sixpenny soldiers, picked up from prisons and dungeons, freed from transportation, the whipping-post, and the gallops, fighting in the worst of causes and for the worst of kings, bore the fatigues of war with stouter hearts than you."

The associators were sent home by Gen. Roberdeau about the end of August, the flying camp having been organized and other troops concentrated on the menaced lines.

The officers of the flying camp for Philadelphia were: Robert Lewis, colonel; Isaac Hughes, lieutenant-colonel; John Moore, major; Enoch Edwards, surgeon; Marshal Edwards, second major; Solomon Bush, adjutant; Archibald Thompson, George Smith, Henry Derringer, Jacob Laughlin, Rudolph Neff, Aaron Levering, Christian Snyder, Henry Pawling, Joseph Jones, captains; Marshal Edwards, Solomon Bush, Samuel Swift, William Wilson, Caspar Doll, Samuel Haines, Grandus Schlatter, Mordecai Morgan, David Schrack, Stephen Porter, Thomas Rossiter, first lieutenants; William Armstrong, Leonard

Doll, James Hazlet, George Bringham, Matthew Holgate, Jesse Roberts, Alexander Hall, Peacock Major, second lieutenants; Andrew Bard, William North, William Knox, Abraham Duffield, Nathaniel Childs, Alexander Wright, James Potts, Rees Manna, ensigns. In October the officers of the flying camp from Pennsylvania at Amboy, Woodbridge, and Elizabethtown were Moore, McAlister, Clotz, Read, Allison, Lavitz, Henderson, and Slough, colonels; and Tea, Laurence, Cunningham, Montgomery, Watt, and Swope, lieutenant-colonels.

The associators were required to furnish their quota of men towards the volunteers in this flying camp. The various military movements filled the city with stir and bustle at this time. Troops were daily marching in from the interior, from Maryland, Virginia, and other States, and most of these soldiers tarried a few days in the city to see the sights. They were quartered in the barracks, where Maj. Lewis Nicola was in charge as superintendent. Some soldiers were quartered in the college, and notice was given in August that the churches would be occupied if necessary.

The regulations for the barracks in the Northern Liberties called for reveille to be beaten at day-break, troop at 8 A.M., long roll at 9, retreat at 8 P.M., tattoo at 9 P.M. Each officer's room was furnished with a pine table having a drawer, two chairs, an iron pot, a bucket, pot-hooks and crane, andirons, shovel, tongs, ash-box, and bedding. Each room for non-commissioned officers and privates had a pine bedstead with wooden bottom for two men, canvas bed filled with straw, bolster-case, pine table, two benches, pots, etc., and a rack for firelocks.

The Committee of Safety placed the battalions of Cols. Miles and Atlee at the service of Congress; they were marched to Long Island and fought in the battle there with the Continental regiments of Shee, Magraw, and Lambert Cadwalader. The death of Lieut.-Col. Parry was the severest loss the Pennsylvania troops had yet sustained. Lieut. Charles Taylor, Second Rifles, and Lieut. Joseph Moore, of the Musketsmen, also fell in this action. Cols. Atlee and Miles and Lieut.-Col. Piper were captured. The other casualties were as follows: First Battalion of Rifle Regiment, First Lieut. William Gray, prisoner; John Spear, John Davis, George West, Second Lieut. Joseph Freischbach, William Macpherson, Third Lieut. Luke Broadhead, Dr. John Davis, nine sergeants, four drummers and privates, all prisoners; Joseph Jacquet, missing. Second Battalion of Rifles, Third Lieut. Charles Taylor, killed; prisoners, Capt. Peebles, First Lieut. Matthew Scott, Daniel Topham, Joseph Brownlee, six sergeants, one drummer, forty privates; missing, Second Lieut. Charles Carnegan and David Sloan. Battalion of Musketsmen, Michael App, missing; prisoners, Capt. Francis Murray, Thomas Herbert, John Nice, Joseph Howell, Lieut. Walter Finney, Ensign W. Henderson, Alexander

Huston, Septimus Davis, with one sergeant, one drummer, and seventy-five privates.

The Council of Safety gave particular attention at this time to the defenses at Billingsport, seeking to complete them before the enemy came up. The land needed was bought for six hundred pounds in the name of the United States; M. Kermanvor, a French officer, was asked to lay out the works. Capt. Blithwait Jones and Thomas Hanson were appointed engineers, and Col. John Bull, superintendent of workmen, had for his staff James Dundas, Robert Cather, clerk of the works; John Moyer, commissary of utensils and provisions; and Charles Souder and Edward McCagen, bricklayers. Volunteers were called for from the associators, and the plan of the works was drawn by the celebrated Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who had just arrived from France, and who was paid fifty pounds for his services. New *chevaux-de-frise* were made and sunk near this place by the Committee of Safety's carpenter, Robert Smith. The heights on the north side of the Wissahickon were selected as a strong place for a magazine of military stores, and the hill above Vandering's mill, on the same stream, for a fortification.

On October 14th the Council of Safety received from Congress a copy of a letter from Gen. Lee, informing it that the Hessians had embarked from Staten Island, and did not doubt but that they intended a visit to this State, whereupon a letter was written to the commodore, directing him to get the fleet in a proper state of defense. Information was at once sent to the lookout at Lewes to forward the earliest intelligence of naval movements, and if any was detected, to fire signal-guns and light the beacons. A bounty of ten dollars was offered to every able-bodied man joining the Philadelphia fleet, and the State's cannon in Jersey were sent for. David Rittenhouse, Cols. Matlack, Bayard, and Biddle were appointed a committee to select sites for defensive works, and they called to their aid the veteran Gen. Adam Stephens, of Virginia, and Cols. Dickinson, Cadwalader, and Hampton. The alarm was premature and the panic short-lived. A few days later fifteen Hessian prisoners were brought in and lodged in jail, while Gen. Thompson, Col. Irwine, Capt. Wilson, Capt. Duncan, Lieuts. Curry, Hoge, and Bird, Rev. Mr. Calla, and Dr. Mackenzie arrived from Canada, having been paroled by Gen. Carleton.

On November 11th news of a definite character was received of Gen. Howe's march towards Philadelphia, and there could be no doubt now of serious danger to the city. On the 15th, according to Marshall, "handbills were published last night by order of Congress and Council of Safety, requesting the inhabitants of this State to put themselves in a martial array, and march by companies and parts of companies, as they could be ready, and march with the utmost expedition to this city." Twelve expresses were organized for immediate service, stores and

equipments were overhauled and reviewed, cannon mounted on carriages, and wagons hired to carry off stores in case an evacuation was necessary. The association officers were ordered to march their battalions at once to the city; owners of live-stock to prepare to remove them into the interior; committees traversed the city in search of blankets and stockings, and the hospital accommodations and supplies were enlarged. There was great need of this, as trains of sick and disabled soldiers were coming in. The Council of Safety cleared a wing of "the Betering House" for a hospital, and the Pennsylvania Hospital was set apart for the use of Continental troops, Christopher Marshall, Maj. Melchor, Thomas Smith, Capt. Davis, and Thomas Casdrop being appointed to take possession of empty stores and dwellings, and aid the surgeons in providing other accommodations for the sick and disabled. The senior and junior Drs. Thomas Bond rendered efficient aid in organizing the hospital system upon a proper basis and securing competent surgical and medical aid. Many of the sick were down with smallpox, and it was important to prevent the contagion from spreading.

News came on the 19th confirming the capture of Fort Washington, and making it certain that Howe was marching towards Philadelphia. The casualties to Pennsylvania troops in this disastrous battle, which never should have been fought, were severe. The prisoners taken were Cols. Robert Magaw, Lambert Cadwalader, Swoop, Lieut.-Col. Thomas Bull, Majs. Beatty and Galbreath, Capts. Miller, Decker, Vansant, Richardson, Steward, West, Graydon, Lenox, Biles, Tudor, Edwards, Dehuff, Smyser, Trett, McDonald, Stake, McElhatten, McFarland, Camble, Snyder, Wallace, McClure, Hetherling, and Culbertson, with the usual proportion of lieutenants and ensigns. This was severe news, for Fort Washington was deemed impregnable, and if it could not be held, what use was there to attempt the defense of Philadelphia? Marshall's *Remembrancer* says: "Nov. 18th. Account spread to-day of Gen. Howe's taking Fort Washington last Seventh Day, in the afternoon, but this is not credited but by our enemies and the timorous and faint-hearted among us. 20th. The reduction of Fort Washington is confirmed by intelligence received by Congress." Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, in his diary, notes as follows: "Nov. 13th. Brought a letter from Henry Muhlenberg, Jr., in which he states that Gen. Howe, with ten thousand men, is on the march towards Philadelphia, and that we shall engage a team and have our stage-wagon ready to send down to town as soon as he sends us notice that the time of need is come. . . . Nov. 30th. . . . a letter from Henry Muhlenberg, Jr., and a trunk and box of books for safe-keeping, as it is reported that the British army is getting nearer and nearer to Philadelphia, and a party there is determined to defend the place. If this is attempted, the consequence may be that the town will

be laid in ashes. Where the Lord does not watch, the watchman watches in vain," etc.

On the 27th news of Howe's advance and Washington's retreat was received, with rumors of movements in different directions. On the 28th a meeting was held at the State-House, the Council of Safety and members of Assembly being present, with David Rittenhouse in the chair. It was at this meeting that Gen. Mifflin spoke so vigorously and induced the associators to resolve to march to meet the enemy. In Marshall's words, "It's said Gen. Mifflin spoke animatedly pleasing, which gave great satisfaction." November 30th the Council of Safety published a notice to the effect that "it is no less necessary than painful that the present movements of Gen. Howe's army requires we should apprise the inhabitants of this city who wish to avoid the insults and oppressions of a licentious soldiery, that they prepare for removing their wives and children and valuable effects, on a short warning, to some place of security." On December 2d the news came of Howe's army being in Brunswick, on the march for Philadelphia. And now a panic ensued. Marshall's entry for the day is full of the bustle and confusion of the scene: "Drums beat; a martial appearance; the shops shut; and all business except preparing to disappoint our enemies laid aside. I went to the Coffee-House; then to the children's; then home; then back to the Coffee-House and other parts of the city; then home; dined there. Our people then began to pack up some things, wearing and bedding, to send to the place. After dinner I went to State-House; conversed with Jacobs, Speaker of Assembly, with Robert White Hill, J. Dickinson, Gen. Mifflin, etc. To Coffee-House; then home; drank tea; then down town. Accounts brought that Gen. Lee was near our army with ten thousand men. Various but great appearances of our people's zeal. Came home near nine; then went down again as far as the children's," etc.

Dr. Muhlenberg's diary shows the same hurry and confusion, though he was away off at Reading. "Dec. 1st. Fred. Muhlenberg rode on horseback to the city, as the road is impassable for the wagon, owing to the late rains, and his parents-in-law are very anxious to see him on account of the frightful state of things in that city. . . . Dec. 2d. Last night between 11 and 12 o'clock, some person knocked violently at the door and demanded admittance, saying he was an express from Philadelphia. When I opened the door it was a well-known member of our congregation in the city, Mr. Specht, a butcher from Spring Garden. He had printed orders to all the colonels of the respective battalions of associators, stating that Gen. Howe had taken possession of Brunswick, and as Gen. Washington had not sufficient force to oppose to him, he was obliged to retire to Trenton. . . . Dec. 7th. To-day many teams loaded with furniture and people flying from Philadelphia have passed the house." December 11th the good parson had to make room for

five families of friends and kinsfolk and their furniture. "Dec. 13th. During the whole day wagons have been passing with goods, and men, women, and children, flying from Philadelphia."

Marshall's little details are still more graphic. "Dec. 3d. Numbers of families loading wagons with their furniture, etc., taking them out of town. . . . Drank tea at home; then went with a number of deeds to son Christopher's; put them into his iron chest. . . . 8th. Martial law declared. . . . 9th. All shops ordered to be shut; the militia to march into the Jerseys; all in hurry and confusion; news that Gen. Howe is on his march, etc. . . . 10th. Our people in confusion, of all ranks, sending all their goods out of town into the country. . . . 11th. Further accounts of the rapid progress of Gen. Howe. Our Congress leaves this city for Baltimore. The militia going out fast for Trenton; streets full of wagons, going out with goods. . . . 13th. The Friends here moved but little of their goods, as they seem satisfied that if Gen. Howe should take this city, as many here imagined that he would, their goods and property would be safe; other people still sending their goods. 14th. Alarming and fresh accounts of Howe's near approach; people hurrying out of town, etc."

The Assembly, on December 2d, ordered all the associators in Philadelphia City and county, and in Bucks, Chester, and Northampton Counties, to be enrolled, and one-half of them drawn for four weeks' service, every man with permission to provide a substitute. At the end of the four weeks the other half were to take their places in camp. An attempt was made to raise fifty thousand dollars in hard money among the citizens. Gen. Mifflin was sent by the Assembly to rouse the citizens, local committees being appointed to aid him. The committee from Philadelphia was composed of Frederick Antis and Col. Curry. Bounties were offered for volunteers,—ten dollars to such as should join Washington on or before December 20th; seven dollars to those coming forward before December 25th; and five dollars to all enlisting between 25th and 30th for six weeks' service. Money was provided for the families of poor members in every battalion, to be disbursed by two subalterns chosen by each battalion. The public records of Assembly and Committee of Safety were removed to Lancaster. Lewis Nicola, barrack-master, was made town-major, with directions to incorporate all persons not fit to march with the associators into a city guard, which was detailed for the protection of magazines, etc., and for patrol duty in the streets.¹ Nicola distributed his forces around the

¹ Col. Lewis Nicola was a surveyor and an officer of many accomplishments, and of a peculiarly inventive turn. He planned a "cadavat" for river defense; he devised plans for magazines, for enlistments, etc.; he made maps of the injuries done by the British; served as barrack-master and town-major, and had command of the Veteran Invalid Corps. He enjoyed the confidence both of the local authorities and the general government; was major, colonel, and brevet brigadier-general in the United States army, his commission as colonel dating June 20, 1777, and

three districts into which he divided the city. Each district was served by two companies, consisting of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, and eighty men,—a police force, in fact, of four hundred and fifty men.

On the same day, December 2d, the Committee of Safety ordered shops and schools to be closed, and every citizen to aid in providing for the public defense. All the associators of the city and liberties were formed into a single brigade, under command of Col. John Cadwalader. Those who were willing to serve as horsemen were to be supplied with a broadsword and brace of pistols each. The "Real Whigs," assembling in Philosophical Hall, resolved that in the absence of a militia law, every male between sixteen and sixty should be ordered under arms for defense of the State, and heavy fines levied on those declining to serve.

The Council took measures to protect associators absent on duty from attachment for debt and distress by landlords. The schools were ordered open again on December 8th, but the same day came news of Howe's advance upon Princeton. The armed boats under Commodore Seymour were sent up to Trenton to aid in removing stores and public property, and Gen. Roberdeau was sent to Lancaster to alarm the people. To enable him to make dispatch he was authorized to seize the carriage of either of the three Pembertons or that of Samuel Emlen. The associators were greatly embarrassed by their helpless families, still they responded so willingly to the call to arms that on December 9/10th, Cadwalader was on the march to Trenton with a brigade of twelve hundred men, which was daily reinforced by new companies as it reached the front.

When Congress fled to Baltimore it left a committee in charge at Philadelphia, with Robert Morris for chairman, and conferred discretionary or dictatorial powers upon Washington. These things helped to bring order out of confusion; Washington and the Committee of Congress co-operated with the Committee of Safety, and chaos ceased to reign. The Committee of Safety ordered shops to open on the 14th, and goods to be sold as usual, those not complying with this mandate being denounced as public enemies. Parties of soldiers were sent to drum up laggard associators, and able-bodied men were forced into the ranks, except Quakers and Dunkards. Washington appointed Gen. Putnam military Governor of the city, with instructions to fortify a line of defenses from Fairmount and the heights of Springettsbury across to the Delaware.

The general took command on the 12th, and established what was practically martial law. All soldiers on furlough were ordered to their commands; the

provost-guard swept the streets, and none could pass the patrol at night without permits. Putnam denounced the report that the Continental forces meant to burn Philadelphia, and declared that he would hang all incendiaries without ceremony. He also ordered all able-bodied persons to turn out and muster under arms, for he would not tolerate any idle spectators of the present contest; and persons refusing to take Continental currency were to forfeit their goods and go to prison. Putnam further compelled citizens and associators to furnish relays for completing the fortifications and for cutting fire-wood to supply the camps,—the "Governor's woods" of the Penn family suffering much from these forays. With Kosciusko for his engineer Putnam began new works at Red Bank, opposite the mud fort and covering the *chevaux-de-frise*.

To secure the quick crossing of the Delaware, in case of an emergency, Putnam, having no pontoons and not being able to collect boats enough (even for the Susquehanna), consulted with Capt. Richard Peters and some Philadelphia shipwrights, and at their suggestion built a floating bridge upon carpenters' floating stages. The military stores and powder were sent on to Lancaster for safe-keeping, and Putnam employed Capt. Sharpe Delaney to make a muster-roll of all male inhabitants between sixteen and sixty. The British were now in Trenton, their advance guard at Burlington and Mount Holly and Moorestown, and it was important to dislodge these last. The Council of Safety, under date of December 23d, issued a circular to "friends and countrymen" which was really a stirring appeal to arms. "We call upon you," it said, "we entreat and beseech you to come forth to the assistance of our worthy Gen. Washington, and our invaded brethren in the Jerseys. If you wish to secure your property from being plundered and to protect the innocence of your wives and children, if you wish to live in freedom and are determined to maintain that best boon of heaven, you have no time to deliberate. A manly resistance will secure every blessing; inactivity and sloth will bring horror and destruction." The Council also elected John Cadwalader, brigadier-general of associators, and Samuel Miles, brigadier of State troops. On Christmas-day there was a reserve of three thousand men in Philadelphia ready to march at Putnam's orders and under his command.

The position of the American forces on the west side of the Delaware was from Yardley's Ferry, opposite Trenton, to Coryell's Ferry, below Bristol. This was the centre and main body, the four brigades of Stirling, Mercer, Stephen, and De Fermoy being here stationed. Gen. Ewing, of the Pennsylvania flying camp, with some few of the New Jersey troops under Gen. Philemon Dickinson (brother of John Dickinson) was encamped between Yardley's Ferry and the ferry opposite Bordentown. Cadwalader, with the Pennsylvania associators, was posted above the Ne-

as general Nov. 27, 1783. That he must have been a man of some scientific attainments is evident from the fact that he published a paper in the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," on methods of preserving subjects for dissection.

shaming to Bristol and below it to Dunk's Ferry. This crossing was guarded by Col. John Nixon, of the Third Pennsylvania Battalion. Washington ordered redoubts to be thrown up at the Neshaminy fords and at Dunk's Ferry, so that a stand could be made in case the enemy attempted to cross. If a passage was forced, the retreat was to be to the Germantown heights.¹

The plan of Washington for the critical movement of December 25th was comprehensive enough. With a picked corps of his best men he was to cross at McKonkey's Ferry (Taylorsville) nine miles above Trenton, descend upon that post and surprise Rahl's Hessians centered there, a force of fifteen hundred men, with a troop of light horse and some chasseurs. Gen. Ewing, with the Pennsylvania State troops, was to cross at a ferry below Trenton, secure the mouth of the Assanpink, and cut off the retreat of the enemy in that direction. Gen. Putnam, with his brigade, and the forces under Cadwalader, were to cross below Burlington and attack the lower posts under Count Donop from Burlington to Mount Holly. The crossings were to be made simultaneously, so that all the American army was to be on the east bank of the Delaware at 5 A.M. the morning after Christmas.

The plan was not carried out, except by the division under Washington. Putnam made no attempt to cross with his three thousand men. Cadwalader did not get over until the 27th, when Washington had already returned to the west bank. Ewing found the ice an insuperable obstacle. Cadwalader might have been cut off, but the surprise at Trenton had taught the British caution, and Donop retreated before him. Washington crossed again to Trenton on the 30th. On the same day nine hundred Hessian prisoners were brought in, and six of the Hessian colors, in charge of Col. Wheaton. The Hessians were on their way to Lancaster, and were paraded in the streets for exhibition. "They made a poor, despicable appearance," wrote Christopher Marshall. A letter of the period says they "formed a line on Front

Street, two deep, from Market to Walnut Street. Most people seemed angry that we should think of running away from such vagabonds."²

Howe's proclamation of November 30th was issued

² The Germans in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania understood the Hessians better, knew they were not vagabonds, that they were doing compulsory military service, and would not require great persuasion to induce them to desert. Dr. Muhlenberg, in his diary, mentions the fact that several Hessian prisoners, brought to Philadelphia early in November, were challenged by settlers to know why they had come to America to injure their own flesh and blood. One said that "he was dragged out of his bed from his wife and children and forced into the service. Others were asked why they attacked the Americans on Long Island so violently, and treated the wounded with such barbarity. Answer: The English officers had made them believe that the Americans were savages and cannibals, in particular those with fringe on their dress (riflemen), who were especially to be put out of the way as fast as possible, if they (the Hessians) were not desirous of being tortured and eaten while still living." Christopher Ludwig (or Ludwick, as usually Anglicized), the "Baker General" of Washington's army, a Philadelphia German, was in the flying camp at the time these Hessians to whom Dr. Muhlenberg refers were brought in. There was a difference of opinion about where they should be confined. "Let us take them to Philadelphia," said Ludwig, "and there show them our fine German churches. Let them see how our tradesmen eat good beef, drink out of silver cups every day, and ride out in chairs every afternoon; and then let us send them back to their countrymen, and they will soon all run away, and come and settle in our city, and be as good Whigs as any of us." To show that he believed what he preached, Ludwig went himself to the Hessian camp, passed himself off as a deserter from the American side, and is said by Dr. Rush, his biographer, to have presented the life of the Pennsylvania Germans in such glowing colors to the Hessians that his exertions "were followed by the gradual desertion of many hundred soldiers, who, now in comfortable freeholds or on valuable farms, with numerous descendants, bless the name of Christopher Ludwig." Be this as it may, Ludwig was a notable and estimable character and as remarkable a figure almost as any contributed by Philadelphia to the Revolution. He was born in the Upper Rhine circle, at Giessen, in Hesse-Darmstadt, in 1720, brought up to his father's trade,—a baker,—put in the emperor's army at seventeen, and sent to fight the Turks, was besieged in Prague, enlisted in the King of Prussia's army, and then went to England, where he turned baker aboard an Indianman, and sailed under Boscawen's flag. He was sailor until 1753, when he came to Philadelphia, setting up as a gingerbread baker in Letitia Court in 1754. He made money, married, saved three thousand five hundred pounds, and got influence. In 1774 his neighbors pleasantly styled him "the governor of Letitia Court." He exposed the American cause ardently,—staked his nine houses, his farm, his three thousand five hundred pounds all on it, was active member of all the committees and conventions. When some one objected to Mifflin's proposition to raise fifty thousand pounds, Ludwig spoke out: "I am nichts more as a shingerbread baker, but put down alt Ludwig for two hundred pounds." He joined the associates, went into the flying camp, and exerted himself to keep the soldiers up to their work. May 3, 1777, Congress commissioned him as follows: "Resolved, That Christopher Ludwig be and he is hereby appointed superintendent of Bakers and Director of Baking in the army of the United States, and that he shall have power to engage, and by permission of the Commander-in-Chief or officer commanding at any principal post, all persons to be employed in this business, and to regulate their pay, making proper reports of his proceedings, and using his best endeavors to rectify all abuse in the articles of bread; that no person be permitted to exercise the trade of a baker in the said army without such license, and that he receive for his services herein an allowance of seventy-five dollars a month and two rations a day." Congress proposed to Ludwig to supply a pound of bread for every pound of flour furnished. Ludwig said no; he did not want to get rich; he had money enough; he would supply one hundred and thirty-five pounds of bread for each hundredweight of flour. The bread was always good after Ludwig got his commission; he was capable and honest, and all liked him in the army, high and low. Washington called him his "honest friend," and the other officers enjoyed his blunt ways. Ludwig lived till June, 1801, and in his will left property to endow an educational fund for poor children of all denominations in Philadelphia, upon which was built a most useful institution.

¹ From Gen. Davis' paper in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, before quoted we get further particulars of these movements and troops. The Continental brigades were placed on the 9th. Stirling was at Beaumonts, near Brownburg, with three regiments; his men were in houses and shanties, and ground flour in Robert Thompson's mill for the soldiers. The house where Stirling was quartered is still standing. Nixon had two field-pieces at Dunk's Ferry. Washington's instructions to Cadwalader were dated December 12th. They say, "You are to post your brigade at and near Bristol. . . . You'll establish the necessary guards, and throw up some little Redoubts at Dunk's Ferry and the different passes in the Meshamine."

"Spare no pains or expense to get intelligence of the enemy's motions and intentions. Any promises made, or sums advanced, shall be fully complied with and discharged. Keep proper patrols going from guard to guard. Every piece of intelligence you obtain worthy notice, send it forward by express." He was also commanded to keep a particular lookout for spies and boats. Capt. William Washington and James Monroe were quartered at James Neely's, in Solebury. The first rifle regiment was here also, barefoot and nearly naked. The depots were at Newtown, in Bucks, and headquarters in Upper Wakefield, Washington being at William Keith's house, Greene at Robert Heuck's, Sullivan at John Hayhurst's, Knox and Hamilton at Dr. Chapman's.

at Trenton, and, as has been said, it brought over Galloway, the Allens, and others. Of Galloway's departure a local satirist took occasion to say, in January, 1777, in Bradford's paper, that

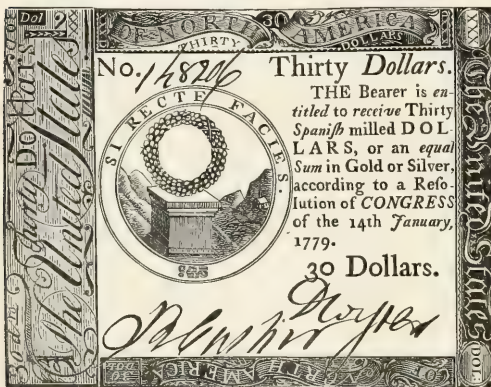
"Galloway has fled and joined the vena! Howe.
To prove his baseness, see him cringe and bow,
A traitor to his country and its laws,
A friend to tyrants and their cursed cause,
Unhappy wretch! thy interest must be sold,
Fortunately, not for polished gold," etc.

A letter from Philadelphia, telling of the flight of these Tories, says, "Among the worthies who have joined or put themselves under the protection of Howe and company at Trenton we find the names of the following noted personages, viz.: Joseph Galloway, Esq., late a member of Congress, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Senate, and printer of a public newspaper at Philadelphia; John Allen (son of the celebrated rhetorical, impartial, learned judge, whose

On Jan. 1, 1777, the Council of Safety, acting on the recommendation of Congress, took stringent measures to prevent the depreciation of Continental currency. This money was not the favorite even of undoubted patriots, nor should it have been, except as a matter of sentiment. John Dickinson wrote to his brother Philemon not to take any more Continental money in liquidation of bonds and mortgages held by him. The letter was intercepted and sent to Washington as well as to the Council of Safety. The Council resolved that to refuse this money for debts, contracts, or goods sold, and to demand higher prices in currency than hard money was criminal. The offense was to be tried before three field-officers of militia, or three committeemen of the county where committed, and the punishment, when convicted, was forfeiture of goods and fine, and the informer got his share of the proceeds of confiscation.

To raise money Congress established a loan-office, paying six per cent. interest on money lent the public. The office was in the house of William Shippen, Jr., on Fourth Street. A United States lottery was also authorized. The office was in Front Street, opposite the Coffee-House. The first drawing took place at College Hall on August 11th. This lottery was authorized by act of Congress of Nov. 18 to 30, 1776. The managers were Sharpe Delaney, John Purviance, Owen Biddle, Francis Lewis, Jr., Jacob Barge, Jonathan B. Smith, and James Searle. There were one hundred thousand tickets, "each ticket to be divided into four billets, and to be drawn in four classes," with a complicated scheme.

After the battle of Trenton, Gen. Putnam joined Washington with his brigade, leaving Gen. Irvine in authority in Philadelphia. Gen. Gates soon succeeded to the command, holding his position until the retreat of the enemy



FAC-SIMILE OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

memory will outlast the 'five-mile stone'), late a member of the Philadelphia Committee of Inspection and Observation; Andrew Allen, Esq. (brother to Jack), late a member of Congress, one of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, and at the same time a sworn advocate for George III. of Britain and his creatures; William Allen, Esq. (brother to Andrew), late a lieutenant-colonel in the Continental service, which station he resigned, not because he was wholly unfit for it, but because the Continental Congress presumed to declare the American States free and independent without first asking the consent and obtaining the approbation of himself and his wise family.¹

¹ Chief Justice Allen was a very prominent man, and deservedly so, in his day. He was probably the leading merchant of Philadelphia, and the richest man, certainly. His father was William Allen, and like him a successful Philadelphia merchant, dying in 1755. William was born in 1703, and succeeded his father in business, taking a large part in public affairs. In 1730 he bought the ground for the State-House, and paid for it with his own money. He was mayor in 1735, and inaugurated

the State-House in 1736 with a splendid banquet. He did much to promote new enterprises, embarking in iron manufacture as well as commerce, and buying large tracts of land, in the present anthracite coal regions. Allentown is named for him. Mr. Allen was member of Assembly many years, in 1737 was justice of a special Court of Oyer and Terminer, in 1741 became recorder, in 1751 chief justice, holding the office till 1774. He did much to promote education and encourage science, fitting out the first Arctic expedition; he was an early patron of Benjamin West. He married Andrew Hamilton's daughter; one of his daughters married Governor John Penn, the other, James de Launcy, of New York. Chief Justice Allen was neither Whig nor Tory, he believed in the cause of the colonists, but not in rebellion nor independence. His sons agreed with him in sentiment, all were on both sides at some period during the contest. John was in the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, William marched to Quebec with Montgomery, Andrew was in the Pennsylvania Council of Safety and the Continental Congress, James took no part, but remained quiet in the country. The Allens were put down on the list of disaffected in December, 1776, and all but James went to Trenton. William became lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of "Pennsylvania Loyalists," his motto being, says Graydon, *ad deservendum Tenore duce et auspicio Tenore*, arrogant enough, certainly, to snit the son of Chief Justice Allen. Andrew Allen's estate was confiscated.

through New Jersey made it no longer necessary to have a military Governor. The Philadelphia associators were with Washington at the battle of Princeton and until late in January, when they were relieved by fresh troops. The brave Virginian, Gen. Hugh Mercer, Washington's old companion in arms, fell on the field at Princeton, and was buried on January 16th, with the honors of war, in Christ churchyard. His remains are now in Laurel Hill. On the 17th, Capt. William Shippen, of Philadelphia, killed in same battle, was buried in St. Peter's churchyard. Col. John Haslett, of the Delaware regiment, was buried in the yard of the First Presbyterian Church, White Horse Alley, below Market Street. On 24th, Ensign Anthony Morris, Jr., killed at Princeton, was buried in the Friends' burying-ground, Fourth and Arch Streets.

There were a good many changes in the Philadelphia military after these battles. The First Battalion of the associators was now commanded by Jacob Morgan, Jr., colonel; James Cowperthwaite, major. Second Battalion: John Bayard, colonel; William Bradford, major. Third Battalion: John Nixon, colonel; Samuel Meredith and Robert Knox, majors. Fourth Battalion (rifles): Timothy Matlack, colonel. These officers, with Gen. Cadwalader, on January 15th, addressed the Council of Safety, strongly urging that associators who had not been in the field should be called out. Gen. Reed said that the City Troop particularly distinguished itself at Princeton, capturing double their number of British dragoons. When this troop's term of service expired, January 23d, Washington gave them a discharge over his own signature, saying that he took the opportunity of returning his most sincere thanks to them for their essential services to the country and to him personally during a severe campaign. "Though composed of gentlemen of fortune," he said, "they have shown a noble example of discipline and subordination, and in several actions have shown a spirit and bravery which will ever do honor to them and will ever be gratefully remembered by me." The uniform of the troop, says Mr. Westcott, adopted in 1774, was dark-brown short coat, faced and lined with white, white vest and breeches, high topped boots, round black hat, bound with silver cord, a buck's tail; housings brown, edged with white, and the letters "L. H." (Light Horse) worked in them. Arms,—a carbine, a pair of pistols, and holsters with flounces of brown cloth trimmed with white, a horseman's sword, and white belts for sword and carbine. The following is the roster for the campaign of 1776-77: Samuel Morris,¹ captain; Joseph Bud-

den, second lieutenant; John Dunlap, cornet; Thos. Leiper, first sergeant; William Hall, second sergeant; Samuel Penrose, third sergeant and quartermaster; Samuel Howell, Jr., first corporal; James Hunter, second corporal; Levi Hollingsworth, George Campbell, John Mease, Blair McClenachan, John Donaldson, George Fullerton, Thomas Peters, William Pollard, James Caldwell, William Tod, Samuel Caldwell, Benjamin Randolph, John Lardner, Alexander Nesbitt, Thomas Leaming, Jonathan Penrose, George Graff, Francis Nichols. The names of Samuel Penrose, George Fullerton, William Tod, Samuel Caldwell, Benjamin Randolph, Alexander Nesbitt, Thomas Leaming, and Francis Nichols do not appear in the discharge given by Washington.

The disagreements between the friends and opponents of the State Constitution continued in 1777, so that many members of the committees, while willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, refused to subscribe to the State oath. The result was, as the Supreme Executive Council declared in May, that "weakness and languor prevailed in every department of the government," and there was no regular administration of justice. A petition, strongly signed, was sent up to the Assembly to ask that body to recommend a new election for members of a constitutional convention to revise the recently-adopted

who ran to Mercer's support, and Moulder's city battery that Washington brought up in person. Dr. Potts' letter to Biddle is as follows:

"MY D^R FRIEND:

"Tho' the Act^t I send is a melancholy one (in one respect), yet I have sent an Express, to give you the best Information I can collect. Our Mutual Friend, Anthony Morris, died here in three hours after he received his wounds on Friday morning. They were three in number,—one on his chin, one on the knee, and the third and fatal one on the right temple, by a grape-shot. Brave man! he fought and died nobly, deserving a much better fate. Gen. Mercer is dangerously ill, indeed. I have scarcely any hopes of him, the Villains have stab'd him in five different Places. The dead on our side of this Place amount to sixteen, that of the Enemy to twenty-three. They have retreated to Brunswick with the greatest Precipitation, and from Accounts just come, the Hero, Washington, is not far from them; they have never been so shamefully Drub'd and outgeneraled in every Respect. I hourly expect to hear of their whole Army being cut to pieces, or made Prisoners.

"It pains me to inform you that on the morning of the Action I was obliged to fly before the Rascals, or fall into their hands, and leave behind me my wounded Brethren; would you believe that the inhuman Monsters ro'd the General as he lay unable to resist on the Bed, even to the taking of his Cravat from his Neck, insulting him all the Time.

"The number of Prisoners we have taken I cannot yet find out, but they are numerous.

"Should be glad to hear from you by the bearer; is the Reinforcement march'd?

"I am, in haste, your most obedient

"humble Serv^t,

"JOHN POTTs.

"Dated at the Field of Action, near

"PRINCETON, Sunday Evening, Jan'y 5th."

Maj. Morris was first buried in the graveyard of the stone Quaker meeting-house, near the battle-field, but his remains were subsequently, at the request of his family, taken to Philadelphia, and buried without military honors; but an escort was ordered for the funeral,—4 one Capt. 2 Sub's, 2 Drummers, and 50 men from the garrison in the Barracks, to parade at the City Tavern, at two o'clock this afternoon, . . . the rest of the garrison off Duty, to attend with side arms only. Coll. Penrose, Coll. Irvine, Coll. McKey, to attend as bearers."

¹ In the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. i. No. 2, p. 175, is an account of the death of Maj. Morris, from a letter written on the field by Dr. Jonathan Potts, who was a surgeon U.S.A. The letter was addressed to Owen Biddle. Anthony Morris, Jr., was the fourth of the same name, the descendant of three Anthony Morrises prominent in Philadelphia history. His grandfather and great-grandfather had both been mayors of the city. His brother, Samuel Morris, was captain of the Philadelphia City Troop. Princeton was Philadelphia's battle, it was the city militia

instrument. This measure was actively opposed by the "Whig Society," upon the ground that an invasion was threatened, a convention would take useful men from the field, while soldiers in the field would be deprived of their votes. The policy of the society was to wait, in order that citizens might get a better knowledge of the science of government. "The Whig Society" had Charles Wilson Peale, the artist, for its president, and its members were James Cannon (philomath), David Rittenhouse (astronomer), Dr. Thomas Young, Maj. Thomas Paine ("Common Sense"), and others. This society prepared an agreement, to be taken around among the inhabitants for signatures, pledging the signers to a cordial support to the authority of Congress and the several States, for the promotion of peace and good order. The agreement proposed to overturn nothing, but support the execution of the laws until time and experience taught the

Philip Boehm; Middle, Plunket Fleeson, Samuel Simpson; Walnut, George Henry, John McCalla; Lower Delaware, Samuel Howell, John Ord; Dock, George Bryan, Benjamin Paschall; Southwark, William McMullen, Richard Dennis. As there was no longer any city corporation, municipal affairs were managed by the street commissioners (Isaac Howell, John McCalla), wardens (Benjamin Paschall, William Colliday), and city commissioners (James Claypoole, Philip Boehm, William Shute, Robert Curry, Jacob Laughlin, and Isaac Coates). The county commissioners were Isaac Snowden, Jacob Bright, and John Williams.

The members of the Supreme Executive Council met and organized March 4th. In joint meeting with the Assembly, Thomas Wharton, Jr., was elected president, and George Bryan vice-president. Henceforth the Council of Safety ceased to exercise minis-

Oath of Allegiance.

I DO hereby CERTIFY, That
Thomas Hopkinson of the City of Philad Esquire
 hath voluntarily taken and subscribed the Oath of Af-
 firmation of Allegiance and Fidelity, as directed by an
 Act of General Assembly of Pennsylvania, passed the
 13th day of June, A.D. 1777. Witness my hand
 and seal, the first day of July A.D. 1777
 (L.S.) *John Ord* *N. B. 2*

A.D. 1777.

PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

FAC-SIMILE OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

people how to make better ones. Newspapers took up the theme. John Dickinson, it is supposed, wrote the best of the essays, over the signature of "Phocion," and this writer was bitterly attacked as a retainer of the proprietaries, a procrastinating delegate; John Adams' "piddling politician," a summer soldier, a "detested jackal," with an "infernal ambition" to be at the head of everything. The pressure of more urgent public events, however, prevented anything from being done towards settling the constitutional question.

On Feb. 14, 1777, an election was held at the State-House under the Constitution. Thomas Wharton was chosen member of the Supreme Executive Council, and John Loller and Cols. Moore and Coates members of Assembly for Philadelphia County. Justices were elected for the city,—North Ward, Isaac Howell, Joseph Redman, Sr.; Mulberry Ward, James Young,

terial power, and the Supreme Council took control. The new president was inaugurated with imposing ceremony, and proclaimed, on March 5th, as not only president of the Supreme Executive Council, but also captain-general and commander-in-chief of Pennsylvania. Thirteen Hessian cannon, captured at Princeton, fired the salute, and then there was a banquet at the City Tavern, given by the Assembly and attended by members of Congress and the chief officers of army and navy. A round of patriotic toasts was drunk, of course. The Assembly reorganized the courts during March to suit the new order of things, and a City Court was established (James Young, John Ord, Plunkett Fleeson, Isaac Howell, and Philip Boehm, judges), which set about a general and much-needed jail-delivery. The grand jury found twenty-one true bills, and all the machinery of the new court worked well. The Quarter Sessions were to meet again in

September, but "events over which they had no control" effectually prevented that session. The Assembly bought a coach for "Lady Washington," and also got to work in May upon arrangements for port-wardens, health office, and custom house, Frederick Phyle being appointed naval officer, Jedediah Snowden board measurer, and Philip Ryan stove inspector for Philadelphia, the latter having some difficulty in ousting the old inspector from his office.

In March, Brinton Debadée, twenty-four years old, a deserter from the Tenth Pennsylvania, who had gone over to the enemy, was shot on the common, near the Centre House. Here also James Molesworth, a British spy, was hung on the 31st. He was a Staffordshire Englishman, had been for several years clerk to the mayor of Philadelphia, and was detected in the attempt to bribe pilots to navigate Lord Howe's vessels from New York to Philadelphia. He offered three of the Delaware pilots (John Eldridge, Andrew Higgins, and John Snyder) five hundred pounds and life service with king's pay for this treachery, telling them that boats were ready and the guns at Mud Fort would be spiked by the garrison. Mrs. Abigail McCoy was Molesworth's go-between with the pilots, who took effective measures to secure his arrest by the board of war. It was proved that Molesworth, who lodged at Mrs. Yarnall's on Chestnut Street, had several times passed between Philadelphia and New York as a spy, and that he held Sir William Howe's commission as lieutenant in the British army. Luke Carter, Thomas Collins, Joseph Thomas, Hastings Stackhouse, and Jonathan H. Smith were implicated in this business, but escaped.

Tories and suspected persons were dealt with promptly and severely. Dr. Abram Chovet was compelled to pledge his "sacred faith" to neither do nor say anything to the injury of the United States or hold any correspondence with their enemies, and William D. Smith, Charles Stedman, Jr., Robert Dove, and George Harrison were similarly bound. Maj. Richard W. Stockton, a Tory officer,—“the famous land-pilot of the king's troops,” he was called,—was made prisoner in the forepart of the year with sixty-six other Tories, all being brought to Philadelphia and confined in jail. John Weaver gave security to answer at court; Dr. Connolly was released on parole to go to a farm at York, Pa., and stay there, and Robert Burton, Leatherbury Barker, William Bagwell, and William Milby, Delaware Tories, were released on giving security. Some of the Tory partisans were active and attempted to capture the Pennsylvania salt-works at Tom's River, requiring a galley to be stationed there to protect it.

The privateers of Philadelphia did not accomplish much in 1777, the only captures being those made by the "Oliver Cromwell" and the "Rattlesnake." The "General Mifflin" was wrecked in Sinepuxent, losing part of her crew and the vessel and cargo, while the "Montgomery" was captured and sent into Gibraltar;

the "Sally" was chased ashore and captured in Delaware Bay, but another "Sally" ran in safely with a large cargo of arms and ammunition. The Continental brig "Andrew Doria" captured two armed vessels while coming from St. Eustatius with gunpowder and cloth for Congress; the "Lexington" was captured by a frigate off the capes; her crew, however, rose on the prize crew, retook the vessel, and brought her safely into the Chesapeake.

The Supreme Executive Council, immediately after its organization, proceeded to constitute a Board of War and a Navy Board. The latter was appointed March 13th, and consisted of eleven members,—Andrew Caldwell, Joseph Blewer, Joseph Marsh, Emanuel Eyre, Robert Ritchie, Paul Cox, Samuel Massey, William Bradford, Thomas Fitzsimons, Samuel Morris, Jr., and Thomas Barclay.¹ To the Board of War was intrusted all that concerned the land service; to the Navy Board full authority with regard to the State fleet, subject, however, to direction from the Supreme Executive Council. Under ordinary circumstances, the latter was engrossed with the cares of civil business.

The Navy Board went to work at once, finding the boats out of order and in need of repairs; badly manned also, in consequence of the merchants and privateer service paying better wages to sailors, and the service disturbed by questions of rank. The works at Billingsport were not completed. They were planned on too magnificent a scale, and were not in the right place anyhow. The attempts to cast cannon had been only partly successful. The supply was not equal to the demand, and all the old pieces about the city had to be mounted because there were not new ones to replace them. James Boyce, at the suggestion of the Committee of Safety, attempted to cast brass ordnance. There was a cannon-foundry at Southwark, but it was not at work. The powder-mill on French Creek blew up in March, killing a

¹ Thomas Fitzsimons was an Irish Catholic, born in 1741; it is not certain whether in Ireland or Philadelphia. He went into mercantile business and married a daughter of Robert Meade, great-grandfather of Gen. George G. Meade. George Meade, his wife's brother, and Fitzsimons went into partnership as merchants and ship-owners. Fitzsimons warmly espoused the colonial cause after the Stamp Act, and went into active service when hostilities began. He was with the associates under Cadwalader, member of the Council of Safety and naval board, constructed fire-ships, and gave five thousand pounds for the support of the cause. In 1782 he was elected to the Continental Congress; afterwards sat several years in the Pennsylvania Assembly, and was member of the Federal Constitutional Convention, after which he became a member of the House of Representatives; trustee of the University, founder and director of the Bank of North America, president of the Insurance Company of North America, etc. He died in 1811. Emanuel Eyre was son of George Eyre, an English ship-builder, who settled at Burlington, N. J., in 1737. Emanuel was born about 1731, and with his brother, Jehu Eyre, afterwards colonel in the Continental service, embarked in ship-building at Kensington. Emanuel's model for a gun-boat was the first accepted by the Committee of Safety, and his boat, the "Bull Dog," was the first launched. The brothers put their workmen in the way to aid Washington in the gloomy days before Trenton, John being captain. Emanuel went into the navy board in March, 1777; after the British took Philadelphia the brothers went into the business of privateering, and Emanuel was justice of the peace after the British withdrew.

man, and foul play was suspected. When, in June, the steeple of Christ Church was struck by lightning and half the crown near the top of the spire was melted, it was considered as ominous of the fate of King George's British crown.

After the battles of Trenton and Princeton, Philadelphia was filled with the new levies continually pouring in, and such an access of strangers was a serious inconvenience. The new-comers were nearly all hasty levies of raw militia, without military training and discipline and without stores and supplies. Quarters had to be found for them, provisions, clothing, hospital service, arms, drill, and transportation. They would not go into camp or the field until supplied, and, like Gen. Greene, they thought that the larder of patriotism should be well filled. Some of them started to go home when all their expectations were not met, and were very indignant at being prevented. It was as difficult to get quarters for them as to get food and clothing. The college and academy protested against their being quartered in the buildings and grounds of their institutions, and the Tories were horrified when the order went forth to canton them upon the non-associators. These remonstrances were not greatly heeded. The deputies of the barrack-master, Isaac Melcher, broke down doors that were locked against them, and the town-major's main concern was to keep the levies from deserting, to which end the bridge, ferries, and roads were strongly guarded, while guards were also placed at the wharves, the hospitals, the State-House, and the officers' quarters.

The Virginia troops were ordered to Germantown by Gates to avoid the smallpox. This disease was then raging in the city, and very fatal to soldiers, numbers of whom were buried in pits and trenches in Washington Square. John Adams, writing in July, said there had been two thousand interments in Potter's Field, and that disease destroyed ten soldiers where the enemy slew one. There were still enough left, however, to cause a scarcity of provisions, and Congress forbade the exportation of bacon, salt beef, pork, soap, tallow, and candles from January 5th to November 1st. There were now twelve Pennsylvania regiments in the Continental service, besides Proctor's artillery battalion, which in part the State retained still in its service, in addition to the two battalions of rifles and the musketmen. Experience had taught that the association system was not to be depended on in serious warfare. After Princeton whole companies sometimes deserted; Putnam mentioned one case where all who were left of a company were "one lieutenant and a lame man." The Assembly passed a militia bill to take the place of the associators. The counties and city were divided into districts, each to contain not less than six hundred and forty nor more than six hundred and eighty men fit for military duty. There were lieutenants for the city and counties, and a sub-lieutenant for each dis-

trict; the latter being divided into eight parts or companies. Each district elected its own lieutenant-colonel, major, captains, and subalterns, the lieutenants enlisting the people, collecting the fines, and executing the details of the law. The companies were divided into classes by lot, provision being made for calling out the classes as they were wanted. Enrolled men refusing to parade when ordered were fined seven shillings sixpence per diem; absent officers ten shillings per day; non-commissioned officers and privates, five shillings. On field-days the fine for non-attendance was five pounds, and fifteen shillings for non-commissioned officers and privates. For exercises, two days were set in April, three in May, two in August, two in September, and one in October, each year. There were battalion drills in May and October. In case of loss of limb by militiamen in service, the State guaranteed half pay.

Under this law Jacob Morgan was appointed lieutenant for the city, but declined to act, and James Reed was appointed, soon succeeded by William Henry. The sub-lieutenants were Richard Humphreys, George Henry, Frederick Hagner, Casper Geyer, Ephraim Bonham, and William Simpson. In Philadelphia County, William Coats, lieutenant; Jacob Engle, Samuel Dewees, George Smith, Archibald Thompson, and William Antis, sub-lieutenants.

The officers in command of the militia were Brig-Generals. John Armstrong, John Cadwalader, James Potter, and Samuel Meredith. The city battalions were officered in part as follows: Colonels, William Bradford, Sharpe Delaney, Jonathan Bayard Smith, Francis Gurney, — Clymer, William Will. For Philadelphia County: *First Battalion* (townships of Upper Salford, Lower Salford, Towamensing, Hatfield, Perkiomen, and Skippack), Daniel Heister, Jr., colonel; Jacob Reid, lieutenant-colonel; Jacob Markley, major. *Second Battalion* (Germantown, Roxborough, Springfield, and Bristol), John Moore, colonel; Aaron Levering, lieutenant-colonel; George Miller, major. *Third Battalion* (Cheltenham, Abington, Lower Moreland, Lower Dublin, Byberry, and Oxford), Benjamin McVeagh, colonel; David Schneider, lieutenant-colonel; John Holmes, major. *Fourth Battalion* (Upper Moreland, Upper Gwynedd, and Montgomery), William Dean, colonel; Robert Loller, lieutenant-colonel; George Right, major. *Fifth Battalion* (White Marsh, Plymouth, Whitpain, Norrington, Worcester, and New Providence), Robert Curry, colonel; Archibald Thompson, lieutenant-colonel; John Edwards, major. *Sixth Battalion* (Limerick, Douglass, Marlboro', New Hanover, Upper Hanover, and Frederick), Frederick Antis, colonel; Frederick Wees, lieutenant-colonel; Jacob Bush, major. *Seventh Battalion* (Upper Merion, Lower Merion, Blockley, and Kingessing), Jonathan Paschall, colonel; Isaac Warner, lieutenant-colonel; Matthew Jones, major.

The militia law required all white male inhabitants of the State (except the extreme western counties)

above eighteen years old to take an oath of allegiance before July 1st, subscribing in presence of a magistrate. The oath renounced George III. and gave allegiance to the free and independent State of Pennsylvania. The subscriber besides swore not to do anything to the prejudice of the independence declared by Congress, and to expose all conspiracies and treasons coming to his knowledge. Persons neglecting or refusing to take this oath were declared to be incapable of holding office, serving on juries, suing for debts, electing or being elected, buying, selling, or transferring real estate, and were liable to be dismissed by the county lieutenants and deputies. Non-jurors unprovided with passes were liable to arrest as spies if traveling out of the city or county of their immediate residence; and forgery of certificates was punished with fifty pounds fine and a flogging.

The Board of War (David Rittenhouse, Owen Bidle, William Moore, Joseph Dean, Samuel Morris, Sr., Samuel Cadwalader Morris, John Bayard, George Gray, John Bull, and Richard Bache) organized shortly after March 13th, and, failing a grant from Congress, received a grant from the Assembly of £100,000. In April already the energies of the new board were put to the test, for Gen. Putnam wrote of an unusual activity among the enemy at Amboy and vicinity, betokening some sort of movement, of which Philadelphia was suspected to be the object. Immediate exertions were made to mobilize the city's military resources again, the Supreme Executive Council co-operating with a committee of Congress and the Continental officers in town to that end. The Executive Council published an address, stating that the city had once before been saved by the vigorous manly efforts of a few associators, whose lives Providence had wonderfully spared; "confiding, therefore, in the continuance of his blessing who is indeed the God of armies, let every man among us hold himself ready to march into the field whenever he shall be called upon so to do; if the enemy really intend to make an attack on this State, no time should be lost; every moment should be employed in putting ourselves in perfect readiness to repel them." Patriotism must make up for the defects of imperfect methods. Congress would establish a camp near Philadelphia, and the militia of the State were expected to repair to it at once. The county lieutenants were urged to enroll the people forthwith; wagons were sent for to move the stores, and Congress proposed to fix the new camp on the west side of the Delaware, under the command of Gen. Benedict Arnold.

It was found that the authority of the Supreme Executive Council was not adequate, under the Constitution, for such emergencies, and, by advice of Congress, the Council and War and Navy Boards simply assumed the necessary powers to provide for the public safety, looking to the people to indemnify them. The Board of War appointed ward committees to take stock of all the provisions in private hands in the city,

turning over the names of the persons refusing to permit their houses to be examined. Another committee of fifty was given charge of the removal of all goods and provisions at Trenton and other places along the Delaware, to safer magazines elsewhere. An embargo was proclaimed, to prevent the sailing of shallops, flats, or vessels of any kind, without special permission from the Navy Board.

Gen. Schuyler was at this time in command in Philadelphia. He called on the Board of War for blankets for the Continental troops,—four thousand being the number required,—the city and county being assessed for six hundred and sixty-seven, which were collected by county lieutenants and their deputies. On April 24th, by order of Congress, three thousand militia were called out, exclusive of the city troops, and two camps were ordered, one at Bristol the other at Chester. The organization of these camps not proceeding very rapidly, the Council and Board of War in May authorized the enlistment of apprentices and servants over sixteen years of age, the Assembly being asked to indemnify masters. This step, however, was speedily reconsidered, as it caused great discontent, without corresponding benefits. In this matter Congress and the Assembly were at variance, but the local interest and custom prevailed.

On June 10th, Gen. Mifflin appeared before the Assembly with a message from Gen. Washington, to assure them that it was his firm opinion that "the enemy's army meditated a sudden and immediate attack upon some part of this State," and he therefore asked that the militia be got ready at once to march at a moment's notice. The Supreme Executive Council were forthwith notified, and a meeting of citizens was held next day at the State-House. Gen. Mifflin addressed them, giving them notice of the enemy's movements, which threatened the plunder of the city. He advised citizens to give efficiency to the new militia law by turning out under its provisions instead of the old association. The representatives of the citizens opposed to the Constitution pledged their hearty concurrence in defensive measures and a suspension of all opposition during the emergency. On the 13th, Mifflin spoke to a large body of militia on the commons. They received him with enthusiasm, but would not go into camp at once and unconditionally. They had their affairs to set in order, and besides, they wished the militia to be drawn in classes, according to law.

The Assembly considered the question of removal from Philadelphia in case the movements of the enemy made it necessary. A series of resolutions was adopted covering at once the obligations of obstinate defense and such a removal of goods, stores, and persons in the final extremity, as would deprive the enemy of as many resources as possible. The Supreme Executive Council was instructed to make proclamation to the inhabitants to hold themselves ready to

move at shortest notice; it was resolved that wagon-masters should be appointed, and that it was the duty of the authorities to transport the families and effects of poor militiamen at the public expense, any distance within thirty miles; that persons should not be allowed to leave the city with the intention of abandoning the public defense; families remaining in town not to be allowed more than two weeks' provisions, and the lieutenants to make search and seize all private stores in excess of this allowance. All grain within twenty miles of the Delaware was to be taken account of, and owners were not to allow its removal except at their peril; cattle and live stock to be looked after in the same way, and persons appointed to drive it off if necessary. The president and the Council were directed to remove the bells of the several churches and public buildings, and all the copper and brass in the city to places of safety. Having passed these comprehensive resolutions and voted to invest in the Supreme Executive Council sufficient power for the prosecution of all necessary measures, the Assembly, on June 19th, adjourned to meet again on September 3d. An application to Congress for one hundred thousand dollars was authorized, and the Council asked fifty thousand dollars additional.

A systematic scheme of defense was now put in operation. The completion of the fortifications on the Delaware had been committed by Congress to Gen. Mifflin and M. Du Coudray, a French engineer. Their report condemned Billingsport as too large for the garrison which could probably be spared, and moreover it could not be furnished in less than six weeks or two months. The fort on Fort Island was badly constructed; half the guns were placed so as to be useless; at Red Bank, a well-built fort, the river was too wide. Du Coudray recommended reducing Billingsport fort to two redoubts, and supporting it by the floating-batteries and with a battery at the opposite extremity of the *chevaux-de-frise*. Red Bank should be defended, but not depended upon to command the channel.

On June 24th the Council ordered out the Philadelphia and Bucks Counties militia of the first and second classes, and the Berks and Northampton first class; other classes through the State to hold themselves in readiness. Arnold stationed Stewart's Continental regiment and one thousand militia at Billingsport, Red Bank, and Fort Island, and two thousand militia between Coryell's Ferry and Bristol, to fortify and guard the passes. Howe advanced from Brunswick, but his retreat to Amboy and embarkation aboard his transports was soon known. What was his destination,—New England, the Hudson, the Delaware, or the South? Washington was sorely puzzled to tell, and until it was known no definite movements could be made. The orders calling out some of the militia were countermanded. The North Carolina Brigade, under Gen. Nash, and some Virginia troops, were ordered to Billingsport,

where Bradford's and Delaney's regiment of city militia and five hundred New Jersey militia were occupied in completing the works. Col. Bull's regiment, long time there, and Proctor's artillery, were assigned by Congress to guard the powder-mill.

Every preparation was made to meet the enemy, and to get prompt and certain intelligence of the line on which he would advance. The committees for driving off cattle were increased, with orders to act upon the first appearance of the enemy. The shores of the Delaware, and the chief roads from it westward, were ordered to be surveyed, as far south as Christiana Creek, and on the east bank to Salem, and all the topographical peculiarities of the ground to be carefully noted, swamps, natural obstacles, cover for marksmen, etc. Circulars were issued to wagon-masters, to hold themselves ready to remove stores and provisions under the direction of the Committee of Fifty. The outlook at the Delaware Capes was the centre of a painful interest at this time, and the feint of entering made by Howe's fleet, with the subsequent steady course southward, made things still more uncertain. Washington moved his army to the Delaware; it lay at Coryell's Ferry, Howell's Ferry, and Trenton, and there waited. The march to Germantown one day was followed the next by a march back to Coryell's. It was merely marching to occupy time. The enemy's movements must be more developed before any movements of Washington could be made in one direction or the other.

We miss Christopher Marshall's record of these times and the months of excitement which followed them. The honest Quaker had a severe attack of pleurisy in the spring, was invalided to Lancaster, and his diary contains only hearsay at second-hand about Philadelphia. On the other hand, however, we have Robert Morton's diary, recently published by the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, full of interesting particulars of events after the British occupation, while there is quite an abundance of bright contemporary record of occurrences in and around Philadelphia in the latter half of 1778, and during the continuance of Howe's occupation of that city.

Soon after the beginning of the year there were twenty-two hundred militia in the city awaiting arms, and fourteen hundred sick in the hospitals. It became necessary to classify the many sick and separate them, and a convalescent hospital was established at Peel Hall (now part of the Girard College estate). Carpenter's mansion, Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh, where the old Arcade stood, was used as a hospital, and there camp-fever carried off hundreds of Virginia and Pennsylvania militia. The sufferers were well cared for by the ladies, in the way of soups and dainties. Washington sent them a cask of Madeira wine. Mrs. Logan relates that the mother of a Pennsylvania soldier had come from the country to seek him at the hospital, and found him among the dead, prepared for burial. As she bewailed her loss

and sobbed over the silent form she detected signs of life, and with the usual remedies in such cases, her son was soon restored to her, really from the grave.

The first anniversary of the Fourth of July was celebrated in Philadelphia with a degree of effusiveness. The vessels in the harbor displayed all their bunting, manned their yards, and fired salutes; Congress gave a dinner to civil and military notables at the City Tavern, the ironical feature of which was that Rahl's captured Hessian band furnished the music, and a corps of deserters from the British army, now in the service of Georgia, fired *feux de joie*. After the banquet the members of Congress reviewed an artillery battalion, the Maryland light horse, and a North Carolina brigade on Second Street, and at night the bells rung, the houses were illuminated, and fireworks displayed on the commons. Lights, however, were ordered out at eleven o'clock, and unusual precautions taken to guard against fire and prevent riots. Some windows were still broken by the mob in houses tenanted by obnoxious persons, and there was disorder enough to give the Quakers a pretext for lodging complaints. A bard, writing of this night after the British were in possession of Philadelphia, says of this war upon the windows, that the unarmed Quakers and Tories "sustained the horrors of the night,—

"See General Gates and Dicky Peters,
With Jimmy Mease of noted worth,
Richard and Tom—the prince of eaters,—
Like ancient heroes sally forth!

"Our true Don Quixotes, by false guessings,
Direct their calls and lead the van,—
Mistook the Tories for the Hessians,
And Quakers for—pah—Englishmen."

The corps of invalids, of which Lewis Nicola was made colonel, was organized on June 16th, to consist of eight companies of one hundred men each, men and officers to be taken from convalescents unfit for field service, but capable of garrison duty. The plan was Nicola's, and his object was further to make this regiment the school of the recruits and young officers in marching regiments, for which end there was to be a library of military books and instruction in mathematics for the cadets.

A movement was begun in July which might have led to trouble if the city had not changed hands so soon. It originated in a meeting at the Indian Queen Tavern (kept by Francis Lee), and the object was to insist on exemption from military duty for such as had furnished substitutes. Lawrence Birnie presided, and John Hall, Robert Bell, John Stille, John Graisbury, John James, Peter January, and Hugh Henry were appointed a committee to carry out the meeting's aim. There was another meeting at John Cunningham's Centre House on July 28th, Robert Bell, chairman; James Fisher, secretary; and Bell, Clement Humphreys, Robert Fitzgerald, Thomas Tisdale, William Woodhouse, and Nicholas Brooks, committee to address the General Assembly. The point of equity

made was that if they were not exempt, the substitutes ought to be discharged. Arrangements were made to get the names of all persons who were in the army in this vicarious way, with what ulterior object is not known.

On July 31st Congress resolved that it was expedient to arrest all late proprietary and crown office-holders, and all other disaffected persons in and near Philadelphia. Under this resolution the Supreme Executive Council issued warrants for the apprehension of John Penn, Benjamin Chew, Jared Ingersoll (late judge of admiralty), James Tilghman (late member of Provincial Council), Capt. Gurney, Dr. Drummond (custom-house officer), John Smith, — Welsh, — Bartlett, — Sullivan (small officials, the latter a druggist and half-pay British officer), and James Humphreys, Sr. (late clerk of the Orphans' Court). Penn and Chew were paroled, not to go more than six miles from their houses; Ingersoll was to be sent to Winchester, Va., on parole; Tilghman and Humphreys to remain on west side of and within six miles of the Delaware; Gurney, Smith, and Drummond to keep their own houses; the others to go to prison.

Towards the latter end of July it became known that Howe intended to attack Philadelphia while Burgoyne descended upon Albany to cut through the Highlands, with Clinton's assistance. Howe's feints and manœuvres had never misled Washington on this point, but his extreme caution led him, while calling out the Pennsylvania militia, to call out those of Connecticut at the same time, and send Sullivan's division back to Morristown to support George Clinton in case of a *coup de main* upon the fastnesses of the Hudson. Four thousand of the Pennsylvania militia were called out at once, and twelve fire-ships fitted up in the Delaware by Congress. On the 30th the enemy's fleet was seen at Cape Henlopen, and Congress ordered the live-stock to be driven off from the Delaware borders to the interior. Howe's plans were fully developed by the middle of August, when his war-ships and transports approached Elk River and the debarkation began at the head of the Chesapeake Bay. This movement rendered the river defenses of Philadelphia useless as against Howe's army, though they were still an obstruction to his fleet,—such an obstruction that, if he had been defeated at Germantown, he would have been forced to make a disastrous retreat or submit to be absolutely cooped up in Philadelphia as Gage was in Boston. Still, it enabled him to force Washington to fight him in the open field, or yield Philadelphia without a struggle, and the result was the two battles of Brandywine and Germantown.

On Sunday, August 24th, the main body of the Continental army, ten thousand strong, under Washington's personal command, marched into Philadelphia, proceeded to the common, crossed the new floating bridge over the Schuylkill at the Middle Ferry, and took the road to Chester and Wilmington. Washington

desired to make this as imposing a spectacle as possible, for the sake of the impression upon the Tories, the Quakers, and other disaffected persons. He wrote the evening before that, "I expect to encamp this evening about five or six miles of Philadelphia. To-morrow morning it will move again, and I think to march it through the city without halting. I am induced to do this from the opinion of some of my officers and many friends in Philadelphia, that it may have some influence on the minds of the disaffected there, and those who are dupes to their artifices and opinions. The march will be down Front and up Chestnut Street, and, I presume, about seven o'clock." It could not have been a very imposing sight, if contemporary accounts are to be credited. "I had been extremely anxious to see our army," says Graydon; "here it was, but I could see nothing which deserved the name. . . . It had been humorously stated in the English prints that upon a gentleman, who had been in America and seen our troops, being asked what was their uniform, he replied, 'In general it is blue and buff, but by this time it must be all buff.' The period for this unity of color, however, had not yet arrived, though from the motley, shabby covering of the men it was to be inferred that it was rapidly approaching. Even in Gen. Wayne himself there was, in this particular, a considerable falling off." Lafayette's impressions were not more favorable. "Eleven thousand men, but tolerably armed, and still worse clad, presented," he said, "a singular spectacle. In this parti-colored and often-naked state, the best dresses were hunting-shirts of brown linen. Their tactics were equally irregular. They were arranged without regard to size, excepting that the smallest men were the front rank. With all this, there were good-looking soldiers conducted by zealous officers." "Though indifferently dressed," said a spectator of the march, "they held well-burnished arms, and carried them like soldiers, and looked, in short, as if they might have faced an equal number with a reasonable prospect of success."

The order of the day issued by Washington shows the pains he took to make a good, forcible impression. Officers were "strongly and earnestly enjoined" to make all their men capable of bearing arms march in the ranks and prevent straggling. "The army is to march in one column through the city of Philadelphia, going in and marching down Front Street to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the Commons. A small halt is to be made about a mile this side of the city till the rear closes up and the line is in proper order. The divisions will march as follows: Greene's, Stephens', Lincoln's, and Lord Stirling's; the horse to be divided upon the two wings, Bland's and Baylor's regiments upon the right, Sheldon's and Mailand's upon the left. The following order of march is to be observed: First, one subaltern and twelve light horse. Two hundred guards. In the rear a complete troop. Two hundred yards in the rear of

the troop the residue of Bland's and Baylor's regiments. One hundred yards in the rear of these a company of pioneers, with their axes in proper order. One hundred yards in the rear of the pioneers a regiment from Muhlenberg's brigade. Close in the rear of that regiment all Muhlenberg's artillery. Then his brigade, followed by Weedon's, Woodford's, and Scott's, in order, with all their field artillery in their respective fronts. Parks of artillery and the artificers belonging thereto in the centre. Lincoln's and Lord Stirling's divisions following, with all their brigade artillery in the rear of their respective brigades. A regiment from Lord Stirling's division for a rear guard, with Sheldon's and Mailand's light horse one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of this regiment, and one troop one hundred and fifty yards in rear of the horse. The whole is to march by subdivisions at half distance, the ranks six paces asunder, which is to be exactly observed in passing through the city; and great attention to be given by the officers to see that the men carry their arms well and are made to appear as decent as circumstances will admit. It is expected that each officer, without exception, will keep his post in passing through the city, and under no pretense to leave it. And if any soldier shall dare quit his ranks, he shall receive thirty-nine lashes at the next halting-place afterwards. The field-officers of the day will prevent any of the men who are allotted to attend the wagons from slipping into the city. As the baggage will be but a little while separated from the column, very few men will be sufficient to guard it, and the general wishes to have as many of them as are able to appear in the ranks in the line of march. The drums and fifes of each brigade are to be collected in the centre of it, and a time for the quick step played, but with such moderation that the men may step to it with ease, without dancing along or totally disregarding the music, which has been too often the case. The men are to be excused from carrying their camp-kettles to-morrow."

Washington rode at the head of the troops attended by his numerous staff. Lafayette, who had received Gates' command, rode by his side. The troops wore sprigs of green in their hats, to give them something of a uniform appearance. The sight was an unusual and animating spectacle to the Whigs, the more so as Nash's North Carolina brigade and Proctor's artillery followed next day, and the new militia were pouring in. "The disaffected," says Washington Irving, "who had been taught to believe the American forces much less than they were in reality, were astonished as they gazed upon the lengthening procession of a host, which, to their unpracticed eyes, appeared innumerable."

Lead pipe was seized all over town to make bullets, and the houses of all citizens who had not showed their attachment to the American cause, and taken the oath of allegiance to the State, were searched for

arms. There was additional reason for this, as it was alleged that the Quakers were in active communication with the enemy. The day after the march through Philadelphia, Gen. Sullivan sent to President Hancock some papers and memoranda captured by him during his recent raid on Staten Island. These embodied a series of regular queries as to the number and position of the different commands, with answers to some of them, from the "Spanktown Yearly Meeting," etc. These were entitled "intelligence" from New Jersey and other places, and the information they gave was important to the enemy and injurious to Washington. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in September, 1780, denied that they had furnished this intelligence. It was believed they were guilty at the time, however, and Congress took up the matter at once. A committee to whom it was referred showed by a series of citations that the "testimonies" of the several Quaker meetings had been invariably hostile to the American cause, and that they were quite capable of surreptitious dealings with the enemy for the injury of "the councils and arms of America," whether guilty in that particular instance or not. On the strength of this report Congress adopted the resolutions offered by the committee, to the effect that—

"It be earnestly recommended to the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania forthwith to apprehend and secure the persons of Joshua Fisher, Abel James, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Rees Wharton, Sr., Thomas Fisher (son of Joshua), and Samuel Fisher (son of Joshua), together with all such Papers in their Possession as may be of a Political nature.

"AND WHEREAS, There is a strong reason to apprehend that these Persons maintain a Correspondence and Connection highly prejudicial to the Public Safety, not only in this State, but in the respective States of America:

"Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Powers of the respective States forthwith to apprehend and secure all Persons as well among the people called Quakers as others, who have in their general conduct and Conversation evidenced a Disposition inimical to the Cause of America; and that the Persons so seized be confined in such places and treated in such manner as shall be consistent with their respective Characters and the security of their Persons."

It was also resolved that the Board of War should remove John Penn and Benjamin Chew to some place of security out of Pennsylvania. These things were published, together with extracts from the proceedings of Quaker meetings of different dates, showing discontent, dissatisfaction, and a disposition to complain of the way Friends had been and were being treated by "the rabble" and the "licentious mob." The list of charges, complaints, and recriminations, republished by Congress, was long and conclusive as to the fact that the Friends neither acquiesced in nor recognized the existing government, and would be glad of its overthrow. The object of the publication was doubtless to justify the harsh measures that had been determined upon by Congress and the Supreme Executive Council, which in this matter went hand in hand.

The Council called to their aid Cols. Bradford and

Delaney, Capt. Peel, and Mr. Rittenhouse, and a list was made out of persons to be arrested as dangerous to the State. It was determined, besides the persons named by Congress, to arrest also Miers Fisher (son of Joshua, a lawyer), Elijah Brown, Hugh Roberts, George Roberts, Joseph Fox (late barrack-master), John Hunt (a lawyer), Samuel Emlen, Jr., Adam Kuhn, M.D., Phineas Bond, Rev. William Smith, D.D. (provost of the college), Rev. Thomas Coombe (rector of Christ Church), Samuel Shoemaker, Charles



BENJAMIN CHEW.

Jervis, William Drewitt Smith, Charles Eddy, Thomas Pike (dancing-master), Owen Jones, Jr., Jeremiah Warder, William Lennox, Edward Penington, Caleb Emlen, William Smith (broker), Samuel Murdock, Alexander Stedman, Charles Stedman, Jr., Thomas Ashton (merchant), William Imlay, Thomas Gilpin, Samuel Jackson, and Thomas Afflick. Some of these were ordered to be arrested at once, but the Council said that it desired to "treat men of reputation with as much tenderness as the security of their persons and papers would admit." It was directed, therefore, to spare some the mortification of arrest if they would give a sort of parole to stay in their homes, subject to order of Council, and do nothing in any way injurious to "the united free States of North America." As the jails were full, the Masonic lodge was secured as a prison, and a committee was appointed to carry out the decision of the Council. This committee consisted of William Bradford, Sharpe Delaney, James Claypoole, William Heysham, John Purviance, Joseph Blewer, Paul Cox, Adam Kimmel, William Graham, William Hardy, Charles W. Peale, Capt. McCulloch, Nathaniel Donnell, Robert Smith, William Carson, Lazarus Pine, Capt. Birney, John Downley, John Galloway, William Thorpe, John Lisle, James Loughhead, James Cannon, James Carr, and Thomas Bradford. The town-major furnished a guard; the Stedmans and Lennox were arrested and confined on September 2d. Three-fourths of the men named refused to give their parole, and were arrested and confined. Some had taken the oath; two or three could not be found, and no return

was made in Joshua Fisher's case and that of Rev. Dr. Smith.

Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants sent for their lawyers, and demanded a hearing. Council declined, as they were arrested by order of Congress. They persisted, but Council was firm, and the same day resolved to send the prisoners to Staunton, Va., for safe-keeping. Jared Ingersoll was ordered to go to Connecticut forthwith, and Lennox was released on bail.

Congress agreed to release all who would swear to affirm fidelity and allegiance to Pennsylvania as an independent State. Inlay gave his parole to return to New York. The congregation of Christ Church appealed on behalf of Coombe and Smith, and it was agreed the former should be allowed to go to Virginia on parole, and thence to the island of St. Eustatius. Howe's advance hastened the departure of the others. They were told they might provide their own vehicles and the Supreme Executive Council would pay expenses, but very little satisfaction was given them as to route or destination. They were sent off on September 11th, under escort of the City Guard, with carriages and wagons, to the music of a drum and fife. The indomitable Quakers took out a writ of *habeas corpus*, in Chief Justice McKean's court, and stopped the procession at Pottsgrove. The Assembly at once passed a law commanding the escort to take the prisoners on to Virginia. A second writ was served at Reading; but the Assembly passed an act suspending the *habeas corpus* and the guards ignored the writ. The journey was rough and fatiguing, and the most of the prisoners were elderly men, unused to such fatigues. Their spirits, however, could not be tamed. They filed a protest at the Maryland line; another when the Potomac was reached; but on the 29th they were brought into Winchester, and there tarried. In December, Owen Jones and the others were ordered to be sent to Staunton, and confined as close prisoners unless they gave their parole to do nothing injurious to the United States.

Congress and the Supreme Executive Council were afterwards anxious to retrace their steps, as the treatment of the prisoners had awakened sympathy for them. They denied the charges against them, and Congress ordered their release upon giving an oath or affirmation of allegiance and fidelity to Pennsylvania. On April 18, 1778, they heard of the order for their discharge. Two were dead,—Gilpin and Hunt. Pike, the dancing-master, absconded from Winchester and was never heard of again. On April 29th they passed the American picket lines at Valley Forge, and reached their homes after an imprisonment of nearly eight months.

It was on June 14, 1777, that Congress resolved, "That the flags of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white, in a blue field, representing

a new constellation."¹ The flag was a modification of the so-called "Great Union flag," used since Jan. 2, 1776, when it was raised in the camp on Prospect Hill. Before that different flags had been used under authority of the different provinces. Connecticut, April 23, 1775, had her flag,—the colony arms, with "Qui transtulit sustinet" for motto, in gilt letters around the arms. July 18, 1775, Putnam unfurled a flag with a red ground, on one side Connecticut's motto; on the other, the "An Appeal to Heaven" of Massachusetts. Moultrie, on James Island, S. C., Sept. 13, 1775, hoisted a blue flag, crescent in the corner, for the union. In autumn, 1775, Philadelphia's floating-batteries used a white flag, tree in the field, motto, "An Appeal to Heaven." The "Great Union" flag had the thirteen alternate stripes of red and white, with the union of the British Union Jack. In February, 1776, Christopher Gadsden presented to the South Carolina Congress the flag of the commander-in-chief of the American navy, "being a yellow field, with a lively representation of a rattlesnake in the middle in the attitude of going to strike, and the words underneath, 'Don't tread on me.'" The Massachusetts Provincial Congress, April 29, 1776, voted that the flag of the cruisers of that colony should be white, with a green pine-tree and an inscription, "An Appeal to Heaven." The "Great Union" flag was generally used; the stars and stripes first in Gates' army against Burgoyne. It may have been used at Brandywine and Germantown; and it was in full use at Valley Forge."²

Howe's army began disembarking at Head of Elk, August 25th, and the State government of Pennsylvania was active in measures for the general defense. The main body of the State militia was sent forward to Gen. Armstrong, at Wilmington. Col. Jonathan Bayard Smith's regiment was posted at the Robin Hood Tavern, on the Ridge road. The third class of militia was called out in Philadelphia City and County, and in the counties of Chester, York, Cumberland, and Northumberland. Commodore Seymour, enfeebled by age, was superseded in the command of

¹ This "new constellation," meaning no more than a new grouping of stars different from any of those mentioned in astronomy, has proved a stumbling-block for the hyper-critics, eager to seek some hidden symbolism in the most indifferent things, and they have supposed the constellation to mean Lyra, because Lyra is a symbol for union. Lyra, however, is an old constellation, and the resolution calls for a new one. It was a period when European, and especially English, astronomy, such as Rittenhouse studied, was fond of naming new things in the skies in compliment to common or old things and dignities on the earth. Thus there were Charles' Wain, "Robus Caroli," "Scutum Sobieski," "Honores Frederici," "Cor Caroli," "Taurus Poniatowski," "Harpa Georgii," "Sceptum Brandenburgium," etc. Bode, Frederick the Great's astronomer, had just named a new constellation in honor of Franklin's printing-press; it was easy for Rittenhouse to think and speak of the starry union of the flag as introducing another new constellation, more worthy of honor than the "Georgium Sidus" discovered by Herschel four years later, and the "Harpa Georgii" named by Bode fourteen years later.

² The first stars and stripes is said to have been made by Mrs. Elizabeth Ross, in a house afterwards No. 80 Arch Street. (See paper by William J. Canby, read before the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1876.)

the fleet by Commodore Hazlewood. The Navy Board arranged to flood Hog Island and the Delaware meadows; to make a bridge of boats from Fort Island to Province Island; to throw a garrison into the fort at Darby Creek and the lines of Bush Island; and to get Col. Jehu Eyre's regiment of militia to garrison Fort Island and other adjacent works. Boats were collected and detained, but not so as to embarrass families taking flight by water, and the Middle Ferry bridge had a guard assigned to it, with orders to remove it when the word came. The Supreme Executive Council issued a stirring proclamation under date of September 10th, announcing that the crisis had come, that "Gen. Howe, at the head of a British army, the only hope and last resource of our enemies, has invaded this State. Dismissing his ships and disincumbering himself of his heavy artillery and baggage, he appears to have risked all upon the event of a movement which must either deliver up to plunder and devastation this capital of Pennsylvania, or forever blast the cruel designs of our implacable foes." Every one is adjured to turn out in this emergency to enable Washington to "environ and demolish the only British army that remains formidable in America or the world."

Howe moved slowly and with caution at first. He landed on the 26th, and advanced to Elkton with his army in two divisions, at Elkton and Cecil Court-House. His force comprised seventeen thousand picked men, Washington's eleven thousand. The latter, at Wilmington, was in danger of being driven into the Delaware or down the peninsula by Howe's movements, when he did begin to move, on September 3d, by his left flank, seeking to turn the American right and occupy the upper fords. It was only by active motions that Washington was able to extricate himself from this *cul-de-sac*. After a succession of skirmishes the two armies found themselves, on September 11th, on opposite sides of the Brandywine, the British planning to force the passage of the stream, the Americans seeking to hold the fords and attack the enemy wherever he tried to cross. The Brandywine is a historic river, yet not much more than a mill-stream in its dimensions, after all. Its source is a double stream, uniting in Chester County, seeking the Delaware lowlands, and emptying into Christiansa Creek. There were numerous fords, especially on the upper stream, with hills on either side. The main road from Delaware to Philadelphia crosses the Brandywine at Chadd's Ford; below it, at the distance of a mile and a half, was Pyle's Ford; above it, two miles distant, was Brinton's; above that, fords to choose. The situation was not unlike that at the first battle of Bull Run. Howe's army was massed at Kennett Square, several miles south of the Brandywine, on the road to Chadd's Ford. Washington's army was divided: Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, held Pyle's Ford; Washington, with Wayne and Greene, held the centre; Weeden's and Muhlen-

berg's brigades, Greene's division, held the heights in the rear of Chadd's Ford, as a reserve. On a hill at the ford was Proctor's artillery, sheltered by a rude redoubt and supported by Wayne's brigade. Maxwell's light infantry were in the advance, holding the south side of the ford and the approaches to it. On the right, connecting with Wayne and Greene, and with pickets, videttes, and light cavalry thrown out up-stream to the fords, was Sullivan's division, and those of Stephen and Stirling, holding Brinton's Ford. Sullivan was charged to look to the security of that flank; but he had not the means to do it, and, besides, was not competent to command the entire wing of an army. He had only some light cavalry, under Bland. Stirling was brave, but dull; Stephen was a superannuated veteran, and dull besides. The country was disaffected in the extreme,—full of Tories and Quakers,—and while Howe, guided by Galloway, had all the intelligence he needed, Washington not only did not know of the enemy's movements, but seemed to be only partly acquainted with the lay of the land. He was very anxious for Howe to attack him at Chadd's Ford, confident that he would be able to defeat him there, and that was precisely what Howe did not intend to do.

Howe's right, under Knyphausen, advanced to Chadd's Ford, as if to attack it, and made such a successful demonstration as to cover the real attack. The left, under Cornwallis, with Howe in person, and the greater part of the army, made a detour of twelve miles, crossing easily and unopposed at Trumbull's and Jeffrey's Fords, and descending the river on the crest of the north bank, took Sullivan in the flank and routed him, doubling his divisions one upon the other. Just as this movement was developing, Washington was preparing to attack Knyphausen in front, while Armstrong crossed below and Sullivan above. But Howe's flank movement took precedence. Sullivan's dispositions were bad, in addition to his being surprised and flanked. Howe's columns pressed in between the American divisions, drove all before them, and were rapidly gaining the main road in the rear of Washington, when the reserve, under Washington and Greene, came up and checked the enemy long enough to prevent a rout and cover the withdrawal of the army.

It was a badly fought battle and a bad defeat for the Americans, though the British were too worn out by their long march to pursue. The enemy, however, reaped all the fruits of victory. They took Washington's cannon, they occupied the field of battle, and the road to Philadelphia was now opened before them. The losses, however, even in *morale*, were not fatal, nor even heavy. The army was reformed at Chester, and did not retreat precipitately as Howe advanced. The officers, and soldiers too, were for renewing the combat.

Philadelphia, anxious, excited, uneasy, prepared for a final defense even before the issue of the battle

was known. The militia still in town were ordered to turn out with intrenching tools as well as arms. During the progress of the battle the Council was in session, as the minutes show. "The two armies being now engaged, and the event doubtful, Ordered, That all shops and stores be immediately shut up, except those only where workmen are employed in making or repairing the public arms, and that every man capable of bearing arms or repairing arms repair to his captain's quarters at two o'clock this afternoon. The commissioned officers are hereby commanded to exert themselves in the execution of this order, and order that the drums beat to arms immediately." The guards at Gray's Ferry, Robin Hood Ford, Upper Ferry and bridge were strengthened, to protect the cannon at those points. Boats were sent down the river to bring up the wounded. The gunpowder and stores were removed from French Creek, and, at Washington's request, Maj. Casdorp removed the Schuylkill bridge at High Street to the Delaware, all other boats being put where the enemy could not reach them. Col. Flower, aided by carpenters James Worrell, Francis Allison, and Evans, took down the bells of the churches and public buildings. They were carried to Trenton and thence to Bethlehem. The cattle were driven off by the committee charged with that duty, and the money and papers of the loan office and the records of the State removed to Easton.

On September 3d there was no quorum of the Assembly, and none till the 13th. Meantime the Assembly minutes, papers, and a press were sent up the Delaware, in the shallop "Sturdy Beggar," to Col. Kirkbride. On the 18th the Assembly fled, to meet at Lancaster on the 25th. If Howe had marched to Darby the morning after the battle of the Brandywine, said Lafayette, Washington's army would have been destroyed. This is rather too sweeping a statement; but a prompt movement would have been undoubtedly injurious to Washington. But Howe delayed, to forage and to put the wounded out of the way; they were sent to Wilmington on the 14th. In the meanwhile, Washington himself marched to Darby, crossed the Schuylkill quietly, and reorganized his forces at Germantown, ready for battle again on the 18th.

Howe pushed some brigades out into Chester County, and occupied Wilmington on the 12th and 13th. On the 17th, Lord Cornwallis held the Lancaster road and the column of Knyphausen united with him at the White Horse Tavern, pushed on to Tredyffrin, and destroyed the stores and magazines at Valley Forge. Washington had recrossed the Schuylkill on the 15th, and attempted to turn Howe's left. Howe's object was to take Philadelphia, with a battle, if he could get one on favorable terms. He faced about and the two armies confronted one another again, no river between them. The militia held the fords and ferries of the Schuylkill. The

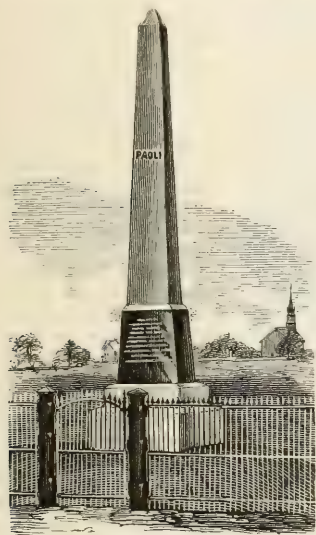
main body was encamped at the junction of the Lancaster and Swedes' Ford roads, in the township of East Whiteland, northeast of the Admiral Warren Tavern, and between that and the White Horse. Howe advanced by way of the Chester road, Rocky Hill and Goshen meeting-house, West Chester and the Boot Tavern. On the 16th the two armies took positions on high ground between the White Horse and Goshen meeting-house and prepared for action. All accounts agree that both sides expected a serious engagement, and that neither antagonist despised the other. The advance parties had already begun to skirmish—Wayne having to lead the attack on the American side—when a storm of great severity set in and damaged Washington's ammunition seriously, his cartridge-boxes, unlike those of the British, not being water-proof. The storm equally prevented the British from attacking. Washington withdrew to the Yellow Springs, and then to Warwick furnace, on French Creek, where fresh ammunition was obtained. The British went into camp around the Boot Tavern. Joseph Galloway insisted that Howe should have attacked in spite of the rain. Tom Paine, who was on the field, says, in a letter to Dr. Franklin, that the storm was "most violent and incessant,"—weather of "almost irresistible fury,"—the equinoctial storm, in fact; and the British did not move until the evening of the 17th.

On the 18th the British columns united at the White Horse, moved into Tredyffrin township, and encamped on the south side of the road to Swedes' Ford, east of where Howellville now is. Gen. Smallwood, with the Maryland militia gathered on the Eastern Shore prior to the battle of Brandywine, was in Howe's rear, cutting off detachments and obstructing foragers. Wayne was sent out by Washington from French Creek on the 17th with his division, fifteen hundred men and four guns, to co-operate and unite with Smallwood, harass and annoy the enemy, cut off his baggage, impede his march, and, if possible, by attacking his rear, prevent him from crossing the Schuylkill before Washington could cross the river higher up and place himself in Howe's front.

Wayne, with his usual daring, closed up almost immediately on the enemy's rear, and scarcely four miles away. He was familiar with the country, and he did not believe Howe was aware of his proximity. He was sure Washington had only to join him to be able to attack the British rear successfully, and, as he phrased it, "complete Mr. Howe's business." On the contrary, however, Howe was acquainted with all of Wayne's motions, and was prepared to profit by them, not only punishing Wayne's temerity, but securing his leading object, the passage of the Schuylkill undisturbed. Wayne had word on which he trusted that Howe would attempt to cross at two A.M. on the 21st, and prepared to attack him at that hour. Smallwood would act with him, and Maxwell and Potter, at Pott's Forge, were also to attack. Wayne put out

his pickets and his men went to sleep, lying on their arms. Meantime Howe, instructed by the Tories as to Wayne's precise camp, ordered Gen. Grey to surprise and cut him off.

Musgrave, with the Fortieth and Fifty-fifth Regiments, moved up the Lancaster road to the Paoli Tavern to cut off retreat by that route, while Grey, marching from Howellville along the Swedes' Ford road, massed his brigade almost within gunshot of Wayne's force, and dashed upon the sleeping camp with fixed bayonets and every musket unloaded.



PAOLI MONUMENT.

The surprise was complete, the force of the assailants overwhelming. Grey had two regiments, a body of light infantry, and the Second and Tenth Dragoons, —and when the enemy struck him at one o'clock in the morning, it was practically *saute qui peut* from the first. The cannon, indeed, were hurried off the field and saved, but the bayonets and sabres of Grey's troops made such terrible havoc in Wayne's ranks that the surprise has ever since been known as "The Massacre of Paoli."¹ Smallwood's men, just about to join Wayne, ran away in consternation, and the American loss was severe. The Americans reported one hundred and fifty killed, and seventy or eighty captured; but Howe, in his official dispatch, says, "Killed and wounded not less than three hundred on the spot, taking between seventy and eighty

prisoners, including several officers, the greater part of their arms, and eight wagons loaded with baggage and stores."

This surprise and defeat enabled Howe to cross the Schuylkill undisturbed, as his rear was now secure from any attack. In the morning he marched towards Swedes' Ford; breastworks were there, held by Pennsylvania militia. He turned up the river northward, and at Parker's Ford found Washington confronting him, having crossed over from Warwick.

Howe turned northward again, as if to pass Washington's right, or seize the invaluable stores at Reading by a *coup de main*. Washington, to prevent this, once more crossed to the eastern bank and interposed at Pottsgrove, whereupon Howe, wheeling suddenly, marched swiftly back again, and, dividing his force into two columns, crossed practically unopposed at Gordon's Ford (now Phoenixville), and Fatland Ford, below Valley Forge, proceeding by easy marches thence to Philadelphia. Washington's men were not in condition to march and countermarch like Howe's, and he gave up the attempt to keep Howe out of the city, which he entered on the 26th. The honors and the fruits of the campaign, it must be conceded, were so far with Gen. Howe. He had outmaneuvered Washington; his tactics were better, and his soldiers had out-fought the Continentals. But these had fought well enough to make Howe cautious, and he did not venture again to take such risks as he had taken at the passage of the Brandywine.

Howe's grenadiers were the first to cross the Schuylkill, on the 22d, at Fatland Ford, supported by the light infantry guard. They were part of Cornwallis' column under Grey and Agnew. The chasseur battalions crossed next at Gordon's Ford, and on the 23d the whole army went over, Cornwallis in the van, and Grant, with the baggage, bringing over the rear guard before night. That night they encamped with the left on the Schuylkill, the right on the Ridge road, and Stony Run in front. A battalion dislodged the militia at Swedes' Ford, where there was a small redoubt with six pieces. On the 25th the British moved towards Philadelphia in two grand divisions, one taking the Germantown road, the other passing down the Schuylkill towards the falls.

The city was at their mercy, and Washington's ill-clad, ill-shod, ill-fed, scanty battalions no longer interposed to defend it. General despondency prevailed; Congress was honeycombed with cliques; the army was full of conspirators; the city itself was overrun with malcontents and traitors. "Now, Pennsylvania," was Parson Muhlenberg's despairing cry, "bend thy neck and prepare to meet thy God!" "Oh, heaven, grant us one great soul!" shrieked captious and impatient John Adams, "one leading mind would extricate the best cause from that ruin which seems to await it!"

In this crisis, the authorities behaved well. Congress did not run away, but stayed in the city until

¹ A Quincy granite monument, twenty-two feet and a half in height, was erected as a memorial to the Americans who fell a sacrifice to the massacre, and was dedicated at the centennial anniversary on Sept. 20, 1877.

the 18th, when it adjourned to meet in Lancaster. Stores and magazines were removed, and blankets, shoes, and clothing were impressed from the Philadelphians in spite of Tory protests. Washington, indeed, sent his aide-de-camp, Hamilton, into the city on the 22d to secure these needed contributions. It was impossible to do without them, and Washington insisted upon the impressment, "painful as it is for me to order and as it will be to you to execute the message." The Supreme Executive Council remained in the city until the end of the 23d. They compelled the removal of all provisions except a bare subsistence for families. There was a court-martial at the jail, and all the military prisoners who could be trusted were sent to the army as recruits. All vessels in the Delaware were ordered to Burlington and Fort Mifflin, on pain of being burnt if not moved next tide, and small craft ordered to the New Jersey creeks. The Whigs all abandoned the city; the Whig press suspended; the last number of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* was printed September 10th, and *Bradford's Journal* September 9th, and the Tories were left to welcome their masters.

They were willing and anxious to do this. Marshall's *Remembrancer* notes as follows: "News of the day to be depended upon was that the day before Genl. Howe entered Philadelphia, being the 25th of last month, a number of Tories, said to amount to four or five hundred, went out in parade to Germantown, returned and triumphed through the streets all the night, taking, securing, and sending to prison all they could find that they looked upon or termed friends to the Free States of America, amongst whom was and is the parson, Jacob Duché." Robert Morton's diary begins at this time. The first entry is September 16th, when he went to Reading about the Quakers detained at Winchester. On the 19th he writes: "This morning about one o'clock an express arrived to Congress giving an account of the British army having got to the Swedes' Ford on the other side of the Schuylkill, which so much alarmed the gentlemen of the Congress, the military officers and other friends to the general cause of American freedom and independence, that they decamped with the utmost precipitation and in the greatest confusion, inasmuch that one of the delegates, by name Fulsem, was obliged in a very fulsome manner to ride off without a saddle. Thus have we seen the men from whom we have received, and from whom we still expected, protection, leave us to fall into the hands of (by their accounts) a barbarous, cruel, and unrelenting enemy. . . . Oh, Philadelphia, my native city, thou that hast heretofore been so remarkable for the preservation of thy rights, now sufferest these who were the guardians, protectors, and defenders of thy youth (the Quakers), and who contributed their share in raising thee to thy present state of grandeur and magnificence with a rapidity not to be paralleled in the world, to be dragged by a licentious mob from their near and dear

connection, etc. Alas, the day must come when the avenger's hand shall make thee suffer for thy guilt, and thy rulers shall deplore thy fate. . . . 23d. In the evening the inhabitants were exceedingly alarmed by an apprehension of the city being set on fire. The British troops being within eleven miles of the city caused the disturbance, and gave rise to those womanish fears which seize upon weak minds at those occasions. Sat up till one o'clock, not to please myself but other people."

As Morton's diary notes, next entry, an attempt was even made by the galleys to obstruct the British entry, they being anchored in the stream and their guns trained to enfilade the streets. The next day (25th) the British commander notified the people through a communication sent to Thomas Willing that they did not desire to molest any one in person and property, and all were enjoined to remain peaceably and quietly in their own dwellings. There was another panic this day about burning the city. Patrols were formed and arrests made. Morton notes that he "set up till one o'clock patrolling the streets for fear of fire. Two men were taken up who acknowledged their intentions of doing it."

On the 26th a detachment of the royal army marched into the city. It was about 11 A.M., says Morton. The force was Cornwallis' division of British and auxiliaries, about three thousand men. The foreigners comprised two battalions of Hessian grenadiers. They marched in by the Second Street road, proceeded down Second Street, and, after placing guards, encamped at the south end of town, on Society Hill. As they came in, says Morton's diary, they were accompanied by Joseph Galloway, Andrew and William Allen, "and others, inhabitants of the city, to the great relief of the inhabitants, who have too long suffered the yoke of arbitrary power, and who testified their approbation of the arrival of the troops by the loudest acclamations of joy." The general report, however, is that there was not much rejoicing, nor many demonstrations. Town's *Evening Post*, a Whig paper that turned Tory as swiftly as Bonnivard's hair turned white, said that "the fine appearance of the soldiery, the strictness of the discipline, the politeness of the officers, and the orderly behavior of the whole body immediately dispelled every apprehension of the inhabitants, kindled a joy in the countenances of the well affected, and gave a most convincing refutation of the scandalous falsehoods which evil and designing men had long been spreading to terrify the peaceable and innocent." The head of the column was Col. Harcourt (the same who took Gen. Charles Lee), with his light dragoons, Cornwallis in command, attended by Sir William Erskine, Com.-Gen. Wier and staff, with a band playing "God Save the King." The bright, well-clad, imposing troops of the enemy made patriots' hearts sink, the contrast was so great.

The artillery were quartered in Chestnut Street,

between Third and Sixth; the State House yard was made use of for a park; the Forty-second Highlanders were on Chestnut Street below Third; the Fifteenth Regiment were in quarters on Market Street, about Fifth. Morton, on the day of entry, says they were quartered at the Bettering House, State House, and other places, "and already begin to show the great destruction of the fences and other things, the dreadful consequences of an army, however friendly. The army have fortified below the town to prevent the armed vessels in our river coming to this city; likewise have erected a battery at the Point. This day has put a period to the existence of Continental money in this city. *Esto perpetua.*" The officers at once quartered themselves upon the wealthiest people. Mrs. Deborah Logan says, "Early in the morning Lord Cornwallis' suit arrived and took possession of my mother's house. But my mother was appalled by the numerous train which took possession of her dwelling, and shrank from having such inmates, for a guard was mounted at the door and the yard was filled with soldiers and baggage of every description; and I well remember what we thought of the haughty looks of Lord Rawdon and the other aid-de-camp as they traversed the apartments. My mother desired to speak with Lord Cornwallis, and he attended her in the front parlor. She told him of her situation, and how impossible it would be for her to stay in her own house with such a numerous train as composed his lordship's establishment. He behaved with great politeness to her, said he should be sorry to give trouble, and would have other quarters looked out for him. They withdrew that very afternoon, and he was accommodated at Peter Reeves', on Second Street, near Spruce. We felt glad at the exemption; but it did not last long, for directly the quartermasters were engaged in billeting the troops, and we had to find room for two officers of artillery, and afterwards, in addition, for two gentlemen, secretaries of Lord Howe."¹

Watson describes the personal appearance of some of the British officers, as follows: "Sir William Howe was a fine figure, full six feet high and well proportioned; in appearance not unlike his antagonist, Gen. Washington. His manners were graceful and dignified, and he was much beloved by his officers for his generosity and affability. Sir Henry Clinton, his successor in command, was in a good degree a different man. He was short and fat, with



RESIDENCE OF LORD HOWE, AFTERWARDS OF WASHINGTON, MARKET STREET BETWEEN FIFTH AND SIXTH STREETS.

[From an old drawing in Philadelphia Library.]

a full face and a prominent nose. In his intercourse he was reserved, and he was not so popular as Howe. Lord Cornwallis was short and thick-set; his hair somewhat gray; his face well formed and agreeable; his manners remarkably easy and affable; much beloved by his men. Gen. Knyphausen has much of the German in his appearance; always very polite in bowing to respectable citizens on the streets; not tall, but slender and straight; his features sharpened, martial; very honorable in his dealings. Col. Tarleton was rather below the middle size, stout, strong, heavily made; large, muscular legs, and an uncommonly active person; his complexion dark, and his eyes small, black, and piercing." Bancroft describes Howe as saturnine and sluggish, a torpid, easy-tem-

¹ Westcott, with his untiring industry and research, has made out a list of the quarters of the British officers, so far as they can be ascertained. Gen. Howe lived first in Gen. Cadwalader's house, Second Street, below Spruce; then in Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth, house of Richard Penn, afterwards the property of Robert Morris, and occupied by Washington when President. Admiral Lord Howe lived in John Lawrence's house, Chestnut Street above Fourth, afterwards the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank. Gen. Knyphausen, Cadwalader's house. Cornwallis, Peter Reeves' house, Second Street; afterwards in David Lewis' house, Second Street above Spruce. Gen. Mathew, Front Street. Col. Abercrombie (afterwards killed in Egypt), Whitehead's house, Vine Street, second door west of Second. Maj. André, Dr. Franklin's house, court on Market Street, between Third and Fourth.

Lord Rawdon, at Mrs. Swords', Lodge Alley. Sir William Erskine, quartermaster-general, William West's, Front Street. Lieut.-Col. Sir John Wrottesley, Poole's bridge, Front Street and Pegg's Run. Col. Sir Henry Johnston (who married a daughter of David Franks, of Philadelphia), at Edward Pennington's, northwest corner Race and Crown Streets. Maj. David Ferguson, in Union Street. Capt. Gouldney, of the King's Own (Fourth Regiment), at Mrs. May's, Walnut Street, between Second and Third. William Cunningham, provost-marshal, corner of Second and Walnut Streets. Edward Madden, town major, Arch Street. Capt. Richard Hovenden, Philadelphia Light Dragoons (Tory), Mrs. Ducature's, Chestnut, between Front and Second Streets. Capt. Sandford, Bucks County Light Dragoons (Tory), George Inn, Second and Arch Streets. Surgeon Robert Boyes, Fifteenth Regiment, Mrs. Brink's, Fourth Street. William Wood, commissary of the Royal Artillery, Walnut Street, between Second and Third Streets.

pered sensualist, coarse in tastes and venal. Cornwallis was the ablest officer, and man too, of all the command. He distinguished himself by his administrative abilities as governor-general of India.

The fortifications and batteries spoken of in Morton's diary were begun on the day of Howe's entry; there was a redoubt at where Reed and Swanson Streets intersect; the old association battery was manned with three guns; one was built near Swanson and Christian Streets; one in the upper part of town, on a wharf above Cohocksink Creek, all manned with medium twelve-pounders and howitzers. On the 27th, before these works were completed, Commodore Hazlewood sent up the "Delaware" frigate, 20 guns, the frigate "Montgomery," sloop "Fly," and many galleys, to engage them. The "Delaware" anchored within five hundred yards of the lower battery and opened fire, and the other vessels engaged the other batteries. The fire was returned, but no execution was done on either side. The "Delaware," badly manœuvred, was left by the tide and got aground, whereupon Brig.-Gen. Samuel Cleveland, of the British army, brought a battery to bear on her, forced her to strike her flag, and she was taken possession of by Averne's marine company of grenadiers. The other vessels were beaten off, one, a schooner, being run ashore and lost; and the fleet, thus crippled, attempted to run past the batteries and up the river, passing between the Jersey shore and Windmill Island. The Cohocksink battery drove them back in confusion, and in passing the lower batteries the "Montgomery" had her masts shot away. A schooner, crippled in the same way, was run ashore and captured, and the rest got safe under the guns of Mud Fort. Town's paper declared they had come up under the cruel orders to batter the city without mercy. Light parties, meanwhile, of the Continentals hovered about the city to harass the enemy, and on the 27th there was a skirmish, with some casualties, at Israel Pemberton's plantation, Gray's Ferry road, between small parties.

Howe issued his proclamation on September 28th, from his headquarters at Germantown, guaranteeing protection and security to all who came in and behaved themselves under his proclamation of August 27th. This amnesty was further explained and extended under another issued four days later. These promises were fair enough, but the British hardly waited till they were settled in the city before making the Philadelphians conscious they were a conquered people. Plundering was punished, but not prevented. Robert Morton, on September 28th and 29th, mourns over his mother's house and his uncle Pemberton's, broken into and ransacked and robbed. He complained, was given a guard, and told the men would be severely dealt with if caught, but that did not make amends for beds ripped open and wine and silver stolen. He saw a man hung, heard of four hundred lashes given to another. His mother and

he interceded for others arrested for robbing him, but the plundering did not cease. Gen. Howe himself took and kept Mary Pemberton's coach and horses for his own use, and Morton complains that the quartermaster gave him receipts for hundreds of pounds of hay where thousands had been taken. Sir William Erskine, the quartermaster-general, issued orders to all people who had stores or provisions belonging to the rebel army to report the same, under pain of being treated with the utmost rigor. Rewards were held out to informers revealing the hiding-places of such stores. Removing goods from the city without permit was to be severely punished, and all persons having rum or spirits were required to report the fact and quantity without delay. A return was required of all wagons, and the army proposed to hire them by the day at three shillings, New York currency. Wagons not tendered voluntarily at that rate were to be seized. Forage-yards were established next to Potter's Field and on the Delaware, where hay and straw were to be brought. Grain was to be delivered at Willing & Morris' store, and paid for in gold and silver.

On September 29th the Tenth and Forty-ninth Regiments were detached, under Lieut.-Col. Stirling, in order to make a movement against the fort at Billingsport, which still protected the lower *chevaux-de-frise*. The fleet now in the river found this an obstacle to their further progress, and Capt. Hammond, of the "Roebuck," asked help from the land forces. The troops were sent to Chester and made preparations to cross the Delaware. The officers and men of the galleys, thinking their situation desperate, were deserting, whole crews at a time. Col. Bradford, of the city militia, had thrown himself into the Billingsport lines when the British entered Philadelphia; but this garrison was inadequate for such a work, consisting of only one hundred city militia, Capt. Massey's company of artillery, one hundred men, and one hundred and fifty Jersey militia. The British troops landed, October 1st, near Raccoon Creek. Gen. Newcome, with a party of Jersey militia, was sent to meet them, but failed to prevent their march, and retreated. Thereupon Col. Bradford sent the garrison to Fort Island, took off all the ammunition and some of the cannon, spiked the rest, and set fire to the barracks and bakehouse. Bradford's men got away safely, and Stirling took possession of Billingsport, enabling Capt. Hammond to remove the lower *chevaux-de-frise*.

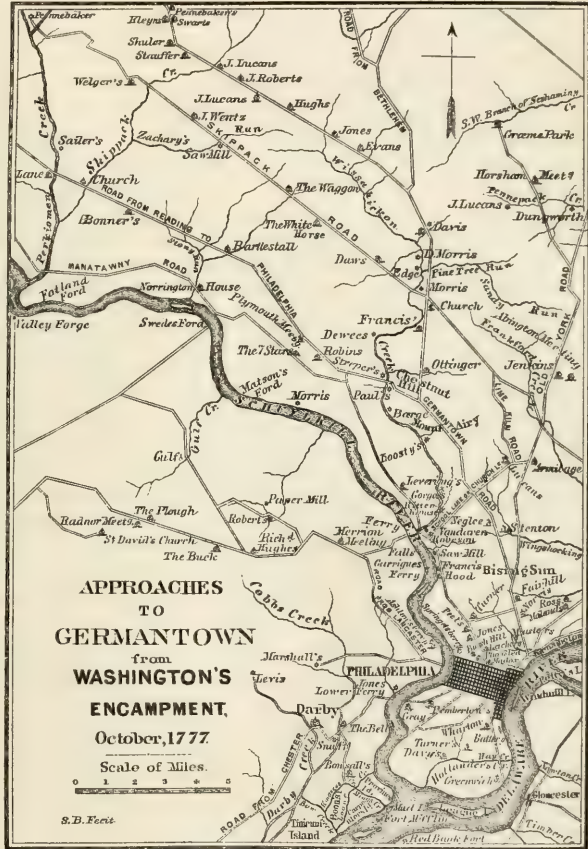
Meantime, Washington had been reinforced and was in motion. After the royal army crossed the Schuylkill he had taken post between the Perkiomen and Skippack Creeks, twenty miles to the north of Philadelphia, with his headquarters near Pennibecker's (Pennypacker's) mill. He had proposed to attack the enemy as early as September 28th, and submitted his plans to a council of officers, but they decided adversely to the attack, Brig.-Gens. Small-

wood, Wayne, Scott, Potter, and James Irvine voting in favor of the offensive movement, Maj.-Gens. Sullivan, Greene, Stirling, Stephens, Armstrong, and Brig.-Gens. McDougall, Knox, Muhlenberg, Nash, and Conway voting to defer the advance until the reinforcements from Peekskill came up. It was recommended, however, to move closer to the enemy, so as to be in a position to attack should opportunity offer.

About October 1st the troops from the Hudson came up, and fresh bodies of militia also, and Washington learned, through intercepted letters, of the detachment sent against Billingsport. The forts on the Delaware were part of Washington's offensive against Howe, and he thought a battle could be risked by way of diversion in their favor. The force sent against Billingsport was probably overestimated; anyhow, Washington counted that and the detachment under Cornwallis in Philadelphia as reducing Howe's army to a numerical equality with his own. Upon that view of the case he prepared to attack Howe at Germantown, and, if possible, to surprise him.

The village of Germantown then consisted of a single street of houses about two miles long, built on both sides of a public road, which ascended, over rolling hills, from Second St. to Chestnut Hill, there branching in one direction towards Reading, in the other towards Bethlehem. The street of the town ran northwest and southeast; the houses were chiefly stoue hamlets, low, substantial, with steep roofs and projecting eaves; they stood detached from one another, but close to the highway, each with its inclosure, gardens, fences, palings or walls around it, and in the rear cultivated orchards and fields. From Chestnut Hill to Naglee's Hill, the northern and southern extremities of the German settlement and of the field of action, the distance along the Skippack road (for so the street was called) is between two and three miles. Southeast of Naglee's Hill, and under it, is Stenton, the house built by James Logan, where Howe had his headquarters at this time. Between the Skippack

road and the Schuylkill, parallel to both in effect, crossing the Wissahickon at its mouth, cutting the Reading road at Barren Hill, and nearing the Germantown road as the two approached the city, was the Manatawny, or Ridge road, traversing a rough, wild country, with mills near it along its whole length. Nearly parallel to the Skippack road, but diverging from it and from each other as they extended north-



ward, were the old York road and the Limekiln road, the latter, at Lukens's mill, turning southwest and cutting the Skippack road at right angles, and under the name of the Church Lane, at the German Reformed Church in Germantown, the former passing to the east of Naglee's Hill and Stenton. Fisher's Lane, running east from the summit of Naglee's Hill, joined

the Skippack to the old York road. The Church Lane, west of the Skippack, becomes the School-House Lane, and extends to the Ridge road and the Schuylkill. A quarter of a mile southeast of this Church Lane, at the market-house, Shoemaker's Lane cuts the Skippack road at right angles; the eastern branch runs to the old York road, the western, Indian Queen Lane, to the Ridge road. A quarter of a mile west of Church and School-House Lanes another lane cuts the Skippack road once more at right angles, the eastern section called the Bristol, or Meeting-House road, the western the Rittenhouse, or Paper-Mill road. Northwest of this road, on the right, or east side of the Skippack road, stood the Mennonite meeting-house; northward of it again, on the same side of the main road, was Chew's house, a fine, large stone mansion, with extensive outbuildings; beyond it, the Lutheran Church, then Beggarstown, Mount Pleasant, Mount Airy, Cresheim Creek, and so on to Chestnut Hill.

Such, in brief, is the general topography of Germantown as it was in October, 1777. On the west of the village the land rolled away to the high bluffs of the Wissahickon at its confluence with the Schuylkill, giving protection to Howe's left wing. The ground on the east, cut up by the Wingohocken and other streams running into the Delaware, defended his right wing from attack. The British army, in fact, lay encamped in order of battle on the general line of the School-House and Church Lanes, at right angles to the Skippack road, its centre resting on that road at the market-house, its left at Robeson's house and behind the Wissahickon where the Ridge road crosses it, its right at Lukens' mill and behind Kelley's hill. The position was a strong one, and it covered all the approaches to Philadelphia by the peninsula between the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

The left wing, under Lieut.-Gen. Knyphausen, extended to the Schuylkill; it comprised the Third Brigade, Maj.-Gen. Grey, the Fourth, Brig.-Gen. Agnew (seven British battalions in all), three Hessian battalions under Maj.-Gen. Von Stirn, and the mounted and dismounted chasseurs, under Col. Von Wurmb. The chasseurs were in front and on the flank, and the extreme left was guarded by a small redoubt on the bluff at the debouchure of the Wissahickon, where School-House Lane touches the Ridge road. Upon the right of Knyphausen, Brig.-Gen. Mathew, with six British battalions and two squadrons of dragoons, held the line; upon his right, and crossing the Skippack road, was Maj.-Gen. Grant with the corps of guards, extending to the woods near Lukens' mill. The flank of this wing was covered by the first battalion of light infantry encamped upon the Limekiln road, the extreme right being held by a provincial corps, the Queen's Rangers, afterwards commanded by Lieut. Simcoe and famous for partisan service. They were thrown out towards Branchtown, on the York road. The front, along the Skippack

road, was held by the Fortieth Regiment, Col. Musgrave, encamped in the field opposite Chew's house, on the west of the main road; the advance was the Second Battalion of light infantry, stationed, with a battery of artillery, on the east of the main road, at Mount Pleasant, while there was an outlying picket, with two six-pounders, at Allen's house, Mount Airy.

Washington, on September 29th, marched from Pennypacker's mills down to the Skippack, on the 2d, to Worcester township. Thomas Paine, in his letter to Franklin, says, "The army had moved about three miles lower down that morning. The next day they made a movement about the same distance to the twenty-first milestone on the Skippack road. Headquarters at J. Wince's (John Wentz's). On the 3d of October, in the morning, they began to fortify the camp as a deception, and about nine at night marched for Germantown." There was no attempt to keep the *movement* secret,—it would have been impossible to conceal the movement of ten thousand men, and it was generally known. Parson Muhlenberg heard of it on the 3d. On the 2d an officer of the light infantry in the British advance wrote that "Mr. Washington, by the accounts of some who came in to-day, is eighteen miles distant, with his main body. They also say he intends to move near us to try the event of another battle." But the part which was sought to be concealed was the attack in force that morning of the 4th; and that concealment was successfully accomplished. To bring it about, Washington had sent scouting parties to beat up the enemy's pickets three or four nights in succession; he had pretended to fortify his camp at Worcester township, and he marched fourteen miles after nine o'clock at night, so that he was at daybreak on the 4th only four miles away from the light infantry officer, instead of eighteen miles. The object was to surprise Howe, and that object was successfully secured. The strategy was good,—the battle was lost by bad tactics on the field.

Washington prepared his order of battle upon the basis of his accurate information of the enemy's position. The fault of it was, it was too elaborate. The country was rough and broken; the converging lines were six or seven miles apart; the only communication was by couriers; yet all the divisions were expected to co-operate, to attack simultaneously, to be within supporting distances of each other at critical stages of the battle, and each division was to accomplish something which was to be necessary to the success of each of the other divisions. "Each column was to make its dispositions so as to get within two miles of the enemy's pickets by two o'clock, there halt till four, and attack the pickets precisely at five o'clock, with charge-bayonets and without firing, and the column to move to the attack as soon as possible." Battles are not fought by any such clock-work system nowadays, even with the telegraph, the railroad, and a perfected signal service.

October 4, 1777.

Scale of Miles

1901-1902

Ulmus m. 2g. Sylvester Howell. Sept. 1877.

REFERENCES

Position of the British Academy

Principal roads ==

Narrow Roads & Lane 3.....

Present County Times, — — — — —

House

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The plan of Washington was for Wayne and Sullivan, with their divisions, flanked by Conway's brigade, to strike at the enemy's centre by way of Chestnut Hill and the Skippack road; Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to descend the Manatawny road to Van Deering's mill at the Wissahickon crossing, carry off the chasseurs, and get on the left and rear of Knyphausen; Greene and Stephen's divisions flanked by McDougall's brigade, making a *détour* to the Limekiln road, were to strike at the enemy's right and centre, with the market plaza for their objective; Smallwood and Forman, with the Maryland and New Jersey militia, were to cross to the old York road and turn the enemy's extreme right; Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, was to act as a reserve; and a detachment of militia, on the west side of the Schuylkill, were to demonstrate against the Middle and Lower Ferries, to prevent Cornwallis from reinforcing Howe. But it is obvious from the enemy's position that if the British advance at Pleasant Hill and Chew's house could occupy the division advancing by the Skippack road for an hour or two, Greene, Stephen, and McDougall would find themselves engaged with the whole British army, except so much as Armstrong's militia could occupy on the extreme left and Smallwood's militia on the far left. In other words, of two columns sent to attack the British centre and main body, one would be fully engaged while the other had a mile and a half to traverse before it could be got up.

Smallwood's orders, if carried out, would have brought his militia into Greene's rear, instead of on the flank of the Queen's Own; practically, however, Smallwood did not get up at all until the action was over or nearly so, and he was in time to join in the retreat. Armstrong did nothing on his side but "divert the foreigners with the militia," without bringing them to close action at all, or making any attack that could affect the fortunes of the day one way or another. The militia on the west side showed themselves opposite Market Street and fired a few shot with a cannon, but did little else. They were Gen. James Potter's militia; they formed in three columns, with two field-pieces; there were only thirty dismounted dragoons at the ferry, says Morton, in his diary, and they sent express for reinforcements. Thus far, then, this movement may have had some effect.

It was a dark night before the battle, not raining, but threatening to do so. At daybreak of a foggy, thick morning the column of Sullivan, the right wing, which Washington accompanied, reached Chestnut Hill. The sun arose, but disappeared behind heavy clouds as the column approached Mount Airy, Conway's brigade in the van, Sullivan next, then Wayne, Sullivan commanding the corps. A regiment of Conway's and the Second Maryland Regiment were thrown to the front, while Capt. Allen McLane, the Philadelphia light horseman, dashed upon the outlying picket at Allen's house. The picket fell

back, with loss, but not before they had fired their two six-pounders and sounded the alarm; Sullivan's advance moved forward and was immediately engaged with the battalion of light infantry, which had formed at once upon the first alarm, its line being upon the east of the road at Mount Pleasant. The Americans pressed forward, deploying in succession as they advanced, Wayne upon the east of the main road, Sullivan upon the west, with Conway, supported by a regiment of Wayne's, one of his own brigade, and Moylan's light horse, upon the extreme right, Armstrong not having come upon that side. In the mean time, the British light infantry fell back, severely pressed by the heavy fire and by bayonet-charges, but "making a stand at every fence, wall, and ditch as they retired, and supported successively by the advance of Musgrave's regiment and by other reinforcements. The Americans took the camp of the light infantry and that of Musgrave's Fortieth Regiment, and continued to advance. Howe, who had come upon the field as soon as the alarm reached him, saw at once that he had a general battle on his hands, and that his centre was in peril of being crushed. Turning his horse, he galloped back and ordered Grey and Agnew to advance against Sullivan and Conway, leaving some British troops to support the Hessian jägers and chasseurs, who now began to find Armstrong's militiamen opposite them at Van Deering's mill, and cannonading them from the other side of the Wissahickon. A part of Grant's and Mathew's men, on the British right, were in the same way sent forward to oppose Wayne's advance.

In the mean time, Greene, with his own division and that of Stephen, had reached the Limekiln road and were hastening to meet the enemy, whose outposts they expected to strike at Lukens' mill. Howe seems to have expected an attack of some sort upon his right, however (there is testimony to that effect from several witnesses), and either on the night of the 3d or before daybreak on the morning of the battle had advanced the First Battalion of light infantry northward upon the Limekiln road to a position about opposite that of Maxwell's Fortieth Regiment,—the Chew mansion, on the main road. Greene, finding the enemy thus soon in his front, deployed his command, Stephen to the right of the Limekiln road, McDougall to the left, while his own division held the road. Thus aligned, Greene rapidly advanced, and drove the battalion of light infantry before him from the field. At this moment the battle was general, and the British were yielding at every point before a pretty symmetrical line of battle, extending, with one or two breaks, from the left or east side of the Limekiln road to Conway's right, halfway between the Skippack and the Manatawny roads. So certain was Washington of the victory that he ordered up the reserve, while Conway, Sullivan, Wayne, and Greene pressed forward, using the bayonet liberally. In this way the British were driven back south of the Chew house, at least as far

as the Mennonite Church; and it is said that orders were given, in case of a rout, to rendezvous at Chester.

But the character of the American advance led to confusion and disorder, and this was increased by the fog, which thickened as the morning advanced. The accident of Musgrave with his six companies, throwing himself into the Chew house and barricading and holding it, thus became a serious and finally fatal obstacle to the progress of the American arms, and the indirect cause of the defeat which ensued.



THE CHEW MANSION AT GERMANTOWN.

Under ordinary circumstances this occupation of a house in the line of advance would have been a trifling episode. The attack of the Americans had indeed disregarded it and passed it by. But Greene's command had become seriously misplaced, McDougall working too far to the left, could not keep up with Greene's column, found himself involved in the bad ground on Rock Run and Sawmill Creek, and was practically out of the fight. Stephen, drunk himself and confused by the firing upon his right and rear and Chew's house, separated his division from Greene and brought it diagonally down upon the left flank and rear of Wayne's command, who mistook the division thus astray for the enemy. Greene, unsupported, followed the light infantry down the Meet-

ing-House Lane and found himself at once entangled with the entire British right, advancing in the direction of the Chew house, and at the same time the Hessians and the Fourth Brigade gave check to Sullivan. Thus, at one and the same moment, Greene and Sullivan were stayed by superior forces in their front. Wayne was checked and disordered by Stephen's command, mistaken for the enemy, and Stephen equally disturbed, McDougall was "in the air," and Armstrong doing nothing. Then it was that the reserve discovered the enemy in Chew's house and paused to deal with them instead of hastening forward to the support of Greene or Sullivan. From that moment the tide turned and victory was wrested from Washington's grasp.

To show how nearly complete that victory was, it is proved that Col. Mathew's Ninth Virginia Regiment, in the advance of Greene's command, not only took the redoubt at Lukens' mill, but, charging down the School-House Lane, reached the market-house and found themselves in the centre of the British position, where, set upon by Grant and the two battalions of guards, they were forced to surrender. At the same time, Lieut.-Col. Stewart, of McDougall's command, pushed still farther eastward, "to the left of the whole," he says, and he too reached the market-house and by some is thought to have got to Armstrong's mill on Shoemaker's Lane, in the rear of Grant and Mathew.

Hence, until the fog lifted and Washington's army was discovered to be in retreat, Howe and his generals would scarcely believe that they had not sustained a defeat. The Americans still less could understand why they were retreating, nor did they, though disordered and confused, fall back in a way indicative of panic and consternation. On the contrary, Wayne speaks of checking the ardor of the enemy's pursuit with a few shots, and Thomas Paine, who was on the field, and, by his own account, walking about like a gentleman of leisure, says particularly in his letter to Franklin, that "I never could, and cannot now, learn, and I believe no man can inform truly the cause of that day's miscarriage. The retreat was as extraordinary. Nobody hurried themselves. Every

one marched his own pace. The enemy kept a civil distance behind, sending every now and then a shot after us and receiving the same from us. . . . The men appeared to me to be only sensible of a disappointment, not a defeat; and to be more displeased at their retreating from Germantown than anxious to get to their rendezvous."

Exactly when, or with whom, the retreat began, has not been ascertained. There are conflicting statements in the several accounts of the battle which cannot be reconciled. Sullivan admits that his men were nearly out of ammunition; there is a report (Graydon gives us authority for it) that Reed and Cadwalader found Conway taking shelter in a barn; Sullivan avers that Wayne by withdrawing uncovered and exposed his left to the enemy on the Germantown road. Stephen was cashiered for his conduct in the fight, and it is said that Greene fell under the commander-in-chief's displeasure; yet Greene's steady retreat and stubborn resistance enabled the rest of the army to withdraw safely. Sullivan must have been pressed hard, since Nash and his brigade, sent to that general's relief, were forced to the front. The firing at Chew's house palpably did not begin until Wayne and Sullivan had passed it; then a part of Sullivan's men turned to engage it in front until Maxwell's brigade relieved them, while Woodford's brigade, of Stephen's division, attacked the house without orders.

The retreat was slow; it was made general by Washington's orders, who sent his couriers to call off every division. And all the cannon were brought away, though none of the guns from which the enemy had been driven were carried off. The pursuit was not eager; the disordered ranks were restored in a great measure in the presence of the enemy, who ceased to follow at all when White Marsh Church was reached. The army retired behind the Perkiomen, and Washington returned that night to Pennypacker's mill.¹

¹ So much has been written about the battle of Germantown that it is difficult to collate a distinct and intelligible account of the action, the more so that many of the earlier narratives had some personal or partisan object to serve, and by which they are more or less biased. The authorities most consulted in the above description of the contest have been Bancroft, Washington Irving, William B. Reed, Westcott (who is as usual very full) and Dr. A. C. Lambdin's address on the one hundredth anniversary of the battle (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. i. No. 4), which is very complete, and on the whole very satisfactory. Errors seem to have crept into all accounts, however; Westcott unaccountably represents the Tenth British Regiment as being with the Fortieth, in supporting the light infantry at Mount Pleasant, although he tells us, in the same chapter, that this regiment had been sent to Billingsport with the Forty-second to attack the fort there. Irving and Bancroft, and all the earlier accounts, seem to be in error either as to time or to distance, and if these things are not carefully balanced, mistakes cannot be escaped from. Wayne and Sullivan are wrong about the distance the enemy were pursued, and Wayne says the battle lasted till ten o'clock, whereas Armstrong, two miles away, mentions that he was recalled at nine. Wayne and Sullivan both claim to have pursued the enemy from one and a half to three miles. From Allen's house, the station of the outside picket, to Fisher's Lane is only two miles and a half, and no Americans went to Fisher's Lane or near it. The order of battle and the accounts of the fight must be studied together, in order to separate fact from fiction.

The losses in this battle were not excessive, when we consider the extent and the time of the engagement. The British lost Brevet Brig.-Gen. James Agnew (said to have been shot by bushwhackers in

"The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne to form the right wing and attack the enemy's left, they are to march above [*i. e.*, east of] *Monitory* [Manatsiwy] Road. The divisions of Greene and Stephen to form the left wing and attack the enemy's right, they are to march down the *Skip-pack* road. Gen. Conway to march in front of the troops that compose the right wing and file off to attack the enemy's left. Gen. McDougall to march in front of the troops that compose the left wing, and file off to attack the enemy's right flank." It is obvious that these directions were not obeyed. From Chestnut Hill, at any rate, Sullivan marched in the bed of the Skip-pack road, Greene far to the left of it. Sullivan did not debouch to the right of the main road until the light infantry were met, and then Wayne's brigade was on the left of the road. It is possible that Greene mistook the way and followed the White Marsh into the Limekiln road, but hardly probable. The order continued: "Gen. Nash and Gen. Maxwell's brigades to form the *corps de reserve*, and to be commanded by Maj.-Gen. Lord Stirling. The *corps de reserve* to pass above [*i. e.*, east of] the Skip-pack road. Gen. Armstrong to cross down the Ridge road and pass by Liverin's tavern and take guides to cross *Wes-sahochen Creek* above the head of *John Van Deering's* mill-dam so as to fall above *Joseph Warner's* new house.

"Smallwood and Forman to pass down the road by a mill into the White Marsh road at the Sandy Run, thence to White Marsh Church, where take the left hand road which leads to Jenkin's tavern in the Old York Road below Armitage's beyond the seven mile stone, half a mile from which a road turns off short to the right hand, fenced on both sides, which leads through the enemy's encampment to Germantown market-house.

"Gen. McDougall to attack the right wing of the enemy in flank and rear. Gen. Conway to attack the enemy's left flank, and Gen. Armstrong to attack their left wing in flank and rear.

"The militia who are to act on the flanks not to have cannon. . . .

"Every officer and soldier to have a piece of white paper on his hat. The pickets will be left at Van Deering's mill to be taken off by Gen. Armstrong, one at Allen's house on Mount Airy by Gen. Sullivan, one at Lukens' mill by Gen. Greene."

The italicized directions were not obeyed. The reserve did not pass above but west of the Skip-pack road; it gave no support to Greene, but left one brigade at the Chew house and with the other aided Sullivan. Armstrong did not leave the Ridge road and crossed the Wissahickon at the point indicated; he kept on down to the mill, and did not cross at all. Besides, instead of leaving his cannon behind, he took two with him and left one, which Col. Jehu Eyre afterwards brought off.

Smallwood, obeying his orders, would have taken the church road across to the old York road, descended that to Shoemaker's Lane, following which he would have found himself on the Germantown road, at the market-house, in the rear of Grant, after having fought the Queen's Own rangers. If the dispositions had been carried out (doubtless they were but the skeleton of abundant oral instructions) the order of battle would have been as follows: Greene, opening on the right, after driving in the picket at Lukens' mill (the work set to McDougall to do) would have thrown his two divisions upon the front of Grant and Mathews, McDougall on their flank, Smallwood working round to cut off their retreat in the rear; Sullivan, after driving in the picket at Mount Airy, was to throw himself upon the fronts of Grey and Agnew, while Conway engaged the Hessians in front, and Armstrong, driving the chasseurs before him, struck the Hessians on their left flank and rear. Such an attack, as we now know, made suddenly, would have defeated Howe.

But such an attack was not possible; first, because the battalions of light infantry were advanced both in the path of Greene and Sullivan, and did not give at once; second, because the Fortieth Regiment stood in the way of Sullivan and Wayne, and finally, by taking possession of Chew's house, became an insuperable obstacle.

Sullivan's account, in his letter to Weare, seems now to become intelligible. After speaking of the rout of the Second Battalion of light infantry, he says, "They, however, made a stand at every fence, wall, and ditch they passed, which were numerous. We were compelled to remove every fence as we passed, which delayed us much in pursuit. We were soon after met by the left wing of the British army, when a severe conflict ensued; but, our men being ordered to march up with shouldered arms, they obeyed without hesitation, and the enemy retired.

Germantown; the claim was made for one Hans P. Boyer), Lieut.-Col. Bird, and Ensign Frederick, grandson of ex-King Theodore, of Corsica. Agnew's body was buried in the Germantown lower cemetery,

... At Chew's house, a mile and a half from where the attack began, *Wayne's division came abreast with mine, and passed Chew's house, while mine were advancing on the other side the main road.*

"Though the enemy were defeated, yet they took advantage of every yard, house, and hedge in their retreat, which caused an incessant fire through the whole pursuit. *At this time, which was near an hour and a quarter after the attack began, Gen. Stephen's division fell in with Wayne's on our left, and soon after, the firing from Gen. Greene's was heard still farther to the left. The left wing of our army was delayed much by Gen. Greene being obliged to counter-march one of his divisions before he could begin the attack, as he found the enemy were in a situation very different from what we had been before told.* [i.e., Greene was instructed he would find the First Battalion light infantry at Lukens' mill; they were in fact on the Linnekin road in advance of Batten's woods. It was necessary to change the order of march to dislodge them, and hence, perhaps, the disaster to Mathews, and the failure of both McDougall and Stephen to take part in Greene's attack.]

"The enemy (in Chew's house)," continues Sullivan, "defended themselves with great bravery, and annoyed our troops much by their fire. This, unfortunately, caused many of our troops to halt, and brought back Gen. Wayne's division, who had advanced far beyond the house, as they were apprehensive lest the firing proceeded from the enemy's having defeated my division on the right. This totally uncovered the left flank of my division, which was still advancing against the enemy's left. The firing of Gen. Greene's division was very heavy for more than a quarter of an hour, but then decreased, and seemed to draw farther from us. . . .

"My division, with a regiment of North Carolinians, commanded by Col. Armstrong, and assisted by part of Conway's brigade, having driven the enemy a mile and a half below Chew's house [not half a mile, in fact], and finding themselves unsupported by any other troops, their cartridges all expended, the force of the enemy on the right collecting to the left to oppose them, being alarmed by the firing at Chew's house so far in the rear, and by the cry of a light-horseman on the right, that the enemy had got round us, and at the same time discovering some troops flying on our right [Conway's?], retired with as much precipitation as they had before advanced, against every effort of their officers to rally them. When the retreat took place, they had been engaged near three hours. . . ."

Wayne's account is, in brief, "The fog, together with the smoke occasioned by our cannon and musketry, made it almost dark as night. Our people, mistaking one another for the enemy, frequently exchanged shots before they discovered their error. We had now pushed the enemy near three miles, and were in possession of their whole encampment, when a large body of troops were advancing on our left flank, which, being taken for the enemy, our men fell back, in defiance of every exhortation of the officers to the contrary; and, after retreating about two miles, they were discovered to be our own people, who were originally intended to attack the right wing." Wayne also wrote to Gen. Gates that "the enemy were broke, dispersed, and flying in all quarters; we were in possession of their whole encampment, together with their artillery park, etc. A wind-mill attack was made on a house into which six light companies had thrown themselves to avoid our bayonets; this gave time to the enemy to rally; our troops were deceived by this attack, taking it for something formidable, they fell back to assist in what they deemed a serious matter. The enemy finding themselves no further pursued, and believing it to be a retreat, followed. Confusion ensued, and we ran away from the arms of victory ready to receive us."

Gordon's history says, "The battle, by Gen. Knox's watch, held two hours and forty minutes." In other words, it was over before nine o'clock, though Wayne said it lasted till ten. Wayne was equally mistaken in saying that Greene's command included "two-thirds at least" of the army. Sullivan's column had about as many Continentals as Greene's, and the Pennsylvania militia under Armstrong outnumbered those under Smallwood. Bancroft condemns Greene for failing to be up in time, from some unexplained cause,—"Greene's letter to Marchant gives no explanation,"—"and variously assigns Sullivan's explanation; Lacy's, that the command mistook their way; McDougall's, the great distance; Heth's, mismanagement; Walter Stewart's, dark night and bad roads, as the cause for Greene's having fallen under the commander-

but has no monument over it. His grandchildren visited the spot some forty years ago, but it remains unmarked. The total number of British casualties were 70 killed, 450 wounded, 14 missing. By the official dispatches, of British and Hessians, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 ensigns, 7 sergeants, 1 drummer, 58 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 6 captains, 13 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 24 sergeants, 1 drummer, 395 rank and file wounded; 1 captain, 13 rank and file missing.¹

The Americans lost Brig. Francis Nash, of North Carolina, Col. Boyd, Maj. Sherburne, Maj. White, and Maj. Irvine. The total loss was: Continental officers killed, 25; wounded, 102; missing, 102; militia officers, 3 killed, 4 wounded; rank and file killed, 152; wounded, 521; prisoners, 54 officers, 346 men. Nash (from whom Nashville gets its name) was buried in the Mennonist graveyard at Culpstown, twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, with Col. Boyd and Maj. White. A monument was erected to their memory in 1844, by citizens of Germantown and Norristown.

The Americans were mortified at the result of the battle of Germantown; yet it encouraged them. In Europe it caused a sensation, since no one dreamed of an American army of equal numbers taking the offensive against British regulars. In his report to Congress on the 7th, Washington said that our troops retreated when victory was declaring itself in their favor. "The tumult, disorder, and even despair,

in-chief's frown. But it is denied that Washington was dissatisfied with Greene at all, and this, too, on the authority of Joseph Reed, who was not Greene's friend. The attack of Greene was not heard, says Washington, until three-fourths of an hour after the battle commenced at Mount Airy. This was probably Knox's timing. Walter Stewart, who was with Greene, says fifteen minutes; Chief Justice Marshall, who was in Woodford's brigade of Stephens', says half an hour; Pickering says just as the reserve advanced on Chew's house.

There is evidence of fighting on the Linnekin road, in front of Batten's woods; on Shoemaker's Lane, at the mill on the Wingchocking; and that Sullivan's command advanced to within a short distance of School-House Lane, and to the Widow Mackinnett's Green Tree Tavern. Mathews and Stewart got very near to the market-house, in the rear of Grant.

Knox was the officer by whose advice the reserve was halted and Chew's house summoned, and then besieged it. The loss of time here, and the halting of men who should have been hurrying on to the front, shows how deficient Washington's officers were in military training. Two companies of riflemen with a field-piece would have sufficed to mask the place and render its occupants harmless. Instead of that it occupied two brigades and neutralized two or three more. Batteries were brought up against it, councils of war held about it, and it was summoned, assaulted, attacked in front and rear with fire and ball, openly and by strategy. Before any impression could be made on it the battle was lost.

¹ The following is the British tale of troops engaged: Second Light Infantry and Fortieth Regiment, sustaining centre pickets; Forty-fourth and Seventeenth, detached to assist Fortieth in Chew's house; Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-third, Forty-sixth, and Sixty-fourth, engaged with Greene, Stephen, and Mathews; First Light Infantry, Fourth, Fifth, Fifteenth, Thirty-seventh, Forty-ninth, and Fifty-fifth pursued Wayne and Sullivan after the panic; Hessian Jagers held Armstrong in check; the Seventeenth, Thirty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-sixth and Sixty-fourth (Grey and Agnew) advanced towards Chestnut Hill; Du Corps, Donop, and battalion of Hessian grenadiers, on the left, were not in action, but held as a reserve.

which it seems had taken place in the British army, were scarcely to be paralleled; and it is said so strongly did the idea of a retreat prevail that Chester was fixed as a place of rendezvous. I can discover no other cause for not improving this happy opportunity than the extreme haziness of the weather." There was a panic in the city. "The Tories were in the utmost distress, and moving out of the city; and our friends confined in the new jail made it ring with shouts of joy." This is what Capt. Heth wrote to his friends in Virginia. Deborah Logan, who remained in the city, says that the day was passed by the Philadelphians in great anxiety. "We could hear the firing, and knew of the engagement, but were uninformed of the event. Towards evening many wagons full of the wounded arrived in the city, whose groans and sufferings were enough to move the most inhuman heart to pity. The American prisoners were carried to the State-House lobbies, and had of course to wait until the British surgeons had dressed their own men; but in a very short time the streets were filled with the women of the city carrying up every kind of refreshments which they might be supposed to want, with lint and linen and lights in abundance for their accommodation. A British officer stopped one of these women in my hearing, and not ill-naturedly, but laughingly, reproved her for so amply supplying the rebels, whilst nothing was carried to the English hospitals. 'Oh, sir,' replied she, 'it is in your power fully to provide for them; but we cannot see our poor countrymen suffer, and not do something for them.' They were not denied that poor consolation."

Every convenient place was occupied as a hospital; the Pennsylvania Hospital and Betering House were already in use; the First Presbyterian Church and the Second, having lost their pastors, who had fled, were taken for the wounded; Cornman's sugar refinery, and Zion and St. Michael's Lutheran Churches were also taken, as well as the "play-house." Private houses were also turned into hospitals, and Morton, the diarist, who was fond of going about and seeing the surgeons amputate limbs, confesses, Tory as he was, that the American wounded prisoners were not as well taken care of as they should be.

Three days after the battle of Germantown a deputation of Quakers, consisting of Nicholas Waln, Samuel Emlen, Joshua Morris, James Thornton, William Brown, and Warner Mifflin, came out of Philadelphia and went through the British to the American camp. They had an errand to Washington and to Howe,—to both a testimony on the ungodliness of war; to Washington, besides, in defense of the society in general and the Friends imprisoned in Virginia in particular. Armstrong, in a letter to President Wharton, dated October 8th, says, "We lost a great part of yesterday with a deputation of Quakers from their Yearly Meeting—Wall, Emlen, Joshua Morris and two others, declaring their own

and the innocence of their Body, desiring prejudices agst them might be removed as a society, seeking in the world only peace, truth, and righteousness, with equal love to all men, &c. And asking, in a dark manner, his aid for their brethring in exile, &c. The General was fir sending them to you and to Congress who had banished their friends; they then retracted that part of their embassy respecting the banished friends, said that rather lay with their Committee of Sufferings. The General gave them their dinner and ordered them only to do penance a few days at Pott's-grove, until their beards are grown, for which they seemed very thankful."

The Tories in Philadelphia were less humble. James Humphreys revived the publication of the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, with the royal arms for a heading. Dr. Drewitt, whom the Whigs had imprisoned, reopened his drug-store; Joseph Stansbury opened a china shop on Front Street, between Market and Chestnut, and Nicholas Brooks, who had been for two years confined in Lancaster, in a room comfortably adjoining one powder magazine and under another, for his complicity with Dr. Kearsley's plots, escaped and showed himself in Philadelphia.

Howe set a strong night-watch to keep order in the city, one hundred and twenty all told, eighty-three in the city, ten to Southwark, and ten in the Northern Liberties, in addition to the seventeen ancient watchmen. A sort of police commission, to select the men and the superintendents to put over them, was appointed by Howe. George Roberts, James Reynolds, James Sparks, Joseph Stansbury for the city; John Hart, Southwark; Francis Jeyes, Northern Liberties; the city wardens being added to the commission. As money was scarce, loyal citizens were called on for subscriptions (not exceeding ten pounds each) to a loan, and James Delaplaine was appointed constable of the watch, and Edward Mad-den town-major. The attempt was made at once to raise a corps of loyalist soldiers in the city. This was one of Howe's vain illusions, which his brother, Lord Howe, shared with him, that the strong loyal sentiment in the country could be moulded into an army strong enough to relieve the home government of the great strain put upon it by foreign enlistments. The unnatural rebellion would soon be suppressed, he proclaimed, and to hasten that desirable event he offered to the inhabitants an opportunity to "co-operate in relieving themselves from the miseries attendant on tyranny and anarchy, and in restoring peace and good order with just and lawful authority." Recruits in the provincial corps for two years or the war were promised fifty acres of land, every non-commissioned officer two hundred acres. Deserters from the royal army coming in before Dec. 1, 1777, were offered a free pardon; those continuing in arms were assured they would receive no mercy. A liberal attempt was made to get a crew also for the captured frigate, "Delaware." In fact, Howe wanted men,

and he had just written home for five thousand reinforcements, "at the least."

The loyalists, however, did not respond cordially. Joseph Galloway, who was with Howe at this time, and afterwards criticized his methods bitterly and malignantly, without suggesting better ones, testified before Parliament that there were, within the lines in Philadelphia, when Howe occupied it, four thousand four hundred and eighty-one males capable of bearing arms; one-fourth Quakers,—leaving three thousand, and of these Howe got only nine hundred and seventy-four men in all, chiefly deserters, because, as Galloway says, he selected the "most unpopular men to recruit." Galloway also showed that during Howe's occupancy two thousand three hundred deserters from the Continental army came in and were registered and qualified, besides seven hundred or eight hundred who never reported. Of this number, he says that one-half were Irish, one-fourth Scotch or English, one-fourth native Americans. The exceptionally unpopular persons of whom Galloway speaks were people whom he did not like—William Allen, James Chalmers, commander of the "Maryland Loyalists," Col. Clifton, commander of "the battalion of faithful Catholics"—all respectable men and who had had great influence. Galloway himself proposed to raise a regiment, but only got warrant for one troop of light-horse of eighty men, in a battalion of three troops, who, all told, under Lieut. Hovender's command, did not outnumber one hundred and thirty-two men. Galloway was very angry, and abused Sir William roundly about pretty much everything. Howe, in return, did not give the renegade lawyer a very good character. He said he had expected great things of a man in Galloway's position and was therefore very liberal to him, gave him two hundred pounds a year at the start, made him police magistrate of Philadelphia with a salary of three hundred pounds a year, and six shillings per diem for his clerk, and also made him superintendent of the port, with twenty shillings per diem,—in all seven hundred and seventy pounds a year. "Had his popularity or personal influence in Pennsylvania been as great as he pretended it was, I should not have thought this money ill-bestowed," said Howe. "I at first paid attention to his opinions, and relied upon him for procuring me secret intelligence; but I afterwards found that my confidence was misplaced . . . in future I considered Mr. Galloway a nugatory informer." Allen never succeeded in getting together a strong corps, and the best as well as the most of the loyalist recruits went into the Queen's Rangers, Simcoe's corps.

Howe's position in Philadelphia was one capable of exciting the liveliest anxieties of a prudent commander-in-chief. On the north was Washington's main army, which had just shown itself bold enough and strong enough to attack him in his camp; south were the forts, galleys, *chevaux-de-frise*, and other obstructions, shutting him out from the navigation of

the Delaware; the New Jersey militia patrolled all the east bank of the Delaware; on the west of the Schuylkill the country was held and guarded by the Pennsylvania militia under Gen. Potter. The capture of Billingsport had by no means opened the river. There were *chevaux-de-frise* and sunken ships at Fort Mercer and Red Bank, and behind these were fire-ships, galleys, and floating-batteries.

In consequence of these things the commissariat of the army in Philadelphia was in a very poor condition, while the people of the city were greatly distressed for proper food. The militia prevented the farmers, who were willing to barter their goods for British gold, from taking in the products of their farms and dairies. Flour, salt, coffee, and vegetables were scarce and high, and butcher's meat also. Watson notes that the drove of cows killed in the battle of Germantown sold on the field for fifty cents a pound for beef. Commerce was totally destroyed, and Howe found himself in a state of siege. Paper money was valueless, those without hard money could not buy anything at all, there was privation and famine among the poor, and the scarcity of food increased every day as the weather grew colder. Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, under date of October 22d, hears that there is no more fire-wood in the city; people are beginning to tear down fences and old houses for fuel, and flour was scarce at six pound per hundred.

It was necessary to resort to vigorous measures to restore communications. Howe at once built a strong chain of fortifications across the peninsula on the lines marked out by Putnam for the American defenses prior to the battle of Trenton, and then perhaps begun, but never completed. A description of this network of redoubts will be found in the chapter on topography. They extended in an irregular line from river to river, from the debouch of Cohocksink Creek to the summit of Fairmount, with abatis, stockades, and small batteries in between, and may be considered a very strong line of defense for an army. To have forced them successfully the assailing party must have had fully double the number of the defendants. This chain of works was supported by batteries at vulnerable or important points within the line, and by other engineering devices, such as ditches, dams, and abatis. The floating bridge over the Schuylkill was replaced by another, which was well defended by a *tête du pont* and by flanking batteries.

As soon as these lines were defensible Gen. Howe withdrew his army from Germantown, and took post in the city, thus contracting his defenses and setting free a large force with which to operate against the American fortifications and obstructions. This "change of base" was made on October 19th. The new British camp was still on the north side of the city; the Hessian grenadiers were bivouacked between Fifth and Seventh, Callowhill and Noble Streets, in the present city nomenclature; west of them was the camp of the Fourth, Fortieth, and Fifty-seventh

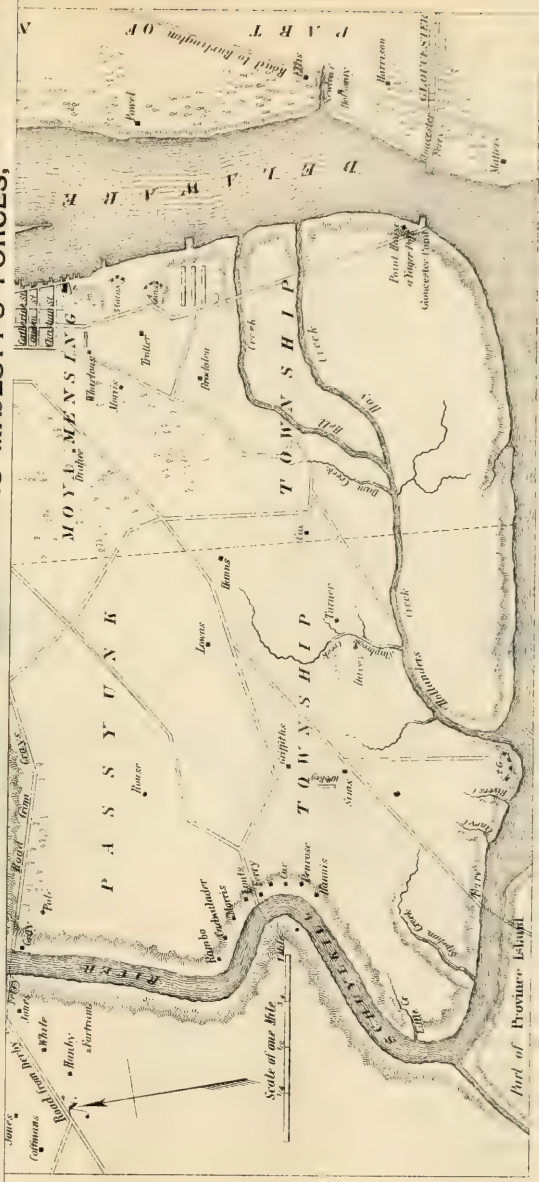
CITY AND ENVIRONS OF PHILADELPHIA,

A PLAN

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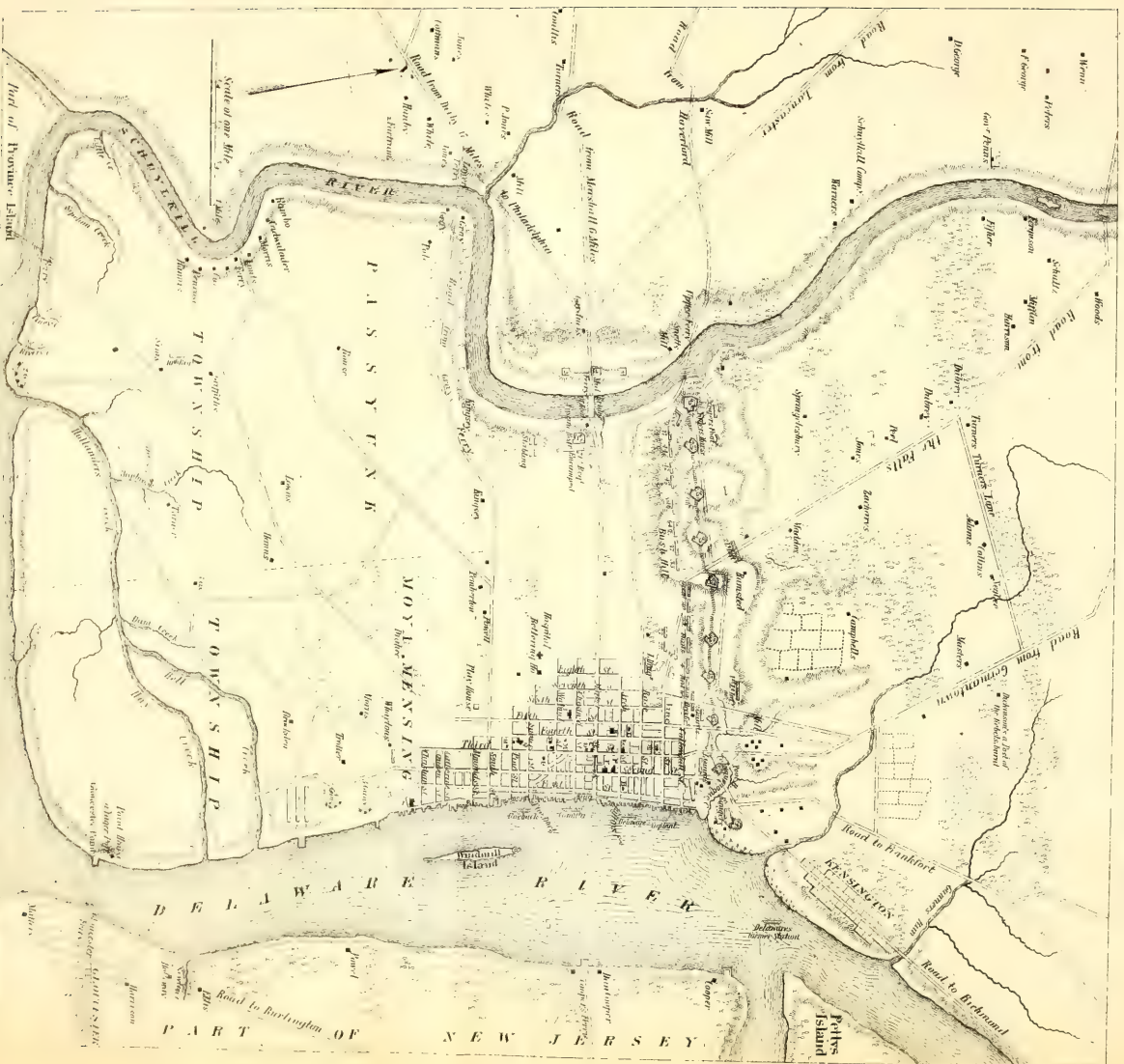
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A PLAN OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS OF PHILADELPHIA, WITH THE

WORKS AND ENCAMPMENTS OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES, Under the Command of Lieutenant-General Sir WILLIAM HOWE, K.B.

REFERENCES TO THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---------------------------|---|------------------------|
| A | Cent-House and Market; here the Congress is held. | G | New Presbyterian Meeting. | N | Roman Catholic Church. |
| B | Quaker Meeting-House. | H | Barracks. | O | Quaker Almshouse. |
| C | The Gaol. | I | German Lutheran Church. | P | St. Paul's Church. |
| D | The Workhouse. | K | College and Academy. | Q | City's Almshouse. |
| E | City Church. | L | State House. | R | St. Peter's Church. |
| F | Alms-houses Meeting. | M | Quaker School-House. | S | Sweden's Church. |



WOMEN AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

СЛАВЯНО-ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО
И ЕГО ДѢЛЪ

British grenadiers, and the fusiliers; eight régiments were upon Bush Hill; a body of Hessians were encamped where they could support the redoubt at the Upper Ferry; the jägers, infantry, and dragoons were on a hill near Twenty-third Street, and the present bed of the Reading Railroad; infantry were stationed where the Ridge road intersects Thirteenth Street, and in Eighth Street near Green; three régiments and the dragoons were posted hard by a pond on Race and Vine Streets, between Ninth and Twelfth; the Seventy-first guarded the redoubt at the Middle Ferry, and the Queen's Rangers, now under Simcoe, held Redoubt No. 1, at Kensington, patrolling the roads above.

The American commander-in-chief knew the importance of holding the forts on the Delaware, and preventing Admiral Howe from joining forces with his brother. He withdrew the New Jersey militia from the fort at Red Bank, which was now named Fort Mercer, and gave the defense of it to two régiments of Varnum's Rhode Island brigade, under the command of Cols. Christopher Greene and Israel Angell, who were instructed to hold the post to the last extremity, as the key to the Delaware and the

Washington, anxious for the defense of Mud Fort, as well as Fort Mercer, ordered Lieut.-Col. Simms, with the Sixth Virginia Regiment, to reinforce it. He crossed the Delaware below Bristol, and reaching Moorestown at eight o'clock P.M., heard that a body of the enemy was crossing at Cooper's Ferry. He reconnoitered the ferry himself with some dragoons and found no enemy, only a detachment of American militia, who were asleep. They were aroused and put on the *qui vive*. Simms then marched on to Red Bank and offered to remain in the fort and aid Greene in Donop's impending attack, now known; but Col. Greene, thinking it better for Simms to obey orders, sent him across the river to Mud Fort at daybreak. Meantime the Hessians were approaching by way of Haddonfield. At Timber Creek the bridge had been taken up, compelling them to make a *détour* of four miles. The advance was slow, but in the afternoon of the 22d the Americans saw the front of the enemy's columns emerging from the woods on the north and on the east of the fort.

Greene determined to husband his resources. His force was less than a sixth of the enemy's; his fort had but fourteen cannon mounted, and the outworks



"MUD ISLAND" IN 1777, BEFORE THE BRITISH ATTACK.
[From an old drawing made by Colonel Downman, of the British Army.]

pivot on which the success of the campaign depended. The French engineer, Mauduit Du Plessis, accompanied Greene. The lieutenant-colonels were Shaw and Olney, the majors, Thayer and Ward, and the surgeon, Dr. Peter Turner. Some of the privates were negroes. The fort was constructed on too liberal a scale for the garrison which could be spared for it, which did not exceed three hundred and fifty men, and Greene and Du Plessis set to work at once to contract the area of the outworks by a rampart, ditch, and strong abatis, which bisected them, reduced their size one-half, and doubled their power of resistance.

It was necessary for the British to reduce Red Bank before their vessels could get up the river to attack Fort Island. A combined naval and military attack upon the fort was therefore planned, and the admiral sent up a squadron of flatboats from below, under command of Capt. Clayton, which passed the forts, *chevaux-de-frise*, and gun-boats undiscovered and undisturbed. In these boats, Gen. Howe sent Col. Count Donop across the river to Cooper's Point, with the regiment of Myrbach, the infantry, chasseurs, and three battalions of Hessian grenadiers,—two thousand five hundred men.

were unfinished; but the galleys were anchored so as to protect the flanks of the fort in part, both above and below. Greene determined to resist at the outworks, but to reserve his main stand for the interior fort, in the southern angle of the works. The enemy halted at half cannon range, and sent an officer, with a flag, and a drummer to summon the garrison. The officer called a parley; Lieut.-Col. Olney went out to meet him, and was told that the King of England commanded his rebellious subjects to lay down their arms; if they resisted, they were to expect no quarter. Olney replied, "We shall neither ask quarter nor expect it, and we will defend the fort to the last extremity." The Hessians then began to throw up a battery at close range, and Greene, after making his final dispositions, mounted the ramparts and inspected the enemy through his field-glass. "Fire low, men," he said, "they have a broad belt just above the hip. Aim at that." At four o'clock the Hessian battery opened briskly. The fire was returned with spirit, and the American galleys joined in, the Hessians being within range of their guns. Under cover of the fire Donop divided his force into two columns for the assault,—the left, directed against

the south of the works, under his own command, the right, under Lieut.-Col. Minnegerode, directed against the northern outworks. The latter, marching first, were received with severe volleys from the ramparts and a galling enfilading fire from the galleys. They reached the parapets and scaled them, only to find them abandoned and to imagine the victory already their own. Shouting "victoria!" and waving their hats they advanced with jubilant quickstep towards the inner redoubt. A volley welcomed them, in which the officer who had summoned the fort and his drummer both fell, with many another brave man. Those who were unhurt pressed forward to the abatis, and while they strove to force their way through this they were swept by a deadly fire from the ramparts and from an enfilading masked battery held by Du Plessis in an angle of the outworks and covered by a trench and loop-holed bank. They fell back, but rallied to the charge, only to be desolated by the withering fire from the fort, volley after volley. They wavered, fell back, rushed round to the river front and essayed to enter there, but the galleys quickly drove them thence with grape-shot, and they finally retreated in disorder to the woods, pursued by the effective cannonade of the galleys. Meantime, the southern column, under Donop, had advanced to the assault, while Greene's main body was still engaged with the column under Minnegerode. They encountered a destructive fire, but not enough to check them. They pressed onward, into and through the abatis; some crossed the fosse; some mounted the berme bank and were met by the palisades, smooth, nine feet high, not to be surmounted except with scaling-ladders, which Donop had not. The defenders of the north front now rushed to the aid of their comrades, and poured in such a fire that Donop's column, shattered and broken, fled routed.

The assault was not renewed. The garrison, after a pause, cautiously reconnoitering for fear of a surprise, at last sent out a repairing party under Du Plessis. Twenty Hessians, sheltered under the palisade, surrendered at once; beyond them, in the darkness, there was nothing but a confused mass of dead and wounded. The voice of Donop, calling to be drawn forth out of the heap, caught the ear of Du Plessis. The Hessian's hip was shattered, and some of his captors reminded him that no quarter was to be given. "I am in your hands; you can avenge yourselves," said Donop. But Du Plessis had him borne to the redoubt, where, as his wounds were being dressed, he noticed Du Plessis' accent, and finding him to be a French officer, murmured, "Je suis content; je maurs entre les mains de l'honneur même." This is Du Plessis' account. But Maj. Thayer claimed to have received Donop's surrender, and to have brought him in from the edge of the woods in a blanket. He was next day removed to the house of Whitall, a Quaker, southeast of the fort, where he died at the end of three days, lamenting a

glorious career, cut short in his thirty-eighth year by his own ambition and his sovereign's avarice. His son, and others also, said that Donop and other Hessians were sacrificed by Howe, who always assigned them the part of danger to spare his own compatriots. Lieut.-Col. Minnegerode, his second in command, was also wounded in this assault, with fourteen other officers. The Hessians left all their wounded upon the field, retreating a distance of five miles, and the next day returning to Philadelphia as they had come. They had lost four hundred killed and wounded, while the American loss was eight killed, twenty-nine wounded, and one taken prisoner,—a captain, who was surprised while reconnoitering.¹

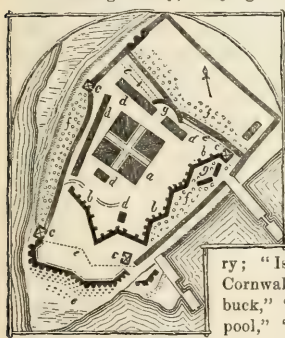
The naval co-operation in the assault upon Red Bank was almost as dismal a failure as the military attack. Lord Howe sent up the "Augusta," Capt. Reynolds, afterwards "Lord Ducie," a 64-gun frigate, the "Roebuck," 44, Capt. A. S. Hammond; the "Liverpool," 28, Capt. Quelest; the "Pearl," 32, Capt. O'Hara; the "Merlin," 18; and the "Cornwallis Galley," 32, all of which continued to get through and above the *chevaux-de-frise*. The channel, however, had been altered by the obstructions; the "Augusta" grounded near the mouth of Manto Creek, and the "Merlin" just beyond her; and before morning the "Roebuck" also was aground. The other vessels cannonaded the fort, without doing it hurt, and the galleys coming down with the darkness, the firing ceased. The tide had not floated the British vessels when morning came and disclosed their perilous predicament to the Americans. Commodore Hazlewood at once advanced to the attack with twelve galleys and two floating-batteries. Four fire-ships were also sent against the "Augusta," but, being in a good defensive position, this frigate plied her batteries so lustily as to cripple the fire-ships, so that they passed her by unharmed. The "Roebuck" got afloat; the firing became hot and furious, the forts joining in, and other British vessels warping up, when the "Augusta" took fire, either from hot shot or from her own guns, and her magazine exploded before all the crew could be removed, involving a considerable loss of men. The other ships were driven back, and the "Merlin" was abandoned and burnt by her own crew.

The signal failure of these attacks did not make it less imperative for the British general and admiral to open the Delaware to the fleet. That must be done, or Gen. Howe must abandon Philadelphia, for he could not supply his army. The main attack was now directed against Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, and was pushed with great vigor. On the land side the works on Fort Island were weakest, and batteries

¹ A monument was erected, in 1829, within the northern angle of the old edouit at Red Bank, in commemoration of its gallant and skillful defense. Donop was buried between the fort and Whitall's house, where Clustellus saw his tombstone in 1780. The grave was long ago rifled, however, and the brave Donop's bones distributed as relics.

were erected against them on every available point on the adjacent shores. These were begun before Donop's assault had failed. One battery, two guns, was in Schnykill Neck, by Penrose Ferry; on Province Island were five batteries, twenty-six guns, twenty-four- and thirty-two-pounders, borrowed from the ships of the line in the Delaware. The garrison of the fort was not idle. Lieut.-Col. Smith, in command since September 27th, had not only strengthened the place as much as possible, but had also taken the offensive, in conjunction with the galleys and gun-boats, against one of the batteries on Province Island, which was captured by assault. Greene, Potter, Reed, and other American officers also planned to relieve the fort by attacking the British batteries in the rear, but the swampy nature of the ground prevented, and Washington was unable to make any strong demonstration against Philadelphia, owing to the ambition of Gates, silly if it had not been criminal, to figure as commander-in-chief, which led him to withhold reinforcements from Washington after Burgoyne's surrender. Two brigades of new troops would have prevented the Delaware from being opened, and would have compelled Howe to evacuate Philadelphia and retreat to New York or the Chesapeake.

When the first week in November arrived the British were ready for a combined attack upon Fort Mifflin. In addition to the batteries mentioned, and the mortars and howitzers in position, an East Indianman, the "Vigilant," had been cut down and formed into a floating-battery, carrying sixteen twenty-four-



PLAN OF FORT MIFFLIN.

pounders, and a hulk with three more guns of the same calibre was brought into the service also. The fleet ranged against the fort comprised the "Somerset," seventy guns, Capt. Curry; "Isis," fifty, Capt. Cornwallis; the "Roebuck," "Pearl," "Liverpool," "Cornwallis Galley," and several smaller craft, making over three hundred guns, besides mortars, to be trained against Mud Island. That post had not been planned for any other end than to command and sweep the chan-

nel, and its defenses on the north and west were indifferent. On the southern front a strong and effective battery of eight guns commanded the channel from Hog Island to the Jersey shore; but the other sides and corners of the work were defended simply by wooden block-houses, mounting four guns each, with stone walls, embankments, and stockades for sheltering the men, faced with wet ditches, but not defended by artillery. There were not near guns enough, or of the needed calibre, to hold their own against the British batteries. The garrison consisted of three hundred men, under command of Lieut.-Col. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, a host in himself. He was aided by Maj. Fleury, a gallant and competent French engineer, and Lieut. Treat, of Lamb's Regiment, commanded the artillery. The fort was not without other support. Opposite, on Brush Island, was a two-gun battery; there were twelve galleys and two floating-batteries under Red Bank, with twelve armed boats, the sloop "Province," the brigs "Convention" and "Andrew Doria," and some other craft, while Greene still held Fort Mercer; there was a three-gun battery below, at the mouth of Manto Creek, and Varnum's Rhode Island Brigade had been sent down to sustain the fort against a land attack.

The batteries on Province Island opened fire on Fort Mifflin on November 10th, killing Lieut. Treat, wounding many, and damaging the defenses and barracks. The garrison responded with spirit, but the firing slackened at nightfall, to be renewed next day with greater violence, doing great injury to the fort on the north side. That night the garrison was kept busy repairing their breaches, during which time the British found a channel between Province Island and the Pennsylvania shore (ordinarily very shallow, but now scoured out by the jetty action of the *chevaux-de-frise*), and three vessels passed up to prove it. Col. Smith, Maj. Fleury, and Capt. George had been wounded in the previous day's cannonade, and the command devolved upon Lieut.-Col. Russell, of the Connecticut troops, and fresh troops from Varnum's command were sent over from Red Bank, as well as working-parties to repair the fortifications at night. On the 12th the fire from the batteries dismounted two eighteen-pounders, while the enemy, approaching in boats, alarmed the garrison at night. Col. Russell threw up the command, and it now devolved upon Maj. Simeon Thayer, of Rhode Island, who volunteered. More British guns opened on the fourth day, the sentry walk was ruined, the block-houses crumbled to dust and splinters, the garrison was exhausted "with fatigue and ill-health." The enemy continued their fire all night, and under cover of it the British floating-batteries were brought up the channel between Hog Island and the main, at the southwest angle of the fort, overtopping it, and close enough to make every shot tell. The ships of the royal navy were also brought up within range, the "Somerset" and "Isis" to engage the fort, the "Roebuck,"

¹ EXPLANATION.—a, the inner redoubt; b, b, a high, thick stone wall, built by Montrossor, with indentations, where the soldiers boiled their kettles (this wall was pierced with loop-holes for musketry); c, c, c, c, block-houses, built of wood, with loop-holes, and mounting four pieces of cannon each, two on the lower platform; d, d, d, barracks; e, e, e, stockades; f, f, f, tross de Loup; g, g, ravines. On the southeast side were two strong piers and a battery mounting three cannons.

"Pearl," and "Liverpool" to silence the three-gun battery at Manto's Creek, and then a terrible cannonade was opened, exposing the defenders of Fort Mifflin to a cross-fire of dreadful intensity. They stood to their guns; the galleys and ships came to the rescue, and the fort silenced the "Vigilant" floating-battery before noon. On the 14th the "Vigilant" battery got into a new position, commanding the garrison at their guns, and near enough to use musketry and hand-grenades, and in twenty-four hours Fort Mifflin, or Mud Fort, as it was then called, no longer existed as a defensive work,—its guns were dismounted, its parapets leveled, its block-houses destroyed. On the morning of the 16th, Thayer, disdaining to surrender, evacuated his no longer tenable post, carried off his wounded, stores, and garrison, set the ruins of the fort on fire, and retired in the blaze to Red Bank. It was the most gallant defense of the war; yet Congress, while voting a medal to Smith, gave no token to Thayer of recognition of his services. Fleury was promoted, but Thayer was not. The British loss was small; that of the Americans was two hundred and fifty killed and wounded in the fort, and a fourth as many in the fleet. Gen. Knox, writing to Col. Lamb, said that the fire the last day of the attack "exceeded by far anything ever seen in America," and that the defense was "as gallant as is to be found in history." The defenders were Lieut.-Col. Samuel Smith, commander September 27th to October 11th, wounded and removed to Fort Mercer; Col. De Arandt, a Prussian, sent to supersede Smith, but withdrew, slightly wounded; Lieut.-Col. Russell, commander October 11th and 12th, retired; Maj. Thayer, in command from November 12th till evacuation; Maj. Louis de Fleury, engineer till evacuation; Lieut.-Col. Green, of Virginia, with reinforcements, in November; Maj. Ballard, went in with Smith, remained till evacuation; Dr. Skinner, surgeon, of Maryland, during siege;¹ Lieut. Treat, killed; Capt. Hazzard, of Delaware, wounded; Capt. George, wounded; Capt. Lee, went in with Smith, and remained till evacuation; and Sergt. Moses Porter (afterwards major-general in the war of 1812), in the fort until the evacuation.

The Pennsylvania fleet in the Delaware found itself in a *cul-de-sac* by the evacuation of Fort Mifflin. It could not maintain its present position, nor could it pass up the Delaware except under the guns of the British batteries in Philadelphia. A council of war was held aboard the "Chatham" galley on the 14th, and another at Fort Mercer on the 18th. At the latter,

Gens. St. Clair, De Kalb, and Knox were present. The final result was that the fleet would be of no more service in its present position, and Commodore Hazlewood was recommended to profit by the first favorable wind to try to pass up the Delaware, above Philadelphia. On the night of the 19th the attempt was made, and thirteen galleys and twelve armed boats succeeded in getting past. The next night the "Province," sloop, some ammunition craft, and others with cannon made their way up, but the "Convention," schooner, "Delaware," sloop, and other vessels were fired on and the "Delaware," schooner, and a shallop were driven ashore. The Continental fleet, the "Andrew Doria," thexebecs "Repulse" and "Champion," sloops "Racehorse" and "Fly," ship "Montgomery," and floating-batteries "Putnam" and "Arnold," would not follow. The wind baffled them; they were exposed to a heavy fire, and at Gloucester Point were set on fire and abandoned. "I walked down to the wharf at 4 o'clock this morning" (is Robert Morton's entry for November 21st) and seen all the American navy on fire coming up with the flood tide and burning with the greatest fury. Some of them drifted within two miles of the town, and were carried back by the ebb tide. They burned nearly five hours. Four of them blew up."

Meantime, Gen. Varnum evacuated Fort Mercer. Cornwallis, with two thousand men—the Fifth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Thirty-third, and Fifty-sixth Regiments, Hessians light infantry, twelve guns, and some howitzers—was sent by Howe, as soon as Fort Mifflin was captured, against Fort Mercer. He marched on the night of the 18th, crossed the Schuylkill at the Middle Ferry, and took the road to Chester. At the Blue Bell Tavern, near Darby, the American picket, of thirty-three men, was surprised. They made resistance, killing an officer and two privates, and losing several men wounded and captured. Cornwallis marched all night, reaching Chester on the morning of the 19th, crossed the Delaware and united with a division of three thousand men, under Sir Thomas Wilson, just sent by Sir Henry Clinton from New York. Washington had sent Greene down to the relief of Red Bank, but Varnum did not wait, but evacuated the fort while Cornwallis was yet at Billingsport, though he had eighteen hundred men with him; Huntingdon's brigade, Greene's advance, twelve hundred men, was coming right up, having crossed at Dunk's Ferry, and Greene and Lafayette, crossing at Burlington, with a division of troops, were not far in the rear.

Varnum went to Haddonfield. Cornwallis marched up the river bank, demolished the works at Fort Mercer, and took post at Gloucester, intrenching himself. When Huntingdon and Greene had come up with Varnum at Haddonfield, the propriety of attacking Cornwallis was considered. There was no battle but some skirmishes. Lafayette, with some of Morgan's riflemen, a few militia and light-horse, ac-

¹ This is that Alexander Skinner, of Maryland, who figures so humorously in Groydon's "Memoirs" and in "Light-Horse" Harry Lee's "Memoirs" as the duelist doctor who would not go under fire, and who served as the original for Cooper's portrait of Dr. Sitgraves in "The Spy." He was evidently a man full of oddities and eccentricities, and Lee would not have perpetrated so many jokes about his courage had he not known the many proofs to which it had already been put. The Skinner family are of old establishment upon the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

accompanied by Col. Armand, Col. Laumoy, and Du Plessis and Gimat, attacked a picket and drove in an outpost of Hessians on the King's road, on the 25th. After this Cornwallis returned to Philadelphia and Greene rejoined Washington. The Delaware was open.

None too soon, for inhabitants and troops in Philadelphia were both on short allowance and in great distress. The leaguer had been very close. Simcoe's rangers, patrolling the Frankford road, to enable the Bucks County farmers to come in with their produce, had found plenty of skirmishing to do, but a very close and vigilant picketing within the sphere of their operations. Once they marched as far as the Red Lion; another time they attempted, but failed, to surprise the American picket in Frankford, a third time they captured a militia outpost,—an officer and twenty men. But the Americans still prevented the market-people from coming down below Frankford, and often Pulaski's light horse beat up Simcoe's quarters in Kensington. On the south of the city Greene, with Potter and McDougall, kept equally close watch. At the time of the attack upon Red Bank a detachment of the British, fifteen hundred strong, with one hundred and thirteen wagons, crossed at Gray's Ferry, on a floating bridge, and proceeded to fortify on the other side of the Schuylkill. Greene planned an attack upon them which forced them to withdraw to the east bank and remove the bridge to the Middle Ferry. Potter and his militia kept watch so close that there was neither exit nor entrance to the city on south or west side, and provisions became very scarce and high. Salt brought four dollars per bushel in hard money; butter one dollar per pound; sugar one shilling sixpence sterling (equal to six dollars in Continental money); beef, of milch cows, one shilling sixpence to two shillings sixpence per pound.

The attempt was made to conceal the extent of these distresses, but it was clumsily done, and even the subsidized local newspapers, like the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, when describing the British army rolling in plenty, could not abstain from reproving the rebels for leaving their families to suffer and cutting off provisions from them in the moment when they were subsisting upon British charity. This paper boasted that deserters were coming in so rapidly that Howe would soon be able to fight Washington with his own army. Surely, said the *Ledger*, "they will not have less heart and courage upon hard dollars, good clothes, good provisions, a good cause, and good officers than they had with paper stuff, ragged clothes, stinking provisions, and bad officers." Still, the British had to call on the inhabitants for six hundred blankets for the use of the troops, cut down the groves within the city for firewood, forbid citizens from purchasing clothes from soldiers, and permit the circulation of colonial currency. This was granted upon a petition of citizens,

the colonial currency of the old province being allowed to be taken at the rate of two for one of specie.

The names of the signers to this petition show who were the Tories, Quakers, and non-combatants remaining in Philadelphia during the British occupation. The list is as follows:

Joseph Galloway, William Fisher, Jeremiah Warder, Joseph Fox, John Head, James & Drinker, Abel James, John Reynell, Samuel Shoemaker, Abraham Mason, John Bringham, James Stuart, James Bringham, Benjamin Titty, Peter Howard, Jos. Fisher & Sons, John Stamper, James Craig, Matthews & Gibson, Thomas Canby, Jo'n Wainwright, Nehemiah Allen, Charles Stedman, Roger Flavian, Rob't Howell, Jr., John & Charles Hart, John Spence, John McIvers, Jon'n Evans, Jr., Thos. Thomson, Clement Plumsted, Alexander Trader, John Mullet, Davenport Marot, John Lugas, Thomas Franklin, Luke Morris, Israel Morris, J. Musgrave, Thomas Moore, Joseph Russell, Daniel Offey, Robert Bayley, John Cameron, Henry Peterson, Andrew McGlone, Richard Truman, Jas. DerKinderin, Wm. Lawrence, Wm. Pritchett, David Lapsley, John Head, John Blyth, Morris Truman, Daniel Bowen, William Eckart, Presly Blackiston, Jacob Bell, Coleman Fisher, Wm. Fisher, Jr., John Field, Caleb Cresson, John Evans, Selwood Griffin, John Fox, Moses Cox, Wm. Taylor, Samuel Richards, Daniel Fisher, Benj. Humphreys, James Hauley, John Onions, John David, Samuel Read, Thomas Stapler, Daniel Smith, *City Tavern*, William Morrell, R. Stretzell Jones, Benj. Shoemaker, Samuel Kirk, James Sparks, Joseph Page, Samuel Covell, John Hales, Hastings Stackhouse, William Price, Philipus Frick, John Beck, Jacob Cline, Bernard Soliman, John Clark, John Tittermary, Wm. Pinchin, Wm. Husey, J. Richardson, Jr., Nat'l Richardson, Joseph Sanders, Jacob Mayer, John Aitken, Richard Butler, Thomas Betag, Richard Sewall, John Schreiber, Michael Schreiber, Michael Bauer, John Graff, Jacob Hoffer, Sol. White, John Fries, Samuel Davis, Daniel Suter, Thomas Ross, William Dawson, Just. Ebert, Jacob Winey, Peter Pritius, Tim. Barrett, Robert Dawson, Isaac Powell, Shurtliff & Shoemaker, Thos. Clifford, Jr., Cornelius Barnes, L. Davis, John Wistar, Samuel Emlen, Ridd'h. Footman, George Knorr, Wm. Clifton, Wm. Standley, Isaac Greentree, Geo. Fred. Boyer, S. Garrigues, Jr., Wm. Shipley, Geo. Morrison, Jos. Cruikshanks, Caleb Carmalt, T. Speakman, Matthew Platt, Jos. Redman, Israel Hollowell, Fred. Shenekall, Peter Schreiber, Laurence Vance, Henry Rutter, John Jackson, J. Nancarrow, Jr., John Ackroyd, Josiah Chas, Isaac Lort, Matthias Steules, George Heinrich, Joseph Allen, Isaac Oakman, Thomas Willing, Benjamin Chew, Jr., Thomas Middleton, John Wall, James Mitchell, Sweetman, Shortall & Mullins, Thomas Badge, Richard Barrett, Patrick Byrne, Bryan O'Hara, J. Humphreys, Jr., Robert Loosely, James Dickinson, George Harsham, Archibald McCall, John Brown, Daniel Drinker, John James, Eneas Uquhart, Francis Worley, Robert Tyre, John Paplay, Mark Freeman, Samuel Powell, John Cummings, Joseph Paschall, H. Drinker, Jr., Joseph Master, James Butland, Samuel Scotten, John Jervis, C. Stedman, Jr., Richard Wistar, James West, Alex. Willocks, John Bates, Wm. Compton, Jos. Warner, Stephen Cronin, Josh. Humphreys, Thos. Ireland, Wm. Tuckey, John Guest, Michael Conner, Ezra Jones, Isaac Massey, John Duncan, Robt. Bass, John Warner, Geo. Grotz, Jacob Ehrenzeller, James Watkins, Wm. B. Hockley, Christ' Heinkel, Reub. Haines, Owen Jones, Amos Foulk, Benj. Poultny, Geo. Reinhold, Tobias Rudolph, Jacob Birge, Benjamin Davis, John Robeson, Aaron Ashbridge, Lawrence Seckel, Peter Evans, John Evans, John Lukens, James Byrne, Andrew Allen, Tench Cox, Wm. Van Plul, R. Roberts, John Bran, Andrew Allen, Charles W. Nassau, Dr. Abr'm Chovett, T. Fisher, John Le Telier, Benj. Town, Thos. Morgan, Wm. Craig, John North, John Weaver, Jos. Shewell, Michael Farmer, John Chevalier, Matthias Hanley, Stephen Bardin, Wm. Wells, Wm. Milnor, Benj. Gible, Stephen Shewell, Lewis Grant, Thos. Mercedith, Samuel Burge, Caleb Emlen, Wm. Smith, Bernard Fearis, Sam'l Shaw, John Parrish, P. G. Breton, Leonard Dorsey, Jno. McCleish, Fred. Weckerly, Ludwig Karcher, Christ' Alberger, Fred' Meyer, David Uder, Thos. Masterman, Thos. Norton, John Wagner, Jos. North, Christian. Buller, Jacob Frank, George Honey, Benj. Myers, Sigmond Copia, Michael Trunsoff, C. White, Martin Blake, Isiah Bell, John Dorsey, Jr., Ph. Marchinton, Rich. Topliff, Israel Jacobs, Robert Wright, Jos. Davies, Matthias Burch, William Peltz, John Bailey, Jacob Griner, Jacob Lehre, Jos. Sol. Kohn, Sol. Aaron, Sam'l P. Moore, Ab'm. Mitchell, Jos. Potts, Adolph Giltman, James Greyson, John C. Kunze, John Oldden, Thos. Bennett, Rob't Worrell, A. Musgrave, Jr., Thos.

Lake, Dominick Joyce, John Lynch, John Sibbald, Jos. Stamper, Edw^d Middleton, Isaac Garrigues, Wm. Rigden, Geo. Connelly, Jno. B. Burchell, Samuel Rhoads, Jonⁿ Evans, Peter Reeve, Henry Lisle, Benj. Towne John Miffin, David Lamb, John Elm-lic, Thos. Daft, Thos. Francis, John Marshall, Joseph Fawcett, Chas. Ostrom, Saml. Lewis, Joseph Marriott, Thos. Eddy, Chas. Eddy, Wm. Redwood, Samuel Coats, Patrick Hogan, John Houghton, Robt. Maffet, Benj. Scull, Jos. Bringham, Enuch Story, John Priest, Jasper Carpenter, Thos. Hopkins, Jas. Cresson, Jno. Fullerton, Edw. Haulan, Jos. Price, Jno. Finkerton, Jno. Nicholson, Alex. Tod, Chas. Wharton, Philip Mosser, Sam. Garrigues, Robt. Ervin, Jno. Martin, Jno. Thomson, Jno. Allen, Jacob Shoemaker, Jacob Cooper, John Reedle, Carpenter Wharton, Nich. Walm, Saml. Murdoch, Robt. Lewis, Aaron Musgrave, John Palmer, A. Morris, Wm. Wharton, Jas. Taylor, Thos. & Isaac Wharton, Abraham Jones, Wm. Shute, Robt. Fulton, Jas. McCutcheon, Andrew Hayward, Francis Bell, Abraham Mason, Henry Osler, Jos. Dunnat, Robt. Craft, Alex. Smith, Jas. Gottier, Geo. Butler, Isaac Vanost, Geo. Guest, Jesse Williams, Rich^d Price, Dr Thos. Bond, Saml Howell, Henry Wyncopp, Jacob Uhel, Peter Kratz, Cuthbert Sanders, Henry Funk, Henry Kurtz, Jacob Baker, Jacob Kehmlie, Thos. Pryor, Philip Marot, John Sullivan, Samuel Kerr, Wm. Jones, Robt. Aitken, Jos. Turner, A. Humphreys, Saml. Jeffreys, Benj. Evans, Geo. Miffin, Jos. Humphreys, Jos. Morris, Wm. Carter, Jos. Thomas, Jos. Hillborn, Jno. Todd, Benedict Dorsey, Thos. Shoemaker, Fred^k Morris, Fred^k Morris, Jr, Chris^t Baker, Jr., Townsend & Jno. White, Ludwig Prah, Christian Riffett, Jno. Williams, Adam Stricker, Jos. Peiffer, Conrad Hester, Jno. Stellwagon, Robt. Tomkins, Saml. Jones, Thos. Sultz, Jas. Parsons, Wm. Brown, Philip Heyl, Wm. Carter, Jos. Yerkes, Stephen Maxfield, Chris^t Pechin, Wm. Niles, Pat^h Hartshorn, Chas. Miffin, J. Ummenselter, Isaac Heston, Wm. Masters, Thos. Kinsey, Jas. Nevel, Henry Bruster, Wm. Williams, Francis Grice, Jos. Volans, John Bameot, John Patterson, Edw. Stiles, Jas. Hartley, Thos. Roker, Wm. Savery, Wm. Ball, Daniel Benezet, Joseph Wirth, Solomon Marache, Jno. Glover, Jno. McFadden, Isaac Morris, Aquila Jones, Jno. Facey, Abr. Thomas, Wm. Funney, Thos. Morris, Lewis Weig, Wm. Reibel, Adam Melcher, George Kehmlie, Joshua Howell, Robt. Walm, Johannes Franks, Wm. Burkhardt, Jas. Nuglie, Isaac Cathrall, Arch^d Gardiner, Aaron Musgrave, Geo. Napper, Danl. Trotter, Jno. Sullivan, Benj. Oldden, Jno. Gillingham, Wilhelm Herman, Jas. Fisher, Peter Gallagher, Geo. Filler, Wm. Austin, Geo. James, Wm. Whitepatine, Daniel Rees, Thos. Mullan, Joseph Richardson, Wm. Norton, Jr., Wm. Cowper, Saml Noble, Dean Timmons, Chris^t Rudolph, Rich^d Palmer, Stephen Blunt, Henry Jones, James Robinson, Henry Spering, John Jenkins, David Franks, Jno. Wood, Timothy Carroll, E. McDouneil, Reimond Byrne, Joseph King, M. Landenberger, Jas. Ham, Alex. Kidd, Anthony Yeldall, Jno. Futz, Jno. Green, Joel Lane, Rich^d Brooks, John Gardiner, Jno. Fisher, Jno. Hirst, Antony Steuser, Henry Junckin, Chas. West, Philip Weisman, Jacob Swab, Chris^t Hausman, Alex. Greenwid, Luke Keating, Curtis Clay, Jacob Renno, Moses Bartram, Jonⁿ Shoemaker, Benj. Say, Wm. Norton, Jno. Hood, David Copeland, Jos. Palmer, Geo. Marclay, Jno. Whiteall, Jno. Fiss, D. Richardson, Jacob Gteshens, Geo. Guffetes, Bowyer Brooke, Conrad Gerhardt, Isaac Coats, James Cossac, John Parrock, Jacob Schuman, Joseph Norris, James Tull, James Wood, David Shoemaker, Wm. Wilson, Robt. Parrish, Caleb Atmore, Sam^l Taylor, Thos. Taylor, Thos. Cummings, Jas. Cochran, Geo. Heydell, Peter Henderson, Geo. Appleby, Jas. Ingles, Sam. Starr, Thos. Harrison, Stephen Phipps, Jos. Budd, Stephen Stapler, Jas. Gorman, Dennis McReady, P. Truckemiller, Job. Butcher, Jno. Milner, Emanuel Josiah, Jas. Reynolds, Jas. Stephens, Roger Bowmans, Nathan Cook, Thomas Taft, Wm. Grinding, Moses Moricani, Thomas Tillyer, Jos. Pritchard, Jonⁿ Beers, Andrew Huck, Joseph Coleman, Isaac Faust, Wm. Wishart, Rich^d Blackiam, Thos. Paschall, Benj. Horner, Geo. Roberts, Benj. Davies, Henry Styles, Rol^d Correy, Jr, Jonⁿ Dilworth, Robt. Tuckniss, Jno. Bidelle, Jas. Martin, Thomas Say, Francis Fenley, Michael Halling, Andrew Brand, Jos. Bakestraw, John Care, Jos. Moore, Jno. Solter, Robt. Hart, Thos. Penrose, Alex. Bartram, Benj. Hooton, B. Hitchmough, Joseph Cresson, Seymour Hart, John Kirk.

An easier money arrangement could not relieve actual scarcity of the necessities of life, and it was a great boon to the troops as well as the inhabitants, when the fall of the forts and the opening of the *chevaux-de-frise* at last raised the blockade of Philadelphia. The meat-ration of the soldiers had been cut down to a quarter of a pound per man. The prisoners suffered great privations. At the very beginning

of their captivity they had been limited to a fourth of a pound of beef and four and a half pounds of biscuit every three days,—that is to say, one and one-third ounces of meat and one and one-half pounds bread per diem. Soon they were reduced to four ounces of salt pork and six pounds of biscuit every eight days,—one-half ounce of meat and three-quarters pound bread per diem. This was famine diet, and many enlisted in the British army to escape starvation. In the markets beef was a dollar a pound, and a chicken sold for ten shillings. Potatoes were sixteen shillings hard money per bushel. But on November 26th thirty sail of transports and supply-ships came up, with horses, provisions, and fresh troops, and some of the frigates came up also.

The storeships, however, were not allowed to break bulk until some regulations for trade had been fixed. Gen. Howe made John Henderson and Joseph Galloway wardens of the port. The latter was further named "superintendent-general" for the security of the inhabitants, the suppression of vice, the preservation of peace, support of the poor, maintenance of the watch and lamps, and regulation of the markets and ferries, with power to appoint a police, assisted by the city magistrates. He at once issued an order regulating terms of buying and selling. Common rum and spirits could not be sold, except by the importer, the limits being not more than a hoghead nor less than ten gallons to a single person at one time. To sell more than a hoghead of molasses required a permit, and those who retailed these goods were punished. To sell more than a bushel of salt required a permit, and so with medicines by the quantity. Taverners had to have licenses from Galloway, who also revived the old city corporation and appointed Samuel Shoemaker mayor. Howe, the contemporary journal said, kept himself secluded. A letter in Dunlap's Lancaster paper said that "the general is seldom seen. His debaucheries and the immorality of his character are disgusting to those, who wish to befriend him." Galloway, this letter (which was dated December 10th) said, was already discontented with the way Howe treated him, and the people of the town looked upon the superintendent with distrust, contempt, or hatred. The Allens were reported as "insolent and cowardly;" every little alarm threw them into despair and every little success gives them an opportunity of showing what tyrants they would be had they power equal to their inclinations. Stansbury, who is called a cringing sycophant and the unprincipled Huck, with the Allens and Galloway, made up Howe's Tory *entourage*.

With the transports and the new *régime* arrived a locust swarm of strangers eager to profit by trade openings and plunder the people of the captive city. They took possession of the stores and shops of the absent Whigs, and opened them for the sale of their own goods. James McDowell took Gilbert Barclay's store on Second Street, Bird's London store supplanted

Mrs. Devine's, George Leyburn ensconced himself in Francis Tilghman's store, William Robb sold merchandise where William Redwood had served his customers, Ninian Mangies took Thomas Gilpin's place, John Brander, Isaac Cox's, Thomas Blane succeeded to Mease & Caldwell, and many deserted taverns were reopened by the new Tory adventurers. Christopher Marshall's diary has it that "news is from Philadelphia that there are one hundred and twenty-one new stores, amongst which is one kept by an Englishman, one by an Irishman, the remainder being one hundred and eighteen Scotchmen or Tories from Virginia." These adventurers did not like to be compelled to take paper money under the new regulations. They wanted the solid cash, such as they could carry off with them on any sudden occasion, and the satirists of the town did not let their sordidness escape unlashd. One bard sung in the "Chapman Billy" style,—

"Here you have salt for your broth,
And here you have sugar and cheese-a;
Tea without taxes or oath,
But down with your gold, if you please-a.
Here we go up, up, up,
And here we go down, down, down-a;
Here we go backwards and forth,
And here we go round, round-a.
* * * * *
"Then spurn at the wise old Dons
Who make for their paper a route-a;
Here's goods for your gold at once,
Come out with your gold, come out-a, etc.
* * * * *
"Come! surely I've told you enough;
We have all that you want and wish-o;
But pray give us no paper stuff,—
We come for the loaf and fish-e.
Here we go up, up, up, etc."

Joseph Stansbury, the witty and accomplished Tory scribbler, got up a "Petition of Philadelphia to Sir William Howe," in verse, by which it appears that the ground of the rejection of the currency by the strangers was that the notes were issued against landed security, and the rebels held all the lands and mortgages too,—

"And reasoning thence, have so mistook the case,
They hold the money's tottering in its base."

The petition avers that not only did the government sanction the paper money, but "many friends of government in town

"Sold each half-joe for twelve pounds Congress trash,
Which purchased six pounds of this legal cash;
Whereby they have, if you will bar the bubble,
In-stead of losing, made their money double!"

The half-joe (johannes) was worth about thirty-five shillings sterling, so that they fetched two hundred and thirty shillings in Continental money, and these again one hundred and twenty shillings in provincial currency,—three and three-seventh for one.

Howe had a census of the population of the city taken shortly after his entry. The return was as follows:

WARDS.	Houses (number).	Dwellings (empty).	Stores (empty).	Stores (occupied).	Males (under 18).	Males (18 to 60).	Females
Mulberry.....	983	113	11	6	884	894	2,263
North.....	392	35	13	16	388	388	940
Middle.....	368	13	10	5	326	307	814
South.....	150	16	7	2	132	135	322
Dock.....	875	141	27	28	1083	1104	3,120
Walnut.....	105	5	4	1	94	83	241
Chestnut.....	107	11	6	2	100	101	244
High Street.....	178	15	3	3	136	166	419
Lower Delaware.....	107	16	9	6	96	91	223
Upper Delaware.....	225	24	24	48	172	150	422
Northern Liberties.....	1151	135	35	...	1254	1034	2,727
Southwark.....	764	72	6	...	670	603	1,599
Total.....	5395	590	240	116	5395	4996	13,403

"The preponderance of women and children in this census," says Mr. Westcott, "is remarkable. In times of peace the ratio of population was different. It is probable that nearly six thousand men—the most active and patriotic of the citizens—were absent. Galloway, in his 'History of the War,' estimates that of the able-bodied men who remained, one thousand were Quakers. The rest, being about one-eleventh part of the population, had fled. This estimate would have made the absent patriots to have been from 2500 to 3000, entirely too small a number." It seems possible to get at the number of persons absent and the actual population of Philadelphia, absentees included, more nearly than this, from the data given above. The preponderance of females in the normal population of a city like Philadelphia would be about five per cent. The stores enumerated do not include shops, nor stores and dwellings combined—the total is too small for that—but only the buildings used chiefly for business purposes. The empty houses, again, were only those from which all the people were absent, male and female. The average of the three enumerations of 1758, 1760, and 1769, gives 6.3 inhabitants to a dwelling-house. If we allow one-half the stores to have been also dwellings in Howe's enumeration, the normal population of Philadelphia in 1777 would have been 35,000; the absentees would be 11,260, of whom (deducting the females left in town) 4600 would be females and 6660 males, the natural militia quota being ($\frac{1}{2}$) 2664. How far Howe's estimates were vitiated by the presence of camp followers and refugees cannot be determined.

The British were guilty of wanton destruction of property after the evacuation of Fort Mifflin, burning the houses north of the line of fortifications. The number of houses burned, as marked down on Col. Nicola's map, was twenty-seven, two being inside the line. Morton says, in his diary, November 22d, "This day the British set fire to the Fairhill mansion house, Jonathan Mifflin's and many others, amounting to eleven, besides outhouses, barns, etc. The reason they assign for this destruction of their friends' property is on account of the Americans firing from these houses and annoying their pickets. The

generality of mankind being governed by their interests, it is reasonable to conclude that men whose property is thus wantonly destroyed, under a pretence of depriving their enemy of annoying them on their march, will soon be converted and become their professed enemies. But what is most astonishing is their burning the furniture in some of those houses that belonged to friends of the government, when it was in their power to burn them at their leisure. Here is an instance that Gen. Washington's army cannot be accused of." He instances Chew's house in Germantown. The Tories who suffered were numerous, only William Henry being spared. Mrs. Deborah Logan wrote to Col. Garden, "From the roof of my mother's house, on Chestnut Street, we counted seventeen fires, one of which we knew to be the beautiful seat of Fairhill, built by my grandfather Norris and owned by his family, but in the occupation of the excellent John Dickinson, who had married my cousin. It was full of furniture and part of a valuable library, which the pressure of the times had prevented the family from securing when they sought their own safety in flight." Stenton was about to be fired, but was saved by a quick-witted negro woman, servant in the house, who caused the two men sent to destroy it to be arrested as deserters. The British were ashamed of this incendiarism.

On November 24th, Washington came near the city to reconnoiter the British lines, with a view to see whether they might be attacked during Cornwallis' absence. They were found to be too strong, however, to warrant an attack, and the plan was abandoned. As soon as Cornwallis rejoined Howe, the latter determined to attempt a surprise of Washington's quarters. The latter, after a council of war, moved his camp, on November 29th, from the Skip-pack to White Marsh, sixteen miles from Philadelphia, where it was supposed the army would go into winter-quarters. Howe was already preparing for his movement, and Col. John Clark, Jr., chief of the spy service, kept the American commander apprised of the British movements. He wrote on December 1st, "On Friday evening orders were given to the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march. They either mean to surprise your army or to prevent your making an attack on them." . . . December 3d he wrote, "The enemy are in motion," boats were got ready and the men furnished with two days' rations. The movement, in fact, was known in Washington's camp on November 29th, as a letter of Gen. Armstrong's proves, and this destroys the credibleness of the romantic story of Lydia Darrach, the Quaker lady, who is said to have overheard the British officers, who lodged with her, discussing their intended surprise, made an excuse to go to mill next morning, and so rode to the American lines and put Washington on his guard. But if Howe had contemplated a surprise his pickets and sentinels would scarcely have let a woman pass the lines, and enter the enemy's lines and

return, unquestioned. The entire story, in fact, is unworthy of credence. So well assured were the Americans of Howe's purpose to attack that Armstrong ordered Potter's militia to come up and join them.

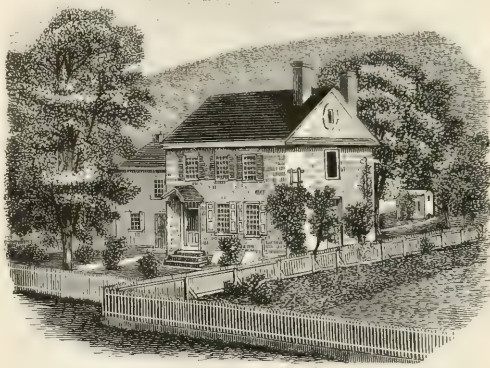
On December 3d the royal army marched out from Philadelphia fifteen thousand strong, Howe in command. Next morning Armstrong wrote from the camp at White Marsh, "My division is on the march to meet the enemy, as, I presume, is the whole army. I can only add that the advanced guard of the enemy is said to be on this side of Germantown." Capt. Allen McLane, of the Delaware light horse, a most gallant and adventurous officer, and the ancestor of a distinguished family, reconnoitered the enemy on the 3d, attacking their advance on the Germantown road at Three-Mile Run, and causing the enemy some embarrassment and delay. At eight o'clock A.M. on the 4th the British troops arrived at Chestnut Hill, and halted. This was but three miles below the American camp, at which all the troops remained except detachments sent out to skirmish. Potter, with a portion of his brigade, manoeuvred at Barren Hill Church against Howe's left; Gen. James Irvine, with six hundred men, skirmished in his front, having failed to reach Chestnut Hill before the enemy. The general's horse fell with him, he was wounded in the hand, and captured, his militiamen running away. On Howe's side there were a few casualties, but the skirmishing was cautious on both sides. Howe drew up his army for battle with the right resting on the Skip-pack road, at Chestnut Hill, the left on the Wissahickon,—a strong defensive line. Here he manoeuvred to draw Washington out of his Barren Hill and White Marsh lines, but unsuccessfully. Next day Howe moved nearer, but on the same line. Washington held the same impassive front. On Saturday night, December 6th, Howe moved towards the York road, on the American left. Next morning Potter's brigade with Webb's Continentals fell upon and skirmished with the enemy's rear in a woods, but soon fell back. Gen. Joseph Reed had a horse shot under him, and barely escaped capture. Morgan's riflemen, with Gist's Maryland militia, skirmished with Howe's right as it was still being extended, and at Edgehill there was a spirited brush with the enemy, in which each side lost about twenty killed and wounded. On the 8th the enemy manoeuvred about in an apparently indefinite fashion until after night, when, kindling up his camp-fires brightly, he marched silently back to Philadelphia, thus declining the battle which Washington had offered him, except upon his own terms, in spite of the duelist's axiom that the challenged party has choice of weapons and ground. On their rearward march the British burned the Rising Sun Tavern, in Germantown, and all the farm-houses still standing between that place and the city. Washington was surprised at Howe's prompt retrograde, for his officers had boasted they were going to drive

Mr. Washington "over the Blue Mountains." Howe and his officers were mortified, and said very little of the march to Chestnut Hill and back again.

Christopher Marshall says of this abortive performance that news was received "that Gen. Howe left Philadelphia on the 4th inst. at eleven at night with his army, consisting of ten thousand men, marched towards Germantown, attacked and drove our picket guard, which, being reinforced, returned, drove their advance guard back, killed near twenty, among which a brigadier-general, captain, etc., took sixteen prisoners, and that we lost Gen. Irvin, who was wounded and taken prisoner, one colonel, one captain, twelve or fourteen privates killed, and maintained our post that night; that next day a general engagement, it was thought, was unavoidable, as the two armies lay in sight of each other; and that the enemy had burned Beggarstown in their front. . . . 11th. It is said that Gen. Howe, after giving out in Philadelphia that he was going to drive Gen. Washington and his army over the Blue Mountains, after marching his whole army up to Chestnut Hill and staying there some days, last First day decamped and returned to Philadelphia on the Second day, leaving behind him about two hundred of his men, in slain and taken prisoners. It's said they have pillaged and taken with them everything that came in their way that was portable and of any value, besides burning and destroying many houses and effects; also taking with them, by force, all the boys they could lay their hands on above the age of ten years. Thus, this time, has the great boaster succeeded in this vain-glorious expedition, to the eternal shame of him and all his boasting Tory friends." Morton's diary, December 8th, says, "This ev'g, to the great astonishment of the citizens, the army returned. The causes assigned for their speedy return are various and contradictory, but y^e true reason appears to be this, that the army . . . thought it most prudent to decline making the attack. The Hessians on their march committed great outrages on the inhabitants, particularly at John Shoemaker's, whom they very much abused. Bro't off about 700 head of cattle, set fire to the house on Germantown road, called the Rising Sun, and committed many other depredations, as if the sole purpose of the expedition was to destroy and to spread desolation and ruin, to dispose the inhabitants to rebellion by despoiling their property, and to give their enemies fresh cause to alarm the apprehensions of the people by these too true melancholy facts."

On the 11th, Lord Cornwallis, with three thousand men, crossed the Middle Ferry bridge to march into the region northwest of the city on a foraging expedition. Gen. Potter had a picket of militia at the

bridge, who fired on the enemy as they advanced. Two regiments were stationed at Charles Thomson's place in Lower Merion, and three a short distance off. These offered the enemy a rather stubborn resistance, the regiments of Chambers, Lacey, and Murray behaving very well and retiring slowly. Washington had broken camp at White Marsh to go to winter-quarters at Valley Forge the day before, and Sullivan's division, in the van, as they crossed the Schuylkill, found themselves face to face with Cornwallis. It was a mutual surprise. Sullivan retreated, partly destroying the bridge at Watson's Ford, and Cornwallis withdrew with his plunder. Sullivan's men indeed were in no condition either to attack or to pursue. They were half naked, and printed the blazon of their weary march in blood upon the road. The army went into winter-quarters,—the dreary vigils of Valley Forge,—and there were no more operations of consequence by either



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE.

army until the campaign of 1778 opened. Cornwallis reached the city on the 16th, his column embarrassed with the plunder of the upper country. Every farmstead had been stripped and outraged. As Col. Pickering said, "They have committed great devastations, as usual; but 'tis some consolation these calamities have fallen upon their best friends."

On December 19th, Capt. Andrew Cathcart, of the Seventeenth Light Dragoons (he was a "right honorable," a staff officer and favorite of Clinton's, prominent in the Meschianza and wounded at Monmouth), was out with a squadron of his men when they surprised an American picket of eighteen men at an outpost four miles from the city. Seven were cut down at once; the others, being in Wood's barn, Roxborough, near Flat Rock (Manayunk), did not respond to the first challenge to surrender, when, as Rivington said, Cathcart was "constrained" to fire the barn and burn it and the men to ashes. The men were troopers of

Lee's legion, and a monument was erected to their memory in 1860. During Christmas week a party crossed the Delaware and made a raid into New Jersey, carrying off stock, forage, and provisions. Another detachment about the same time crossed at Gray's Ferry and took the road to Chester and Darby, with three hundred wagons. Howe and Erskine were with them; they made a demonstration towards Chester, but the hay on Tinicum Island was their real object. Several pickets and detachments skirmished on their front and flank, under Capt. Potterfield, and Col. Bull with a brigade was sent down to force the foragers to retire by demonstrating against the enemy's lines. His forces were distributed on the Frankford, Germantown, and Ridge roads, and caused the enemy to sound a general alarm. Bull planted his cannon and fired several shots at the heart of the city, then withdrew to Frankford, but did not cause the foragers to return until they had secured all their plunder. Morgan's Rifles, however, worried their flanks in returning and took thirty-four prisoners. The enemy took up the bridge and made no more raids.

During this period, though communications were restricted, there were generally illicit means of correspondence between town and country, and information of importance could always find conveyance through the lines. An employé of Robert Morris came into the American camp in November, found Morris, and told him he bore a message from Gen. Howe, through Thomas Willing, to the effect that if the Americans rescind the independence ordinance, he and Lord Howe had authority to restore all things to the *status quo ante bellum*—the condition existing in 1763, including the paper money. Morris communicated his news to Duer, a member of Congress; Brown was arrested as a spy; he had no credentials nor authority to show, and the Lancaster Committee of Safety clapped him in jail "for aiding and assisting the enemies of this commonwealth, and forming combinations with them for betraying the United States into their hands." Thomas Wharton, Jr., president, issued an address, ridiculing Mr. Brown's self-imposed mission and showing how absurd it was. "Were we a tribe of savages," it says, "this talk would be at least accompanied with a belt of wampum; but to us not even the slightest token is vouchsafed." Brown was kept in jail, though Robert Morris offered to be his parole, and Washington considered him "a worthy, well-disposed person." In fact, the distress of the people was too great to permit any tampering with the notion of a return of peace and plenty.

The Assembly of the State secured its first quorum at Lancaster in the second week in October, and an act was passed creating a Council of Safety, and investing it with extraordinary powers, in view of the enemy's presence, especially to seize property, levy troops, and punish traitors. This committee was made up of the Supreme Executive Council, with the following gentlemen added: John Bayard, Jonathan

Sargeant, Jonathan B. Smith, David Rittenhouse, Joseph Gardner, Robert Whitehill, Christopher Marshall, James Smith, of York, Jacob Orndt, Curtis Grubb, James Cannon, and William Henry, of Lancaster. This council was to sit during the whole of the Assembly's recess; to keep the army supplied and reinforced, prevent the British from getting supplies, and break up the forestalling and engrossing of provisions. It sat from October 17th to December 6th, and was then dissolved. One of its first acts was a confiscation ordinance, directed against the estates of all who had joined or should join the British army, or who supplied it with food. The commissioners to carry this act into effect for Philadelphia County were William Will, Sharpe Delaney, Jacob Schriner, Charles Wilson Peale, Robert Smith, and Samuel Massey; for the county, William Antis, Robert Loller, James Stroud, Daniel Heister, and Archibald Thompson. A general ordinance against the several forms of forestalling was passed, and a regular price of eight shillings sixpence per gallon, Pennsylvania currency, was set for whiskey, other than that sold by sutlers in camp. Committees were appointed to seize blankets and clothing from all who aided the enemy or refused the oaths, an offset price, however, being allowed.

There were no elections in Philadelphia this fall; in the rest of the State they were held at the usual dates, but the Assembly could get no quorum until late in November. Congress called on Pennsylvania to raise \$620,000 by taxation, and the Assembly accordingly provided for a Continental loan office, where interest-yielding certificates were exchanged for money or produce. The loan commissioners for Philadelphia County were Matthew Clarkson, John Evans, John Mitchell, Andrew Bunner, and Marshall Edwards. By act of Congress all grain crops within seventy miles of Philadelphia were required to be threshed out as soon as matured or be subject to seizure. The Assembly did not pass any act to give this law effect, but Washington repaired the neglect by a proclamation from Valley Forge.

Meantime, quiet Philadelphia began to accustom herself to the riot and fever of a garrison town in time of war and on the frontier of hostilities. The soldier, a nomad and unsettled, has a life of dull routine, broken in upon by flashes of wild and exciting adventure. His existence is almost purposeless from day to day, and he pursues with peculiar zest the passing promise of enjoyment. Glory may be his goal, but to kill time is his present and immediate object, and pleasure is elevated in his eyes as the only cure for the dull and deadly ennui of the camp and barracks.

"Das ist ein Stürmen,
Das ist ein Leben!
Mänschen und Bürgen
Müssen sich geben.
Kühn ist das Mähen,
Herrlich der Lohn!
Und die Soldaten
Ziehen davon."

The town did not impress its conquerors favorably at first. A British officer wrote of it in October: "I cannot say much for the town of Philadelphia, which has no view but the straightness and uniformity of the streets. Till we arrived, I believe, it was a very populous city, but at present it is very thinly inhabited, and that only by the *canaille* and the *Quakers*, whose peaceable disposition has prevented their taking up arms, and consequently has engaged them in our interests, by drawing upon them the displeasure of their countrymen." The Hessian, Capt. John Heinrichs, whose correspondence was unearthed by Professor Schlözer, of Göttingen, wrote that "if the Hon. Count Penn should surrender to me the whole country for my patent on condition that I should live here during my life, I would scarcely accept it. . . . Among one hundred persons, not merely in Philadelphia, but also throughout the whole neighborhood, not one has a healthy color, the cause of which is the unhealthy air and the bad water."

To amuse themselves became the soldiers' duty as soon as they had settled down in Philadelphia, and the resources of the city were at once taxed to their limit, and developed so abnormally in certain undesirable directions that it was called a Capua by the Americans who came in after Clinton's departure.

The officers formed themselves into clubs, with dinner as their *summum bonum*. "The Friendly Brothers," acting upon their motto, "*Quis Separabit Nos?*" dined one month at the Indian King, the next at the Bunch of Grapes, a Montresor or a Brown the lord of the feast. The "Loyal Association Club" met at Clark's, over against the State-House; there was a Yorkshire Club, and a Society of Journeymen Tailors also. Balls were given at the City Tavern, and the Tory ladies soon learned the art of flirting with a red coat. The first ball was given January 29th, Col. Howard, Lieut.-Col. Abercrombie, and Maj. Gardiner, managers. These balls were held weekly until April 30th. The officers set up cricket matches, and established also a cock-pit in Moore's Alley, Front Street, near Carr's store, Thomas Wildman, of the Seventeenth Dragoons, caring for the cocks. Mains were fought here for a hundred guineas, with by-battles besides, on which doubtless a good deal of betting was done. The old South Street Theatre was reopened, and a theatrical season begun under the distinguished auspices of the military. The performances were part amateur, part professional, and the theatrical library of "the martial Thespians" was apparently scanty. The house opened on January 19th, with a comedy, "No One's Enemy but His Own," and the farce, "The Deuce is in Him," "the characters by the officers of the army and navy." The charge for admittance was one dollar to boxes and pit, fifty cents to gallery; tickets sold at taverns and coffee-houses. The performance was "for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the army." A prologue was "delivered by a gentleman of the army,"

the authorship ascribed to Maj. John André. It is brisk and stagy, with no local allusions, except this,—

"Old vaunting Sadlers Wells
Of her tight ropes and ladder-dancing tells;
But Cunningham in both excels."

On the 26th "The Minor" was acted and "The Deuce is in Him" repeated, "for a public charity." No money, it was announced, would be taken at the doors, and gentlemen were requested earnestly not to attempt to bribe the doorkeepers. The troupe, during their season, acted plays of Shakespeare and Cibber, Congreve, Rowe, etc. Their *repertoire* was not extensive. Some of the performances were graced by a professional actress, Miss Hyde; the "star" of the troupe was Dr. Hammond Beaumont, surgeon-general of the royal army in America; his *Mock Doctor* (Molière's "Médecin Malgré Lui," "adapted" by Cibber) was looked upon as a fine performance. He also played *Scrub*, *Iago*, *Hecate*, and *Lovegold*. Dunlap mentions the following officers, besides Beaumont, as performing in New York in 1777. They were doubtless members of the Philadelphia troupe: managers (besides Beaumont), Col. Guy Johnson, Capt. Oliver Delancey; Col. French, *Scrub*; Maj. Edward Williams, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Richard III.*; Maj. Moncrieff, *Othello*; Capt. Stephen Payne Adye (judge-advocate), *Henry VI.*; Maj. O'Flaherty, *Ranger*, *Douglas*; Capt. Thomas Shreeve (of the Provincials), *Duke of Venice*, *Lord Mayor*, *Freeman*; Lieut. Butler, *Stockwell*; Capt. Hardenbrook, *Belcour*; Maj. Lowther Pennington, *Othello*; Lieut. Pennefeather, *Estifania*; Capt. Madden, *Papillon*, *Copper Captain*; Capt. Loftus, *Young Wilding*, *Archer*; Capt. Delancey, *Boniface*. Maj. André also sometimes took a part, but his chief connection with the stage was as scenic artist, in which he was assisted by Oliver Delancey. They are said to have painted some capital drops and other scenes. One scene painted by him is said by Charles Durang to have been used on the stage in 1807, in a play the subject of which was the capture and death of André. The proceeds of these performances were all given to the widows and orphans of soldiers, and other funds were made to contribute to the same object, Lieut. Dunkin raising £290 8s. 7d. by the publication of a book called "Military Remarks," to which Smithers, the engraver (who made plates for Continental banknotes and counterfeited them for the British), prepared a frontispiece.

In the midst of these shows and festivities the American prisoners were undergoing the severest privations. William Cunningham, a name infamous in history, was an abandoned, hard-hearted wretch. Joshua Loring, commissioner of prisoners, was fit to be his mate. Cunningham had been the executioner of Nathan Hale, and the torturer of Ethan Allen; he was half Carrier, half Marat; a brutal tyrant and a villainous dog. In New York he used to stride into prison at tattoo, whip in hand, shouting, "Kennel! ye s—s of b—s! Kennel, d—n ye!" Of Loring, Ethan

Allen said, in his vigorous way, "He is the most mean spirited, cowardly, deceitful, and destructive animal in God's creation below." These were the creatures into whose hands the unhappy prisoners were consigned, to suffer insult and privation, equal measure. Their food was stinted and foul, but not so foul as the abuse daily heaped upon them without measure. Four pounds of bread, mouldy and rotten, and a pound and a half of meat was each man's allowance once in nine days, when the officers and crew of the "Delaware" frigate were first brought in. At the State-House, where both soldiers and sailors were confined, provisions were very scarce. Neither officers nor men were allowed to see their friends, nor open a window for fresh air. A negro was allowed to strike an officer without rebuke. At the provost prison, where only private soldiers were confined, Cunningham amused himself by knocking over the vessels in which the friends of the prisoners brought them food, to see the starved wretches scramble for it. Prisoners fell dead in trying to clutch the uncertain and meagre allowance granted them. Cunningham's whip was busy in his brutal and cowardly hand, and he starved the prisoners as much from cruelty as for pelf. This villain, for so he was by nature, went home with the army to England, and his vicious instincts brought him at last to the gallows, where he made a dying speech and confession before being swung off. This was in London, Aug. 10, 1791. He said he was born in Dublin barracks, his father being a bugler, was bred an officer's servant, then riding-master and sergeant of dragoons. Afterwards he was pimp to a gin-shop drab in a blind alley until the place was broken up because a receptacle for stolen goods. Then he married an exciseman's daughter and became "scaw-banker,"—decoy for kidnapping apprentices and redemptioners to be shipped to America, with one cargo of whom he came over himself in 1774, settled in New York, and became horse-breaker. In Boston, Gen. Gage made him provost-marshal. He admitted selling the prisoners' rations, and having been accessory to hundreds of private, illegal "executions" of prisoners. The crime for which he was hung finally was forging a draft for three hundred pounds.¹ It is not creditable to the British service that such an abandoned wretch should so long have been employed by it and kept in a responsible station.

During the severe winter of 1777-78, large numbers of the prisoners under Loring and Cunningham died of cold and hunger combined. The windows of the jail had been broken and were not restored, nor were fires permitted or covering given out. Every day the victims of this infamous barbarity perished, and were dragged to the trenches in the Potter's Field near by. Howe would not permit the prisoners to receive

clothing and blankets except directly from Washington; he forbade Thomas Willing from supplying them. The Board of War of Pennsylvania called President Wharton's attention to the prisoners' unhappy state, denouncing the savage cruelty of the treatment they met from the enemy. Congress was forced to send in provisions for their support, and Elias Boudinot was appointed commissary-general of prisoners. In Philadelphia, while the prisoners' corpses were covered into the shallow trenches with hasty spades, the body of Molesworth, the executed spy, was ceremoniously exhumed and given a pompous funeral in the Quaker burying-ground.

Galloway, as superintendent, made the citizens of Philadelphia feel as if they themselves were prisoners. By proclamation he forbade any one to appear on the streets between tattoo and reveille—8½ P.M. and sunrise—without a lantern, and all who went out after hours were liable to arrest and detention. A pass was necessary to cross the Delaware, and then only at two ferries; a permit was needed to sell a blanket; wood could not be cut, except for the troops, in the Neck below the city; the citizens were ordered to rake and clean the streets at their fronts every Saturday afternoon; a fine of twenty shillings was laid for foul chimneys; huckstering, peddling, and forestalling of provisions were forbidden; vendues were severely restricted, and only three were authorized, the vendue masters, David Sproat for city and Southwark, and Richard Foobman for Northern Liberties, being appointed by Galloway.

A great number of miscellaneous minor operations from Philadelphia, and against it and the enemy's army and fleet there, belong to the forepart of 1778. Chiefly affairs of posts, they yet sparkle with daring and adventure. The shipping passing to and fro along the river was often assailed, at different points, by the Americans, sometimes from the shore, sometimes with boats and small craft. The vessels in Philadelphia harbor were a temptation to patriotic ingenuity to invent means to destroy them. A collection of kegs for infernal machines was made at Burlington. They were to be charged with powder and fitted with spring triggers, which would explode them upon contact with a hard substance. One of these kegs got adrift and floated to Philadelphia, and upon attempt to secure it by boys in a boat the barrel exploded, killing or injuring one or more of them. This put the British on the *qui vive*, and upon the appearance of other kegs a few days afterwards they were mercilessly bombarded until every head of every keg was beaten in. This caused a huge laugh, and became the theme of Francis Hopkinson's ballad, "The Battle of the Kegs," probably the best satire of the war. The poem was a close paraphrase of a spirited burlesque account of the affair, which was published in the (Burlington) *New Jersey Gazette*, January 11th, the incident having occurred January 5th.

The invention of the kegs was ascribed to David

¹ There have been writers who have questioned the authenticity of this "confession," and pronounced it spurious; but the details fit so well what is known of Cunningham's life in other particulars that the reader will say, "*ei non vero e ben trovato*."

Bushnell, who contrived several torpedoes and submarine engines which never were made effective. Mr. Westcott thinks, however, that other inventive men, probably, had to do with this contrivance of the kegs, among whom he names Joseph Belton, of Rhode Island, and Ezra Lee, of New York. These inventors were naturally attracted to the latitude of Philadelphia by the presence of Congress there. Bushnell was a Saybrook man, and his "Turtle," a submarine vessel, was invented by him at Yale College. He it was who tried to blow up the "Cerberus" frigate at New London, in 1778, according to Bishop's "History of Manufactures." Belton offered his machine to the Philadelphia Committee of Safety in 1775.

In December, 1777, Gen. Armstrong withdrew on furlough from his command. He was old and enfeebled by service. Washington, in leaving White Marsh, was anxious to have the upper part of the Delaware-Schuylkill peninsula well guarded. A thousand Pennsylvania militia were nominally assigned to the service, and Col. John Lacey made their brigadier, as the fittest man for the place. On taking command on January 9th he found but four hundred and fifty men actually in his brigade. Of these seventy were at Graeme Park, the headquarters, eighty at Smithfield, and at Springhouse and Plymouth meeting three hundred. There were but very few of the most needed sort of troopers (light horsemen), and he could not keep up patrols between his posts. Lacey withdrew four or five miles farther inland, and, as his force was still more reduced by desertion, consolidated his posts more in order to maintain himself. This opened the county to the Queen's Rangers and James' and Hovenden's loyalists, who foraged and ravaged where they pleased. They were hated by the "rebels," and cordially hated them in return, so that a dash through the American lines was a sport they liked to indulge in. In this way Col. William Coats, lieutenant of Philadelphia County, was captured in February and thrown into the provost prison, where a malignant fever raged.

Other expeditions of the sort were planned and carried out, Lacey having no cavalry, and but sixty men left him of all his brigade. Sir William Erskine, early in the month, marched up Frankford road-way, with eight thousand men, for forage and plunder. They were out three days, harrying Philadelphia County and the borders of Bucks, and bringing in a great quantity of booty. Lacey was himself of Bucks County, but could do nothing to save it from plunder. On February 14th Capt. Hovenden, with "the Philadelphia troop of light dragoons" (loyalists), trotted up the Bristol road, Capt. Thomas of "the Bucks County volunteers" (loyalists also) taking the Bustleton road. Hovenden brought in, on his return, pretty nearly all the representatives of civil authority in the county: Gunning Bedford, once commissary master; Maj. John Snyder, of the militia; Justice John Vandegrift, John Miller, and Benj.

Walton, collectors of militia fines; John Rodgers, mate of the "Randolph" frigate; Lieuts. Thomas Miller and Joseph Allen and eight others; Lieuts. William Preston, John Ogburn, and John Blake, with nine others, were brought in by Thomas. A day or two after Thomas and Hovenden, with twenty-four dragoons and fourteen foot, marched to Jenks' fulling-mill, in Bucks, and captured a guard of Continental soldiers and a quantity of cloth for Washington's army. Then they went to take Maj. Murray at Newtown, took him and routed, killed, or captured his force, and returned with thirty prisoners and the cloth which the Valley Forge army needed so dreadfully. The cloth had been meant to clothe Col. Walter Stewart's regiment. In the latter part of the month, Hovenden, with a detachment of the regular dragoons, captured a drove of one hundred and thirty fat cattle *en route* from Jersey to the camp at Valley Forge.

In the city the poor got no benefit from all these captures, and their distress was so great that Howe sanctioned the collection of contributions for the support of the almshouse. The collectors appointed were Samuel Richards, Henry Lyle, Jos. Allen, Elias Dawson, Andrew Tybout, William Sykes, Mark Freeman, Jon'n Brown, John Wood, Brian O'Hara, Jos. Stansbury, Alexander Tod, James Sparks, Benjamin Shoemaker, Reuben Haines, Thomas Moore, Caleb Attmore, Benjamin Homer, John Jones, Benjamin Gibbs, Nicholas Hicks, Benjamin Stillwagen, Jacob Graefe, Leonard Kressler, Edward Cutburn, Isaac Coats, William Brown, Abram Jones, William Thomas, Jos. Turner, Benjamin Hemmings, and Joseph Lownes. In April, Howe sanctioned (or ordered) a lottery scheme, to draw £1012 10s. for the poor, the managers being Stephen Shewell, James Craig, Reynold Keene, William Morrell, James Sparks, Joseph Stansbury, Robert Shewell, Benjamin Gibbs, Thomas Asheton, Curtis Clay, William McMurtrie, Samuel Murdoch, Richard Rundle, Michael Connor, John Hart, and Thomas Murgatroyd.

About this time Lacey was reinforced with levies from York. In the end of February Gen. Wayne was returning from Southern New Jersey with a convoy of cattle he had been sent by Washington to gather up and bring in for the supply of the camp at Valley Forge. The British heard of his march, and Howe sent Col. Abercrombie from Philadelphia down the Delaware to attack him. Col. Markham held Cooper's Ferry, to cover the rear and forage. The Queen's Rangers and the Forty-second, under Lieut.-Col. Stirling, crossed at Philadelphia, and marched to Haddonfield to intercept Wayne. Simcoe captured the boats, which had run into Timber Creek after the fall of Fort Mercer, loaded them with tow, and sent them to Philadelphia. Then the rangers ravaged the country towards Egg Harbor, robbing farm-houses, but not seeking Wayne. When the latter advanced from Mount Holly, Stirling retreated, and Wayne's

troops followed them closely to Cooper's Creek, where the enemy secured his retreat.

Capt. Thomas, with his dragoons, went down the river in boats to plunder, but had a brush with some volunteers, and came back with neither booty nor glory. Some of his crews were attacked and lost their vessels. There were American galleys and armed boats in Christiana and several other creeks emptying into the Delaware, and they made several captures of transports on the river, retiring with their prizes behind shore batteries; and the British in Philadelphia sent out several expeditions against these annoying cruisers, and destroyed two or three of them.

On March 12th, Col. Mawhood led a foraging-party to New Jersey, comprising the Seventeenth and Fortysixth Regiment, Simcoe's rangers, and the New Jersey volunteers,—about fifteen hundred men all told. They went down the river, landed at Salem, captured horses from the farmers in that neighborhood, and then began to forage along Salem and Alloways Creeks. The New Jersey militia took up Hancock's and Quinton's bridges, and mustered in considerable force on the other side of the river. Simcoe and Mawhood, by an ingenious ruse, induced the militia to cross at Hancock's bridge, when they were led into an ambushade, and lost between thirty and forty men. Two days later Maj. Simcoe organized another expedition against Cumberland County and Hancock's and Quinton's bridges, in New Jersey. The major had scouted to the vicinity with a patrol, climbed a tree, and made a rough sketch of the country, basing his plan of attack on it. He expected to encounter three or four hundred militia, but found only a guard of twenty, the rest having been withdrawn. The force marched against Hancock's bridge and house was large, the plan of the campaign was intricate, and the men got themselves belated and mired in the swamps, all to surprise a picket of twenty militia. Every man encountered, whether soldier or not, was bayoneted on the spot, the greater part of them in their beds, and thus about thirty persons were massacred. Another raid was made to Thompson's bridge, and then Mawhood and his warriors returned to Philadelphia, much plunder in their possession and many new graves in their train.

Other raids of smaller proportions but like character belong to the chronicles of the day, but are scarcely even of passing moment. When Lacey's forces began to be recruited the British made fewer incursions to the northward, and the farmers of Bucks found that the road to the Philadelphia market and British guineas was less absolutely open to them than it had been. Lacey made many captures of these delinquents, and a practical difficulty arose as to how to deal with them. They were tried by court-martial in camp, and some were condemned to be hung, but this was a severity such as the nature of the offense scarcely warranted. Washington recommended to

send the most dangerous to the Supreme Council for imprisonment during short terms, those with good character to be set free, with notice that they should be hanged if caught offending again. Finally, the law authorizing court-martials having expired, the simple process was adopted of seizing the horses, wagons, and produce of all farmers captured on their way to provision the enemy, the soldiers usually contributing a sound flogging besides. This still did not arrest the traffic, and there were so many Tories among the farmers in the sections adjacent to the city that Lacey recommended that all residents near the line should be compelled to move back into the interior of the country. This plan, he thought, would deprive the enemy at once of his supplies of fresh provisions and of his means of intelligence of American movements. "Every kind of villainy," he said, "is carried on by the people near the enemy's lines; and, from their general conduct, I am induced to believe that very few real friends of America are left within ten miles of Philadelphia." Washington, however, in his wise, calm way suggested that the measure was "rather desirable than practicable."

Another suggestion put forth at this time, with a view to check the depredations of the loyalist refugees and rangers, was the employment of Indians. The proposition originated in camp at Valley Forge, and the Committee of Congress then wrote two letters to the President of Congress about it, signed by Francis Dana, but in the handwriting of Gov. Morris. In these letters the stock argument for and against such a service are discussed, and the Oneidas of New York spoken of as the tribe that could best be employed, the commander to be Col. Mordecai Gist, of Maryland. Gist himself was the bearer of the second letter to Congress, but the matter went no further.

In April there were slight affairs of post at Frankford, at Smithfield, at Dr. Benneville's house, on the York road, at Billingsport, and Haddonfield, mere nameless, aimless skirmishes, such as must always be taking place in the debatable ground between two hostile armies. Both Washington and Howe took some pains to make the country produce for them, the latter reserving pasture grounds in the Neck for his horses, and the former directing all farmers near camp to fatten their cattle. A witty British versemaker sent a squib to the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, thanking Washington for the kind consideration evinced by this order:

"Thy proclamation timely to command
The cattle to be fattened round the land
Bespeaks thy generosity, and shows
A charity that reaches to thy foes.
And was this order issued for *our* sakes,
To treat us with roast beef and savory steaks?
Or was it for thy rebel train intended?
Give 'em the hides and let their shoes be mended,—
Though shoes are what they seldom wear of late,—
'Twould load their nimble feet with too much weight.
And as for beef, there needs no puffs about it;
In short they must content themselves without it,—

Not that we mean to have them starved; why, marry,
The live-stock in abundance which they carry
Upon their backs prevents all fear of that," etc.

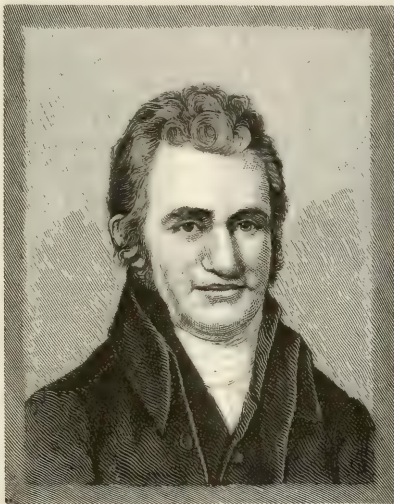
Lacey's energy and enterprise, even with his small forces, enabled him to reduce the supplies of Philadelphia so materially that the attempt was made to destroy his command, and an expedition was sent against him. His headquarters were the Crooked Billet Tavern, in Bucks County, on the York road, twenty-five miles north of the city, now called Hatborough. The party was under command of Lieut.-Col. Abercrombie, comprising light infantry, cavalry, and Simcoe's rangers, and started on May 1st. Simcoe was to get in Lacey's rear, and a party was to be placed in ambush, while the mounted infantry and cavalry advanced along the road. Lacey's officers and patrols were negligent, and his force was completely surprised, and surrounded on all sides. They retreated fighting, but without their baggage, and finally got away with a loss of twenty-six killed, eight or ten wounded, and fifty-eight missing. Many prisoners were bayoneted, and some wounded burned to death by Simcoe's, Hovenden's, and James' refugee scoundrels. The British loss was nominal. Among the Americans slain was Capt. Downey, who had been a school-master in Philadelphia, and a gallant volunteer at Trenton and Princeton. He had surveyed the Delaware River for the Committee of Safety, and was acting as commissary for Lacey. He was bayoneted and mutilated while lying wounded and a prisoner at the Crooked Billet.

A monument was erected in December, 1861, to the victims of Lacey's command in this fight, on the battle-field at Hatborough. The Latin motto is "*Defensores libertatis per insidias abrupti*," which is vapid and meaningless. The surprise was a legitimate act of war; the massacre after surrender was a barbarous act, and that the inscription should have emphasized.

Besides Lacey's command on the north, Armstrong was in his old camp with militia on the northwest at White Marsh; Maj. Jameson and Capt. Allen McLane, with cavalry and infantry, were on the west side of Schuylkill; Lee's cavalry, with Morgan's

riflemen, were at different points on the line, while Smallwood and his division were posted at Wilmington, so that the Americans had Philadelphia pretty effectually picketed. Sometimes the enemy broke through the cordon with their own partisan riders, now taking Col. Penrose, another colonel, a major, nine officers, and thirty-two privates at Bristol; now killing three and taking fifty-one; now killing twelve, taking six, and scattering the rest, as DeLancey claims he did,—but we must remember these are the reports of Tory refugees, chronicled in Tory journals. When an American officer, who was keeping back the country people, happened to be made a prisoner, he became the hero of a procession; his vegetables and poultry were hung about him, to garnish his person and his horse, and thus equipped he was paraded about the streets.

In one of these raids Lord Cathcart made some creditable dashes, but he was far eclipsed by the gallant Allen McLane, who was a partisan like Harry Lee, Pulaski, Armand, Sumter, and Marion, like Tarleton, and Simcoe. He was particularly identified with the lines about Philadelphia at this time,—a captain of cavalry and expected to do the most important scouting duty, especially in intercepting the market people. He sent many a spy into the city, disguised as a farmer of Bucks and Chester and loaded down with vegetables and fowls taken from a veritable non-combatant's poultry-yard and garden. Sometimes his men sold horse-meat in Philadelphia for beef,—meat that a British trooper



had straddled in the flesh until an American bullet dismounted him,—and British gold thus earned must have been doubly valuable to McLane's rough riders.

The gallant captain's feats of war were numerous, and the legends concerning some of them are still fresh and vivid. Once, in 1778, as he was on his way at daybreak to join Capt. Craig in an attack on the enemy, he fell into an ambuscade near Frankford. His company were far in the rear, only four troopers were with him, one of whom suddenly cried out, "Captain, the British!" and he and his mate spurred their horses and galloped away. McLane saw the enemy drawn up on both sides of the road, and a file

of them fired at him. He dashed away, pursued and fired at, and stumbled upon another large body of dragoons, from whose very front he turned abruptly off at a right angle pursued by a dozen, all of whom but two he distanced. These chased him several miles, all their horses giving out. A trooper now rode up and seized McLane by the collar, whereupon the latter drew a pistol and shot him dead. With the second a fierce conflict ensued, McLane's hand being badly slashed by a sabre-cut, but finally he shot the second trooper also, and killed him, and then took refuge, naked, in a mill-pond, until the cold water stopped the flow of blood from his wound. Another time he was surprised while seeking intelligence in Germantown, by a dozen troopers, but he charged through them and escaped. His most notable feat of arms in other fields was the surprise of Paulus Hook.

McLane was born in Philadelphia on Aug. 8, 1746, and at the beginning of the Revolution, it is said, held an estate in Philadelphia worth fifteen thousand dollars, the whole of which he sacrificed in the service of his country. He removed to Kent County, Del., in 1774, and, as a volunteer, witnessed the repulse of the British at Great Bridge, Va. In 1775 he became lieutenant in Cesar Rodney's Delaware regiment. In 1776 he joined the army of Washington; distinguished himself at the battle of Long Island; was at White Plains and Trenton, and by his good conduct and gallantry at Princeton, won from Washington the commission of captain in 1777. As we have seen, he commanded the outposts around Philadelphia, and was hotly engaged in the battle of Monmouth. In July, 1779, he was made major of the infantry of Lee's legion, taking a prominent part in the brilliant affairs of Paulus Hook and Stony Point, and was at the siege of Yorktown. He was a member and Speaker of the Delaware Legislature; six years a privy counselor; many years judge of the Court of Common Pleas; marshal of the Delaware District from 1790 to 1798, and collector of the port of Wilmington from 1808 until his death, May 22, 1829. He was father of Louis McLane, the statesman, and grandfather of Hon. Robert M. McLane, the present (1884) Governor of Maryland.¹

¹ Louis McLane, the son of Col. Allen, was born at Smyrna, Kent Co., Del., May 28, 1786, and died in Baltimore Oct. 7, 1857. He entered the navy as midshipman in 1798, and cruised one year in the "Philadelphia" under Commodore Stephen Decatur. He began the study of law in 1804, with the distinguished James A. Bayard, of Delaware, and was admitted to the bar in 1807. He was a member of Congress from Delaware from 1817 to 1827, and on the Missouri question voted against permitting slavery in that State, in opposition to his constituents, but in obedience to his own convictions. He was United States Senator from 1827 to 1829; minister to England, May, 1829 to 1831; Secretary of the United States Treasury, 1831 to 1833; Secretary of State, 1833, and retired from political life in 1834. He was president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company from 1837 to 1847, and in June, 1845, was instructed by President Polk with the mission to England during the Oregon negotiations. His last public service was as a delegate to the Reform Convention at Annapolis, in the winter of 1850-51.

Robert Milligan McLane, the distinguished son of Louis McLane, was born in Delaware, June 23, 1815. He began his education at a

By Washington's recommendation the State galleys, which, with the Continental frigates, had been stationed at Trenton and Borden's Ferry, since Red Bank, were sunk in April. The other vessels, however, were kept afloat, and the enemy sent up a force of seven hundred soldiers with armed boats and vessels to destroy them. The troops were Maj. Maitland's Second Light Infantry, the galleys and boats being commanded by Lieut. John Henry, of the navy. They landed at White Hill (Borden's Ferry) in the morning of May 8th, and burned the two Continental frigates, "Washington" and "Eflingham," the "Montgomery," two privateers, and a number of other vessels, great and small, killed seventeen militiamen, burnt Joseph Borden's house and store, and did other destruction at Bristol, where Gen. Dickinson, with the New Jersey militia, attacked them. On their return they burned the buildings on Col. Kirkbride's plantation, in Bucks County. Maitland's return of the vessels destroyed in this raid were, one frigate pierced for thirty-two guns, one for twenty-eight, nine large ships, three privateer sloops sixteen guns each, three privateer sloops ten guns each, twenty-three brigs, and a number of small sloops and schooners. Some of these vessels by more prudent management might have been saved for the time when the British

Friends' school in Wilmington, and afterwards attended Washington College, District of Columbia, and St. Mary's College, Baltimore. In 1829 he accompanied his father to England, and studied in Paris for two years, at the end of which time he returned home, and was appointed a cadet in West Point Military Academy by Gen. Andrew Jackson. He graduated in 1837, and was appointed second lieutenant in the First Artillery. He served with Gen. Jessup in the Everglades, Florida, in 1837, and there first formed the acquaintance of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, who married his sister.

Lieut. McLane served in the Cherokee country of Georgia under Gen. Scott, and was afterwards transferred to the corps of topographical engineers. In 1841 he was sent to Europe to examine the system of dikes and drainage in Holland. While on that trip he married, in Paris, Miss Georgine Urquhart, daughter of a Louisiana merchant. Previous to sailing for Europe, in 1841, in addition to his engineering duties, he studied law in Washington under Gen. Walter Jones, and was admitted to the bar. In 1843 he resigned his army position and started the practice of law in Baltimore. In 1845 he was elected to the House of Delegates of Maryland. In 1847 he was elected to Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Maryland over the Hon. John P. Kennedy, the Whig candidate. He was re-elected to Congress in 1849, and in 1853 President Pierce appointed him commissioner to China, with the powers of a minister plenipotentiary. In 1855, there being nothing to keep him in China, and the climate not agreeing with him, he was recalled at his own request. Early in 1859 he was appointed by President Buchanan envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Mexico. Diplomatic relations between the two republics had been suspended for several years previous to Mr. McLane's appointment. While in Mexico Mr. McLane negotiated a treaty which gave to citizens of the United States increased commercial advantages. In 1860, Mr. McLane resigned and resumed the practice of law in Baltimore. During the civil war he was counsel for the Western Pacific Railroad and several other large corporations, and during 1864 and 1865 visited Europe upon professional business. In 1878 he was State senator from the Third Legislative District of Baltimore City, and served one session. In 1879 he was elected to Congress, and again in 1881. In the fall of 1883 he was nominated by the Democratic party of Maryland their candidate for Governor, and was elected by nearly twelve thousand majority. James L. McLane, a prominent member of the Baltimore bar and at one time city counselor, and Louis McLane, a leading banker of San Francisco, California, are brothers of Hon. Robert M. McLane.

by evacuating Philadelphia left the river open for their cruisers.

The Assembly at Lancaster, in the spring of 1778, endeavored to aid the military arm by some vigorous legislation. The college property in Philadelphia being in the hands of the enemy, an act was passed suspending the functions of the trustees under the charter. An act of attainder was also passed, requiring certain persons to come forward for trial by a certain day (April 20th), under penalty of forfeiture of their estates, provision for the discovery and seizure of which was made, as well as for the attainting of other persons adhering to the enemy. Those named in this act were Joseph Galloway, Andrew Allen, John Allen, William Allen, the younger; Jacob Duché, the younger; James Rankin, of York; Gilbert Hicks, of Bucks; Samuel Shoemaker, of Philadelphia; John Potts, of Philadelphia County; Nathaniel Vernon, of Chester; Christian Foutz, of Lancaster; Reynold Keen, of Berks; and John Biddle, of Berks. All subjects of the State serving the enemy were declared to be liable to attainder, and debtors of traitors were directed to pay their dues to the Supreme Council instead of to the attainted persons. Another act extended the time for taking the oath of allegiance to June 1st, and required the subscription to be made by every public and professional person, trustees, teachers, professors, merchants and traders, doctors, lawyers, clerks, apothecaries, divines, etc. All who attempted to follow any named occupation before taking the oath were liable to fines of £500. Justices were authorized to summon persons neglecting to take the oath and fine them £10 or imprison them for three months. Every person not taking the oath might be deprived of his firearms. Persons going into Philadelphia without permits were liable to heavy fine and imprisonment. Persons in office under the late provincial government and failing to renounce before June 1st forfeited lands and tenements.

February 25th, Abraham Gibbons, William Jackson, Jr., Jacob Lindley, Warner Mifflin, Joseph Hubbard, and James Jackson, members of the Society of Friends, asked leave to lay their sufferings before the Assembly. They were admitted, but before they were allowed to speak were required to answer whether they acknowledged the Assembly's loyalty, legitimacy, and authority to pass and enforce laws. The Quakers replied they had not come prepared to answer such questions, and withdrew. Next day they returned, but their answers were pronounced evasive and unsatisfactory, as they certainly were, and they were ordered to petition in writing. They demanded the release of the Quakers in Virginia, and pronounced the test-oaths infringements upon the liberty of conscience. Their request in regard to the prisoners was complied with, and John Penn and Benjamin Chew were also discharged on parole. They had been sent to Hunterdon, N. J., and Governor William Living-

ston had protested vigorously against their sojourn in that community.

Already Howe had found Philadelphia a barren conquest,—a Capua to his men in one sense if not in another,—and the evacuation of the city was felt by Washington to be so certainly only a question of time that as early as March he began to collect wagons and organize teams for the transportation service of his army when it should be required to march after the enemy. Howe's proper point for operations was New York, and Washington felt sure he would return thither. Instead of that, however, Howe, yielding to the complaints at his supineness in England, and desirous to return home, resigned. Sir Henry Clinton, his successor, arrived at Billingsport May 7th, Philadelphia May 8th, and took formal command of the British army May 11th.

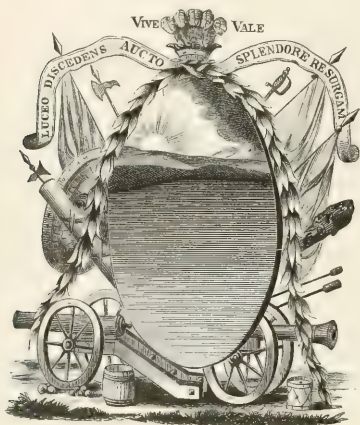
Howe's farewell was made the occasion of a *fête champêtre*, which, a splendid folly in itself, has been about as notorious in American history as the Field of the Cloth of Gold used to be in the annals of the three monarchs,—Henry, Charles, and Francis. The *Meschanza* was, as the word implies, a medley, but the most salient features were imitated from the Masques, such, for instance, as Ben Jonson used to get up for the amusement of James I.'s court at Theobald's, Whitehall, and Hampton Court. Maj. André, a scholar and an artist, with a vein of sentiment and of chivalry in his composition, was a close student of dramatic effects and the drama. He appears to have been sincerely and warmly attached to Howe, and, as the contriver and chief manager of a *fête* in Howe's honor, he seems to have ransacked his fancy and his memory to combine the bizarre and the picturesque, the roman-



WHARTON MANSION AND WALNUT GROVE, WHERE THE MESCHANZA TOOK PLACE.

tic and the dramatic. After all, the performance must have been crude, as the features of it also were, some of them, in bad taste and incongruous. The elements of the medley would not mix. As for the folly and mere childishness of such a performance, at such a time and place, that is something which everybody concedes. Conceive of such a tribute offered to Washington by Knox and Greene, Hamilton and Schuyler, Sullivan and Wayne, St. Clair and Gates, and Putnam!

The *fête* took place on Monday, the 18th of May; the place selected for the picnic was the Wharton Mansion and grounds at Walnut Grove (where Fifth and Wharton Streets now intersect), and the best, most complete, and authentic account of the entire performance is that written immediately after it was over, by the contriver of it, Maj. André, and published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1778. The cost of the entertainment, André says, was defrayed by twenty-two field officers, four of whom were managers,—Sir John Wrottesley, Col. O'Hara, Maj. Gardiner,¹ and Montresor, the chief engineer. The tickets of admission were engraved, the design, "in a



MESCHIANZA TICKET.

shield, a view of the sea, with the setting sun, and on a wreath the words '*Luceo discedens, aucto splendore resurgam.*' At top was the general's crest, with '*vive, vale!*' All around the shield ran a vignette, and various military trophies filled up the ground."

The entertainment began with a regatta, which must have been a striking and handsome spectacle. It was a military procession along the water-front; boats, barges, and galleys, filled with guests and officers, including Lord Howe, Gen. Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Rawdon, and Gen. Knyphausen, moving in three divisions down the river, the surrounding vessels decked with flags, and the wharves teeming with spectators. The boats landed at the association battery wharf, a quarter of a mile from the Wharton House, the landing being accentuated by salutes fired by the several men-of-war in the harbor.

"The company as they disembarked arranged themselves in a line or procession, and advanced through an avenue formed by two files of

grenadiers and a line of light-horse supporting such file. This avenue led to a square lawn of one hundred and fifty yards on each side, lined with troops and properly prepared for the exhibition of a tilt and tournament, according to the customs and ordinance of ancient chivalry. We proceeded through the centre of the square; the music, consisting of all the bands of the army, moved in front. The managers, with favors of white and blue ribbons in their breasts, followed next in order. The general, admiral, and the rest of the company succeeded promiscuously. In front appeared the building, bounding the view, through a vista formed by two triumphal arches, erected at proper intervals in a line with the landing place. Two pavilions, with rows of benches rising one above the other, and serving as the advanced wings of the first triumphal arch, received the ladies, while the gentlemen ranged themselves in convenient order on each side. On the front seat of each pavilion were placed seven of the principal young ladies of the country, dressed in Turkish habits, and wearing in their turbans the favors with which they meant to reward the several knights who were to contend in their honor. These arrangements were scarcely made when the sound of trumpets was heard at a distance and a band of knights, dressed in ancient habits of white and red silk, and mounted on gray horses, richly caparisoned in trappings of the same colors, entered the lists, attended by their esquires on foot, in suitable apparel in the following order: four trumpeters, properly habited, their trumpets decorated with small pendent banners; a herald in his robes of ceremony, on his tunic the device of his band, two roses intertwined, with the motto, 'We droop when separated.' Lord Cathcart, superbly mounted on a managed horse, appeared as chief of these knights; two young black slaves, with sashes and drawers of blue and white silk, wearing large silver clasps round their necks and arms, their breasts and shoulders bare, held his stirrups. On his right hand walked Capt. Hazard, and on his left, Capt. Brownlow, his two esquires, one bearing his lance, the other his shield. His device was Cupid riding on a lion; the motto, 'Surmounted by love.' His lordship appeared in honor of Miss Auchmuty.

"Then came in order the knights of his band, each attended by his squire bearing his lance and shield.

"First knight, Hon. Capt. Cathcart, in honor of Miss N. White; squire, Capt. Peters; device, a heart and sword; motto, 'Love and honor.'

"Second knight, Lieut. Bygrove, in honor of Miss Craig; squire, Lieut. Nichols; device, Cupid tracing a circle; motto, 'Without end.'

"Third knight, Capt. André, in honor of Miss P. Chew; squire, Lieut. André; device, two game-cocks fighting; motto, 'No rival.'

"Fourth knight, Capt. Horneck, in honor of Miss N. R-dman; squire, Lieut. Talbot; device, a burning heart; motto, 'Absence cannot extinguish.'

"Fifth knight, Capt. Matthews, in honor of Miss Bond; squire, Lieut. Hamilton; device, a winged heart; motto, 'Each fair by turns.'

"Sixth knight, Lieut. Sloper, in honor of Miss M. Shippen; squire, Lieut. Brown; device, a heart and sword; motto, 'Honor and the fair.'

"After they had made the circuit of the square and saluted the ladies as they passed before the pavilions, they ranged themselves in a line with that in which were the ladies of their device; and their herald (Mr. Beaumont), advancing into the centre of the square, after a flourish of trumpets, proclaimed the following challenge: 'The Knights of the Blended Rose, by me, their herald, proclaim and assert that the ladies of the Blended Rose excel in wit, beauty, and every accomplishment those of the whole world; and should any knight or knights be so hardy as to dispute or deny it, they are ready to enter the lists with them, and maintain their assertions by deeds of arms, according to the laws of ancient chivalry.'

"At the third repetition of the challenge, the sound of trumpets was heard from the opposite side of the square, and another herald, with four trumpeters, dressed in black and orange, galloped into the lists. He was met by the herald of the Blended Rose, and, after a short parley, they both advanced in front of the pavilions, when the black herald (Lieut. Moore) ordered his trumpeters to sound, and then proclaimed defiance to the challenge in the following words:

"The Knights of the Burning Mountain present themselves here, not to contest by words, but to disprove by deeds, the vainglorious assertion of the Knights of the Blended Rose; and enter these lists to maintain that the ladies of the Burning Mountain are not excelled in beauty, virtue, or accomplishment by any in the universe.'

"He then returned to the part of the barrier through which he had entered, and, shortly after, the Black Knights, attended by their squires, rode into the lists in the following order:

"Capt. Watson, of the guards, as chief, dressed in a magnificent suit of black and orange silk, and mounted on a black, managed horse, with

¹ Another writer describing himself as "one of the company," and stated to be an "American" (Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, vol. xiv. p. 296), gives the name of Sir Henry Calder, in place of Maj. Gardiner, as one of the managers.

trappings of the same colors with his own dress, appeared in honor of Miss Franks. He was attended in the same manner as Lord Cathcart. Capt. Scott bore his lance, and Lieut. Lytelson his shield. The device, a heart, with a wreath of flowers; motto, 'Love and glory.'

"First knight, Lieut. Underwood, in honor of Miss S. Shippen; squire, Ensign Haverkam; device, a pelican feeding her young; motto, 'For these I love.'

"Second knight, Lieut. Winyard, in honor of Miss P. Shippen; squire, Capt. Boscawen; device, a bay leaf; motto, 'Unchangeable.'

"Third knight, Lieut. Delaval, in honor of Miss B. Bond; squire, Capt. Thorne; device, a heart aimed at by several arrows and struck by one; motto, 'One only pierces me.'

"Fourth knight, Monsieur Montluisant (lieutenant of the Hessian chasseurs), in honor of Miss B. Redman; squire, Capt. Campbell; device, a sunflower, turning towards the sun; motto, '*J'écis à vous*.'

"Fifth knight, Lieut. Hobart, in honor of Miss S. Chew; squire, Lieut. Briscoe; device, Cupid piercing a coat of mail with his arrow; motto, 'Proof to all but love.'

"Sixth knight, Brigade-Major Tarleton, in honor of Miss W. Smith; squire, Ensign Heart; device, a light-dragon; motto, 'Swift, vigilant, and bold.'"

Knights, squires, and ladies are all dust now, and their swords are rust; still, we must arrest André's narrative here to say a word more of these ladies, who were all (except Miss Auchmuty, an English girl) daughters of Philadelphians. Miss Auchmuty married Capt. J. F. Montresor, of the Guards. The second, Miss White, does not seem to have been remembered in tradition. She was, however, probably Miss White, of New York, daughter of Henry White and Eve Van Cortlandt, who was of the family of Chief Justice Jay; there were two daughters of Henry and Eve White, both distinguished belles,—Augusta, married Edward N. Bibby; Margaret, married Peter Jay Munro (according to Mrs. Lamb's "History of New York"). Miss Jane Craig died in Philadelphia, unmarried. She was the lady who furnished

John F. Watson with the materials for his account of the Meschianza. Miss Peggy, or Margaret Chew, who was distinguished by André's having chosen her as his lady in the tilt, was the daughter of Chief Justice Chew, of Cliveden (the Chew house), Germantown. Col. John Eager Howard commanded a regiment of Stirling's forces which deployed in front of this house to meet the Fortieth Regiment at the battle of Germantown, and after the war was over he made Miss Margaret Chew his wife. She lived until 1824, and among her children and descendants have been numbered some of the most estimable citizens of Maryland. Miss N. (Ann or Nancy) Redman was a daughter of Dr. Thomas Redman; Miss B. (Rebecca) Redman, her sister, became the wife of Col. Elisha Lawrence, of New Jersey, on Dec. 1, 1779; Miss Sophia Chew, sister of Miss Margaret, married Henry Phillips, of Maryland. The Misses Bond were

daughters of Dr. Phineas Bond, prominent in Philadelphia society for a long time. One of them, Miss Becky, went to England after the Revolution with Mr. Erskine, the British minister, and died there unmarried. The other became the wife of Gen. John Cadwalader. There were three Miss Shippens at the Meschianza,—Miss Mary (Polly), Miss Sarah (Sally), and Miss Peggy (or Margaret). They were the daughters of Chief Justice Edward Shippen; Miss Polly married Dr. William McIlvaine, Miss Sally married Thomas Lea, and Miss Peggy was the unfortunate wife of the traitor, Benedict Arnold, to whom she was married April 8, 1779. In a careful and brilliant paper by the very capable Frederick D. Stone, librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, on "Philadelphia Society One Hundred Years Ago," read before that society in May, 1879, and published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* (vol. iii. No. 4), we find that Miss Peggy Shippen was then not eighteen, but an acknowledged leading belle, and very beautiful. It has been denied that the three Misses Shippen were present at the Meschianza, and Mr.



THE MESCHIANZA PROCESSION.

Stone quotes a letter from Mr. Laurence Lewis, Jr., on the subject, in which he says,—

"You stated that Mrs. Arnold and her two sisters (daughters of Shippen, C. J.) were present at the Meschianza. Although all the printed and published accounts of that festivity have made a similar statement, the tradition in the Shippen family has always been to the contrary. The young ladies had been invited, and had arranged to go; their names were upon the programmes, and their dresses actually prepared, but at the last moment their father was visited by some of his friends, prominent members of the Society of Friends, who persuaded him that it would be by no means seemly that his daughters should appear in public in the Turkish dresses designed for the occasion. Consequently, although they are said to have been in a *dancing fury*, they were obliged to stay away. This same story has, I know, come down independently through several branches of the family, and was told me repeatedly, the last time not more than two years ago, by an old lady of the family, who was the niece of Mrs. Arnold and her sisters, and who has since died."

Miss Franks (whose name is said to have been Polly or Mary) was the daughter of David Franks, and married Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Johnson, of the British army. Miss W. Smith was Williamina Smith,

daughter of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., provost of the college, who afterwards married Charles Goldsborough, of Long Neck, Dorchester Co., Md.¹

In the costumes of the ladies a uniformity similar to that adopted by the knights was observed. The Ladies of the Blended Rose each wore a white silk polonaise, which formed a flowing robe, and was open in front to the waist. The pink sash, six inches wide, was filled with spangles. The shoes and stockings were spangled; also the veil, which was edged with silver lace. The head-dress was towering, in the



HEAD-DRESS FOR THE MESCHIANZA.
[From a drawing by Major André.]

fashion of the time, and filled with profusion of pearls and jewels. The Ladies of the Burning Mountain wore white silk gowns trimmed with black, and white sashes edged with black, in style similar to that of the Ladies of the Blended Rose. There were about fifty unmarried ladies present; the others were married, but the fair sex was but slimly represented, as most of the ladies had left the city on the approach of the British.

"After they had rode round the lists and made their obeisance to the ladies," continues André's narrative,

"they drew up fronting the White Knights, and the chief of these having thrown down his gauntlet, the chief of the Black Knights di-

rected his esquire to take it up. The knights then received their lances from their esquires, fixed their shields on their left arms, and, making a general salute to each other by a very graceful movement of their lances, turned round to take their career, and, encountering in full gallop, shivered their spears. In the second and third encounter they discharged their pistols. In the fourth they fought with their swords. At length the two chiefs, spurring forward into the centre, engaged furiously in single combat, till the marshal of the field, Maj. Gwyne, rushed in between the chiefs and declared that the fair damsels of the Blended Rose and Burning Mountain were perfectly satisfied with the proofs of love and the signal feats of valor given by their respective knights, and commanded them, as they prized the future favors of their mistresses, that they should instantly desist from further combat. Obedience being paid by the chiefs to this order, they joined their respective bands. The White Knights and their attendants filed off to the left, the Black Knights to the right, and, passing each other at the lower side of the quadrangle, moved up alternately till they approached the pavilions of the ladies, when they gave a general salute.

"A passage being now opened between the two pavilions, the knights, preceded by their squires and the bands of music, rode through the first triumphal arch, and arranged themselves to the right and left. This arch was erected in honor of Lord Howe. It presented two fronts, in the Tuscan order. The pediment was adorned with various naval trophies, and at top was the figure of Neptune, with a trident in his right hand. In a niche on each side stood a sailor with a drawn cutlass. Three plumes of feathers were placed on the summit of each wing, and in the entablature was this inscription: '*Laus illi debetur, et a me gratia major.*' The interval between the two arches was an avenue three hundred feet long and thirty-four broad. It was lined on each side with a file of troops, and the colors of all the army, planted at proper distances, had a beautiful effect in diversifying the scene. Between these colors the knights and squires took their stations. The bands continued to play several pieces of martial music. The company moved forward in procession, with the ladies in the Turkish habits in front. As these passed they were saluted by their knights, who then dismounted and joined them, and in this order we were all conducted into a garden that fronted the house, through the second triumphal arch, dedicated to the general. This arch was also built in the Tuscan order. On the interior part of the pediment was painted a plume of feathers and various military trophies. At top stood the figure of Fame, and in the entablature this device: '*I, bone, quo te virtus vocat tua; I p-de fusulo.*' On the right-hand pillar was placed a bomb-shell, and on the left a flaming heart. The front next the house was adorned with preparations for a firework. From the garden we ascended a flight of steps, covered with carpets, which led into a spacious hall, the panels painted in imitation of Sienna marble, inclosing festoons of white marble. The surbase and all below was black.² In this hall and in the adjoining apartments were prepared tea, lemonade, and other cooling liquors, to which the company seated themselves, during which time the knights came in, and on the knee received their favors from their respective ladies. One of these rooms was afterwards appropriated for the use of the Pharaoh-table. As you entered if you saw, on a panel over the chimney, a cornucopia, exuberantly filled with flowers of the richest colors. Over the door, as you went out, another presented itself,—shrunk, reversed, and emptied.

"From these apartments we were conducted up to a ball-room, decorated, in a light, elegant style of painting. The ground was a pale blue, paneled, with a small gold bead, and in the interior filled with dropping festoons of flowers in their natural colors. Below the surbase the ground was of rose-pink, with drapery festooned in blue. These decorations were heightened by eighty-five mirrors, decked with rose-pink silk ribbons and artificial flowers, and in the intermediate spaces were thirty-four branches with wax-lights, ornamented in a similar manner.

"On the same floor were four drawing-rooms, with sideboards of refreshments, decorated and lighted in the same style and taste as the ball-room. The ball was opened by the knights and their ladies, and the dances continued till ten o'clock, when the windows were thrown open, and a magnificent bouquet of rockets began the fireworks. These were planned by Capt. Montresor, the chief engineer, and consisted of twenty different exhibitions, displayed under his direction with the happiest success, and in the highest style of beauty. Toward the conclusion the interior part of the triumphal arch was illuminated, amid an uninterrupted flight of rockets and bursting of balloons. The military trophies

¹ In the account of the Meschianza, written by one of the company said to be an American, and republished from the *United States Gazette* in "Hazard's Register," vol. xiv. pp. 295-7, the names of the ladies are stated thus: Ladies of the Blended Rose,—Miss Auchmuty, Miss Peggy Chew, Miss Jenny Craig, Miss Wilhelmina Bond, Miss Nancy White, and Miss Nancy Reiman; Ladies of the Burning Mountain,—Miss Becky Franks, Miss Becky Bond, Miss Becky Redman, Miss Sally Chew, and Miss Williamina Smith.

² The decorations were painted by Maj. André and Capt. Oliver Delancy. The "Sienna marble" walls were of canvas. The mirrors and other ornaments were borrowed from Philadelphia families.

on each side assumed a variety of transparent colors. The shell and flaming heart on the wings sent forth Chinese fountains, succeeded by fire-pots. Flame appeared at top spangled with stars, and from her trumpet blowing the following device in letters of light: '*Tes Lauriers sont immortels!*' A sauteur of rockets, bursting from the pedestal, concluded the feu d'artifice.

"At twelve supper was announced; and large folding-doors, hitherto artfully concealed, being suddenly thrown open, discovered a magnificent saloon of two hundred and ten feet by forty, and twenty-two feet in height, with three alcoves on each side, which served for side-bourds. The ceiling was a segment of a circle, and the sides were painted of a light straw color, with vine leaves and festoons of flowers,—some in a bright, some in a darkish, green. Fifty-six large pier-glasses, ornamented with green silk, artificial flowers, and ribbons; one hundred branches, with three lights in each, trimmed in the same manner as the mirrors; eighteen lustres, each with twenty-four lights, suspended from the ceiling, and ornamented as the branches; three hundred wax tapers, disposed along the supper-tables; four hundred and thirty covers; twelve hundred dishes; twenty-four black slaves in Oriental dresses, with silver collars and bracelets, ranged in two lines, and bending to the ground as the general and admiral approached the saloon,—all these forming together the most brilliant assemblage of gay objects, and appearing at once as we entered by an easy descent, exhibited a coup d'œil beyond description magnificent.

"Toward the end of supper the herald of the Bleeded Rose, in his habit of ceremony, attended by his trumpets, entered the saloon and proclaimed the king's health, the queen's, and the royal family; the army and navy, with their respective commanders; the knights and their ladies; the ladies in general. Each of these toasts was followed by a flourish of music. After supper we returned to the ball-room, and continued to dance till four o'clock."¹

Two addresses in verse, supposed to have been written by André, were to have been delivered, one by the herald, and the other by a person dressed as "Mercury," or some other mythological character, but were omitted.

At night, while the ball was in full progress, an attack on the abatis north of the city, connecting the line of redoubts, was made by the indefatigable Capt. McLane, at the head of one hundred infantry and Clow's dragoons. McLane divided his command into four squads, each of which was provided with camp-kettles, filled with combustibles. The latter were so placed by the soldiers that, at a given signal, the whole line of the abatis was fired. The sudden

blaze took the British by surprise, the long roll was beaten, the guns in the redoubt were fired, the ships-of-war and transports on the river, and the park of artillery in Southwark replied, and general alarm and confusion reigned. At the Meschianza it was represented that the fusillade was in honor of the celebration. The ladies were thus reassured and the entertainment proceeded. In the mean time, McLane having accomplished his purpose, which was to annoy and frighten the British garrison, retreated along the road to Wissahickon, pursued by dragoons as far as Barren Hill, where they captured a picket and an ensign. McLane escaped by swimming his horse

across the Schuylkill, and was protected by Morgan's riflemen, stationed on the opposite bank.

Throughout the entire night the festivities of the Meschianza continued with unabated mirth and spirit, and when the dancing ceased the sun was more than an hour high.²

Gen. Howe's participation in the Meschianza was severely criticised by those who regarded it as undignified and unbecoming. Howe, it was said, had accomplished nothing in the campaign that justified laudation, and in permitting himself to be the object of such an extravagant compliment had been guilty of an act of folly not to be pardoned in one who occupied so grave and responsible a post. Galloway was particularly bitter in his strictures, characterizing Howe's "vanity and presumption" as "unparalleled in history."

He had accepted, said Galloway, "from a few of his officers a triumph more magnificent than would have become the conqueror of America, without the consent of his sovereign or the approbation of his country; and that at the time when the news of a war with France had just arrived, and in the very city,—the capital of North America, the late seat of the Congress,—which was in a few days to be delivered up to that Congress."³ But in permitting the



¹ In melancholy contrast with the bright scenes of the Meschianza, which André depicts so graphically, was that ill-fated officer's death on the gallows two years later. Captured within the American lines, and convicted of complicity in Benedict Arnold's treason, he was hanged at Tappan, N. Y., on the 2d of October, 1780.

² Bancroft, quoting from the manuscripts of Münchhausen, aide-de-camp of Gen. Howe, adds that a feature of the entertainment was a gaming-table. André speaks of it as a "Pharaoh," or faro bank, which opened with a bank of two thousand guineas.

³ The author of a pamphlet published at London, entitled "Strictures

Meschianza Howe had a purpose to serve, which was to show the ministry that its treatment of him had not received the indorsement of his officers. "Never," says Bancroft, "had subordinates given a more brilliant farewell to a departing general, and it was doubly dear to their commander; for it expressed their belief that the ministry had wronged him, and that his own virtue pointed him out for advancement."¹

Shortly after the close of the entertainment, on the following day, the British commander was informed that Lafayette with twenty-five hundred men and eight cannon had crossed the Schuylkill and was then at Barren Hill. In the hope of capturing this force, and thus signaling his retirement from the command by a brilliant stroke, Howe, on the night of the 19th, sent Gen. Grant, with Sir William Erskine and Gen. Grey, at the head of five thousand three hundred chosen men, to gain the rear of Lafayette's position by a circuitous route, and himself, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, Gen. Knyphausen, and Admiral Howe, set out with five thousand seven hundred troops, on the following morning, expecting to intercept the American army in retreat at Chestnut Hill. Lafayette's forces were posted near the Schuylkill, west of the Wissahickon, on Ridge road, some distance below Matson's Ford, and southwest of the road to White Marsh. In the rear of this position the Ridge road forked, one branch leading to Matson's, the other to Swede's Ford. Below the American camp and near the river the ground was broken and rocky and partially covered by woods, and on the east stone houses intervened between Lafayette's position and the road. Allen McLane, with fifty Indians, was posted on the Ridge road, together with a company of Morgan's riflemen, under Capt. Parr. The White Marsh road was guarded by a detachment of Pennsylvania troops. The British plan of surprise was well conceived. Grant, with the grenadiers and light infantry, undertook to get in Lafayette's rear by marching to Frankford, and thence across country by the White Marsh road. Grey, with the Hessians, was to cross the river and post his men at the fords in order to prevent the Americans from making their

escape. Fortune favored the British in so far that the Pennsylvania militia, disobeying orders, abandoned their post near the White Marsh road, and the British advance was mistaken for that of a troop of American dragoons who wore scarlet uniforms. But when the enemy were in possession of the road leading to White Marsh, within a mile of Lafayette's camp, news was brought that British and not American troops were approaching. No time was to be lost. In a few minutes retreat would have been cut off and the army would have fallen an easy prey to the enemy. Lafayette immediately sent forward small bodies of troops with the view of deceiving Grant into the belief that they were the heads of a large attacking force. The ruse succeeded. Grant halted and prepared for action, and during the interval thus gained Lafayette and Gen. Poor, with the main body, conducted a skillful retreat over the country between the Ridge road and the Schuylkill, which he crossed at Matson's Ford. Grey with his intercepting force had cut off the direct retreat to Valley Forge, but had failed to cover Matson's Ford. The detachments which Lafayette had thrown forward as a "blind" retreated in good order, and when the two columns of the British army united near Barren Hill Church, Gen. Howe discovered that his intended prize had outwitted and escaped him.

After a skirmish at Matson's Ford, in which nine Americans were killed or captured and two British troopers killed and several wounded, Lafayette drew up his force in strong position on the west bank of the river, and, having planted his cannon, awaited the enemy's approach. But the British generals made no further movement in that direction, and the army was forced to return to Philadelphia, after a long and fatiguing march, without having accomplished anything.²

Although palpably a failure, the affair was described by the Tory organs in the most favorable light, and an attempt was made to represent Lafayette's retreat as ignominious. But the truth was soon demonstrated by the misfortunes which overtook

on the Philadelphia Meschianza, or Triumph of leaving America Unconquered," attacked Gen. Howe in the strongest terms. "What are we to think," he asked, "of a beaten general's debasing the king's ensigns (for he had none of his enemy's) by planting all the colors of the army in a grand avenue of three hundred feet in length, lined with the king's troops, between two triumphal arches, for himself and his brother to march along in pompous procession, followed by a numerous train of attendants, with seven silken knights of the Blended Rose, and seven more of the Burning Mountain, and their fourteen Turkey-dressed camels, to an area of one hundred and fifty yards square, lined also with the king's troops, for the exhibition of a tilt and tournament or mock-fight of old chivalry in honor of this triumphant hero; and all this sea and land ovation made—not in consequence of an uninterrupted succession of victories like those of the Duke of Marlborough—not after the conquest of Canada by a Wolfe, a Townshend, and an Amherst, or after the much more valuable conquest of all the French provinces and possessions in India, under the wise and active Gen. Coote—but after thirteen provinces wretchedly lost, and a three-years' series of ruinous disgraces and defeats."

¹ Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. x. p. 119.

² "Howe and the British officers," says Thompson Westcott, "were intensely mortified at this failure. So sure were they of success that it is said that before the troops left town for Barren Hill the general invited some ladies to sup with Lafayette upon his return, while his brother, the admiral, prepared a frigate to send the distinguished prisoner at once to England."

"Nor did Howe's enemies fail to seize upon it as another evidence of his incapacity. Joseph Galloway and Isaac Ogden were especially severe in their criticisms, the former declaring that nothing had been wanting 'but a small share of military exertion or perhaps inclination, to take or destroy the chief force of the American army'; and the latter that the historian would not gain credit who should relate 'that at least twenty-four thousand of the best troops in the world were shut within their lines by fifteen thousand at most of poor wretches who were illly paid, badly fed, and worse clothed, and scarce, at best, deserved the name of soldiers.' But the sole responsibility for the *fiasco* of Barren Hill cannot be laid on Howe. The movement was well contrived, and only failed through the want of proper execution of details on the part of Howe's subordinates. Sir Henry Clinton afterwards testified before Parliament that he was not in command of the army at the time, but that the movement had his unequalled approval."

themselves. One of these journals, the royal *Pennsylvania Gazette*, suspended four days after the publication of an article in relation to the engagement, in which it asserted that "Mr. Washington and his tattered retinue" had fled precipitately back to their camp, "determined to act no further on the offensive than might be consistent with their personal safety," and the *Pennsylvania Ledger* ceased to appear with the issue of the 23d. On the following day (May 24th), Gen. Howe relinquished the command to Sir Henry Clinton, and embarked for England. His departure was marked by unusual demonstrations of affection and respect on the part of his officers. "I am just returned," writes André, in a postscript to his letter, describing the Meschianza, "from conducting our beloved general to the waterside and have seen him receive a more flattering testimony of the love and attachment of his army than all the pomp and splendor of the Meschianza could convey to him. I have seen the most gallant of our officers, and those whom I least suspected of giving such instances of their affection, shed tears while they bid him farewell. The gallant and affectionate general of the Hessians, Knyphausen, was so moved that he could not finish a compliment he began to pay him in his own name and that of his officers who attended him. . . . On my return I saw nothing but dejected countenances." Howe undoubtedly possessed the confidence of his officers and is conceded to have been a brave and experienced general; yet it is none the less true that the Americans profited immensely by his indolence, his blunders, and his failure to grasp his opportunities.

On the day of Howe's departure a council of war was held under Sir Henry Clinton, at which it was resolved to evacuate the city, and on the following day a circular was distributed requesting the attendance of gentlemen, merchants, and citizens, at the British Tavern, formerly the Indian King, "on business of importance." At this meeting, probably, "full information of the intended evacuation of the city was given, so that all those who could not safely remain might prepare for flight. Some time previously notice had been given that all deserters from the American army who desired to be sent to England would receive passage, and many availed themselves of the privilege."¹ Two days later the Supreme Executive Council wrote to Gen. Washington asking that measures be taken to prevent disorder in the event of the reoccupation of the city, as it was feared that mischievous consequences might result from the efforts of the Whigs to revenge themselves for the indignities and wrongs they had suffered at the hands of the Tory inhabitants. A reply was immediately sent promising that suitable precautions would be adopted.

In the mean time, Clinton, anxious to penetrate the

designs of Washington, sent out spies for that purpose, one of whom, Thomas Shank, who had formerly been an American officer, was captured at Valley Forge on the 4th of June, and, having confessed that he was an emissary of Joseph Galloway, was immediately hanged. On the following day, Clinton sent Joshua Loring, the British commissary of prisoners, to the American lines with the request that an exchange of prisoners be made immediately, as the British forces were about to evacuate the city. Elias Boudinot, the American commissary, was accordingly sent to Philadelphia to effect the desired exchange, and, on his arrival there found the British on the point of leaving for New York. The arrival, on the 6th of June, of Earl Carlisle, William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, and George Johnston (Governor Johnston, of New York), commissioners appointed under the new conciliatory acts of Parliament for negotiating peace, delayed the departure of Clinton for some days. The commissioners, on reaching Philadelphia, found that they had come on a fruitless errand. Lord Howe and Sir Henry Clinton had each already conveyed the action of Parliament to Congress, which had replied on the very day of the arrival of the peace commissioners, that it had already expressed its sentiments "on bills not essentially different from those acts," and that when the king of Great Britain should be seriously disposed to end the unprovoked war against the United States, it would "readily attend to such terms of peace as may consist with the honor of independent nations." Nor, it would seem, had the British ministry anticipated anything else than a rejection of the terms proposed by Parliament. They had been suggested and the commission created merely for the purpose of pacifying the House of Commons, and reconciling the people of England to a further prosecution of the war. Two of the men who were thus sent to treat with Congress were notoriously hostile to the American cause. Carlisle, the first commissioner, had in the House of Lords "spoken with warmth upon the insolence of the rebels" for refusing to treat with the Howes, and had stigmatized the people of America as "base and unnatural children" of England. The second commissioner was an under secretary, whose chief, a few weeks before in the same assembly, had scoffed at Congress as a "body of vagrants." The third was Johnston, who had lately in Parliament justified the Americans and charged the king with hypocrisy. There was never any expectation on the part of the ministry that the commission would be successful, or it would have been differently constituted. In the certainty that it would not be received, Germaine had given orders for the prosecution of the war and on a different plan, such as a consciousness of weakness might inspire in a cruel and revengeful mind. Clinton was ordered to abandon Philadelphia; to hold New York and Rhode Island; to curtail the boundaries of the thirteen States on the northeast and on the south; to lay waste Virginia by

¹ Thompson Westcott.

means of ships-of-war; and to attack Providence, Boston, and all accessible ports between New York and Nova Scotia, destroying vessels, wharves, stores, and materials for ship-building. At the same time the Indians from Detroit, all along the frontiers of the West and South to Florida, were to be hounded on to spread dismay and to murder. No active operations at the north were expected except the devastation of towns on the sea, and raids of the allied savages on the border.¹

The peace commissioners left England in ignorance of these preparations, and arrived at Philadelphia without the least suspicion that their instructions had been practically superseded in advance. "In sailing up the Delaware they had seen enough 'to regret ten thousand times that their rulers, instead of a tour through the worn-out countries of Europe, had not finished their education with a visit round the coasts and rivers of this beautiful and boundless continent.' The English rivers sunk for them into rills; they predicted that in a few years the opulent 'village' of Philadelphia, which it seemed to them most melancholy to desert, would become a magnificent metropolis." What was their chagrin, however, on reaching Philadelphia to find that Congress had rejected the terms they had come to propose, and that the city was about to be evacuated by the British troops. "He found everything here in confusion," wrote Lord Carlisle, "the army upon the point of leaving town, and about three thousand of the miserable inhabitants embarked on board our ships, to convey them from a place where they thought they would receive no mercy from those who will take possession after us." It was said at the time that if Philadelphia was left to the "rebels" independence would be practically acknowledged, and America lost; but no other course was possible now. The evacuation had been practically determined on, and its effect would be, of course, to encourage Congress in its resistance, and to revive the drooping spirits of Americans everywhere. While recognizing the fact that their mission was ended, Lord Carlisle and his colleagues undertook to effect something in the direction of a peaceful settlement by addressing a letter to Congress, insinuating that France was the common enemy, and offering to recognize the colonies as States, to grant them freedom of legislation and internal improvement, representation in Parliament, and exemption from the presence of military forces except by their own permission. This action was taken without authority, and was resented by Congress as an insult to its honor. "The idea of dependence," declared Congress, "is inadmissible," and nothing short of "an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States," or the withdrawal of the royal fleets and armies would, it was declared, be accepted as the basis of an amicable settlement.

¹ Bancroft, vol. x. pp. 123-24.

A portion of the British army had withdrawn from Philadelphia even before the arrival of the peace commissioners. On the 3d of June three regiments crossed the Delaware and encamped in the neighborhood of Cooper's Ferry and Gloucester. The upper redoubts were gradually evacuated, the tents that had whitened the high ground to the north of the city disappeared, and on the morning of the 18th of June, just one month after the dazzling pageant of the Meschianza, the main body of the army moved out of Philadelphia down into the Neck, and embarked for the Jersey shore. By ten o'clock the rear guard had crossed to Gloucester Point, and the evacuation of the city had been successfully accomplished.

During the British occupation of Philadelphia the Tory inhabitants, as we have seen, had not been slow in gratifying their animosity towards the Whigs. Property was seized and used for their personal benefit, and various acts of devastation committed by Tories and British officers. "It would be in vain," writes Pierre Du Simitiere, a Frenchman, who remained in the town, to Col. Lamb, "to attempt to give you an account of the devastation they committed in the environs of the city indiscriminately on Whig and Tory property, but am very certain that you would not know them again. The persecution that numbers of worthy citizens underwent from the malice of the Tories; the tyranny of the police on all those they supposed to be friends to the liberties of America; all these would fill up a volume." From the appraisal of damages made in 1782, in accordance with an act of the General Assembly, it appears that the loss sustained by the inhabitants of Philadelphia amounted to £187,280 5s. 0d., but this sum is believed to have embraced only the more important claims. The British officers also left behind them debts estimated at ten thousand pounds.²

In view of the bitter feeling which these proceedings were calculated to engender among the Whigs, now on the eve of returning to homes from which they had been banished, the more active Tories naturally hesitated to remain behind, and many sought safety in flight. Some three thousand, as has been stated, went on board the British vessels. The rest accompanied the army in its march through Jersey, and

² Gen. Howe was severely criticised for the luxurious manner in which he lived during his stay in Philadelphia. "He passed the winter," says Bancroft, "in corrupting his own army by his example of licentiousness, and teaching the young officers how to ruin themselves by gaming." Hundreds of young men, asserted an English writer in an attack on Howe, "were ruined at the gambling-tables in Philadelphia and New York,—places of certain distinction, protected and countenanced by the commander-in-chief. Our officers were practising at the dice-box or studying the chances of piquet, when they should have been storming towns and crushing the spirit of rebellion; and the barlot's eye glistened with wanton pleasure at the general's table, when the brightness of his sword should have reflected terror on the faces of the rebels. Cleopatra's banquet was in continual representation, and the American Antony at the head of each feast."

Watson, quoting the recollections of a lady, says (vol. ii. p. 285) that Howe's companions were "usually a set of boys, the most dissipated fellows in the army."

greatly impeded the movements of the troops in their efforts to carry with them their baggage and effects. Their flight was most deplorable. Compelled to abandon their property to the tender mercies of the Whigs, whom they had insulted, persecuted and driven into exile, and to expose themselves, their wives, and children, to the rigors of a military march, pursued by an active and untiring enemy, without knowing where they would be able to find shelter and food at the end of the weary and uncertain journey, their misery was heightened by contrast with the luxurious ease and abundance, the brightness and gayety of their lives, during the period of the British occupation. Plays, balls, and entertainments of various kinds had made the days glide by for many of them like some fairy dream; and for even the staidest and most sober the nine months during which the British had occupied Philadelphia had been a grateful season of security and peace. But now all was changed. "In the streets that had lately had the air of one continuous market day," says Bancroft, "the stillness was broken by auctions of furniture which lay in heaps on the sidewalk. Those who resolved to stay roused mournfully from a delusive confidence in British protection to restless anxiety. . . . To the loyalists the retreat appeared as a violation of the faith of the British king. The winter's revelry was over; honors and offices turned suddenly to bitterness and ashes; papers of protection were become only an opprobrium and a peril. Crowds of wretched refugees, with all of their possessions which they could transport, fled with the army. The sky sparkled with stars; the air of the summer night was soft and tranquil, as the exiles, broken in fortune and without a career, went in despair from the only city they could love."¹ The British vessels which had dropped down the river on the 17th were crowded with refugees, and on the following day, those who had decided to accompany the army set out on their journey, pausing, perhaps, on the Jersey shore to take a last look at their homes, but only to see McLane and his hated Whig troopers galloping through the streets of the deserted city.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PHILADELPHIA DURING THE REVOLUTION.

PART III.—FROM THE AMERICAN REOCCUPATION TO THE DECLARATION OF PEACE, JAN. 22, 1784.

WASHINGTON lost no time in pushing into Philadelphia. As the enemy retreated into the Neck, Capt. Allen McLane and his cavalry hovered on their rear, and, advancing to Dock Creek bridge, surprised and captured Capt. Sandford. An unsuccessful attempt was made to seize the adjutant-general on

Second Street, near Chestnut, but turning up Walnut Street, at the bridge over Dock Creek, McLane came upon Frederick Varnum, keeper of the prison under Galloway, whom he took into custody. Having heard that several officers were near the Bettering House, he proceeded in that direction, but they had passed down South Street and effected their escape. Many of the officers lingered so long in town that they came very near falling into the hands of the Americans.²

On the day following the evacuation Philadelphia was formally reoccupied by the American troops and Gen. Benedict Arnold placed in command of the city. Arnold, who was then very popular, owing to his conspicuous services in the campaign which had resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne, established his headquarters at the residence of Henry Gurney, but in a few days removed to Mrs. Master's house, in Market Street, formerly occupied by Gen. Howe, "where he entered upon a style of living but ill according with republican simplicity, giving sumptuous entertainments that involved him in expenses and debt, and most probably laid the foundation, in his necessities and poverty, of his future deception and treason to his country."³ Arnold was accompanied by the Massachusetts Continental regiment, commanded by Col. Jackson. On the day of his entrance into the city he issued a proclamation reciting the resolution adopted by Congress on the 4th of June requesting Washington to take measures for the preservation of order in the town, and to prevent the removal, transfer, or sale of goods or merchandise in possession of the inhabitants belonging to the king of Great Britain. All persons having European, East or West India goods—iron, leather, shoes, wines, and provisions of every kind—beyond the necessary use of a private family were ordered to make return to the town-major at his quarters on Front Street, the fourth door from the Coffee-House (corner of Market Street), by twelve on the 20th. Under these orders the shops were closed, notice being given that the removal, transfer, or sale of goods made without permission would be considered a breach of the regulations of Congress, and that such goods would be seized and confiscated for the public use. All persons having in their possession stores or property belonging to subjects of the king of Great Britain

² "When they [the British] left the city," says Deborah Logan (Watson, vol. ii. p. 286), "the officers came to take leave of their acquaintances and express their good wishes. It seemed to us that a considerable change had taken place in their prospects of success between the time of their entry and departure. They often spoke freely, in conversation, on these subjects. The Honorable Cosmo Gordon stayed all night at his quarters, and lay in bed so long the next morning that the family thought it but kind to waken him and tell him 'his friends, the rebels, were in town.' It was with great difficulty he procured a boat to put him over the Delaware. Perhaps he and his man were the last that embarked. Many soldiers, hiding themselves in cellars and other places, stayed behind. In two hours after we saw the last of them, our own dragoons galloped down the street."

³ Deborah Logan.

were directed to make a like report, and a reward was promised to all who should discover the place of concealment of such effects.¹

Harboring or concealing British officers or soldiers, or deserters from the Continental army, in the city or suburbs, was declared to be an offense for which severe punishment would be meted out. On the following day (June 20th) another proclamation was issued notifying the country people that the city was open and that markets would be held as usual. Congress met again at the State-House on the 25th of June, and the Supreme Executive Council held its first meeting on the following day.

The inhabitants who had fled from the city or been driven out during Tory supremacy now began to return, and in the course of a few weeks most of them were again in possession of their homes. They found the city in a wretched condition,—filthy, ruinous, dreary. In his *Remembrancer*, Christopher Marshall vividly depicts the destruction wrought by the enemy. "Within a mile or two" of the city, he says, writing under date of June 23d, "was presented a new prospect; houses ruined and destroyed, fields of fine corn without fences, etc." June 24th, he writes, "Viewing the desolation with the dirt, filth, stench, and flies in and about the town, scarcely credible." June 25th, "Took a walk by myself to our once rural, beautiful place near barracks. Now nothing but a wanton desolation and destruction that struck me with horror and detestation of the promoters and executors of such horrid deeds. My mind was so pained I soon returned into the city." June 26th, "Breakfasted and dined at Stephen Collins'. . . In the interval engaged in viewing some of our and others houses with wonder and amazement on the scenes of malice and wanton cruelty. Yet my late dwelling-house is not so bad as many others. Yet grief seized me on beholding the ruins, viz., houses quite demolished, of which ours, near the Bettering House, was quite gone, with the brick walls, chimneys, etc.; the doors, cases, windows, roofs, etc., either destroyed or carried away entirely."

The spectacle of filth and ruin which presented itself to their eyes, accustomed to the neatness, cleanliness, and good order of the prim Quaker town, as well as the wanton destruction of their property, exasperated the Whigs, who determined to seek reprisals on the Tories. Many complaints of robberies and acts of vandalism were preferred. Whitehead Humphreys gave notice that "Joseph Fox, a noted traitor, had seized and taken away four tons of blistered steel, and all the apparatus belonging to the steel furnace," which he had sold to some persons in the city. Henry Miller, the German printer, suffered the loss

of his printing-office and materials, which were then as complete as any in America. James Robertson, the Tory printer of the royal *Pennsylvania Gazette*, was the person who carried off the printing press and property, using a number of the king's wagons for the purpose. Robertson alleged that Gen. Howe had given him the type as a compensation for the loss of his own printing materials at Albany, taken from him by the Whigs. Rev. Michael Schlatter complained that his dwelling at Chestnut Hill had been "cruelly plundered" by the British troops, who had carried off many valuable books together with a number of household articles.²

Thomas Hale and Nicholas Weaver, on behalf of a large number of Whigs who had suffered at the hands of the British,³ addressed the Supreme Executive

² The following is a list of those who, according to the appraisement of 1782, suffered damages exceeding one thousand pounds:

	£	s.	d.
William Young, Dock Ward, south	1797	7	6
John Cornman, " "	1435	0	0
Isaac Snowden, " north	1400	0	0
William Henry, " "	3645	0	0
Levi Hollingsworth, " "	1665	2	0
Alexander Rutherford, Dock Ward, north	1100	5	0
Benjamin Randolph, Middle Ward	511	10	0
Andrew Hedges, Upper Delaware Ward	1168	0	0
Charles Meredith, " "	1350	0	0
Thomas W. Smith, " "	3000	0	0
John Coburn, High Street Ward	2450	0	0
Adam Zantlinger, North Ward	1280	0	0
George Schlosser, Mulberry Ward, east	2130	0	0
David Schaffer, Jr., " "	3742	17	0
William Rush, " "	2261	5	0
Daniel Joy, " west	1504	13	5
Jacob Hoffman and Christian Leech, Blockley	1176	10	0
Ullas Kerper, Germantown	1750	11	0
Henry Cross, " "	1275	13	9
Samuel Mechin, " "	1571	17	6
George Losch, " "	2412	11	3
Adam Giltre, Kingessing	2284	13	6
Lawrence Varrence, Moyamensing	1171	9	9
Samuel Bruster, Northern Liberties, east	4243	0	0
Elias Lewis Treichel, " "	1000	0	0
Mary Nelson, " "	1000	0	0
Isaac Norris' estate, " "	4637	10	0
Jehu Eyre, " "	3899	14	5
Peter Brown, " "	3110	0	0
William Ball, " "	1385	3	0
Richard Penn and Sarah Masters' estate, Northern Liberties, east	1562	10	0
William Masters' estate, Northern Liberties, west	4890	0	0
John Bergman's estate, " "	1261	10	0
Christian Grover, Passyunk	2216	9	0
Anty Berkenbill and George Grays' estate, Passyunk	1077	17	6
Richard Dennis, Southwark	5622	5	8
Luke Morris, " "	1222	0	0
Isaac Penrose, " "	1125	0	0
George Goodwin, " "	2000	0	0
William Fullerton, " "	1863	9	6
John Jost, " "	2625	16	0
Joseph Turner, " "	1191	16	0
William Dewry, " "	1525	18	0
Robert Knox, " "	2335	0	0
John Ball, Norrington	2030	15	0
University's estate, late John Ball's	1000	0	0

In Germantown the claims numbered one hundred and thirty-seven. No claim was made for the damage done to the Chew house. The Moravian meeting, East Mulberry Ward, claimed thirty-nine pounds; the German Lutheran Church, Germantown, £156 2s. 6d. The German Reformed Church, in the same place, also claimed damages. No claim was made for the Zion Lutheran Church, in the city, or St. George's, both of which were materially injured by the British.

³ The following inhabitants of Philadelphia City and County were attainted as traitors, and proclamation was made against them during the British occupation of the city:

¹ Part of the property discovered and seized under this order was a quantity of salt exceeding four thousand bushels in Pritchard's stores, on the south side of Chestnut Street wharf, consigned to Amos Foulke and William Buckhouse, British subjects, who, on the day before the evacuation, sold it to Alexander Wilcocks John Wilcocks, and William McMurtrie. In December the sheriff was ordered to deliver the salt to George Henry, commissary of stores, for the use of the army.

May 8, 1778.—Of the City: Enoch Story, late merchant; Samuel Garrigues, the elder, late clerk of the market and trader; James Stevenson, late baker; Abram Carlisle, house-carpenter; Peter Deshong, miller; Alexander Bartram, trader; Christian Hook, attorney-at-law; Peter Miller, scrivener; Lodowick Kerker, butcher; Philip Marching-

Council, requesting that more stringent measures be taken for the seizure of the property of Tories; but that body declined to adopt their recommendation on the ground that the laws would not justify them in doing so. Complaints against persons for assisting the British army were preferred before Chief Justice

ton, trader; Edward Haulon, cooper and vintner; Alfred Clifton, gentleman; Arthur Thomas, breeches-maker.

Of the County: Thomas Livezey, of Roxborough, miller; John Roberts, of Lower Merion, miller; Robert Iredale, the younger, and Thomas Iredale, of Horeham, laborers; Joshua Knight, of Abington, blacksmith; John Knight, tanner; Isaac Knight, husbandman; Albion Walton, of Philadelphia; Henry Hugh Ferguson, commissary of prisoners to Gen. Howe. These were ordered to surrender themselves for trial on or before the 25th of June, 1778.

May 21, 1778.—*Of the City:* Abel James, merchant; James Humphreys, the elder; James Humphreys, the younger, printer; Henry Lisle, John Hart, Charles Hart, David Sprout, Thomas Story, Malcolm Ross, William Price, Thomas Roker, and Trench Cox, merchants; Abel Evans, attorney-at-law; Benjamin Titeley and Peter Howard, traders; Coleman Fisher (son of William Fisher); William Clifton, gentleman; James Stevens, late baker; Bowyer Brookes, ship-carpenter; John Allen, carpenter and tallow-chandler; William Austin, yeoman, late keeper of the New Jersey Ferry; Kenneth McCullough, yeoman; Charles Stedman, the younger, attorney-at-law; John Shepherd, stable-keeper; James Delaplaine, late barber; Robert Currie, leather breeches-maker; Thomas Badge and William Compton, tallow chandlers; Peter Sutter, batter; James Biddle, tavern-keeper; John Parrock, yeoman; John Young, heretofore of Graeme Park, gentleman; Oswald Eve, late of the Northern Liberties, merchant and gunpowder maker.

Of the County: David Potts, of Pottsgrove (son of John Potts); Christopher Saur, the elder, and Christopher Saur, the younger, printers; Joseph Shoemaker and Abraham Pastorius, tanners; Andrew Hathe, inn-keeper; Melchior Meng, carter and baker; and Jacob Meng, of Germantown township; Peter Robeson and Jonathan Robeson, the younger; sons of Jonathan Roberts, of White Marsh; Abraham Iredell, surveyor; James Davis; William Christy, mason; John Roberts, laborer, of Horeham; John Roberts, blacksmith; Nathan Carver, wheelwright; Israel Evans, blacksmith, of Upper Dublin; John Huntsman, miller; Robert Conrad, mason; Enoch Supplee, farmer; and William Evans, carpenter, of Norriton; Nicholas Knight, line-burner; John Parker, John Lisle, Robert Lisle, laborers, of Plymouth; Jacob Richardson, carpenter, of Upper Merion; Stephen Stiger, yeoman, of Whitpain; William McMurray, merchant; and Edw. Stiles, mariner and merchant, of Oxford. They were ordered to surrender themselves for trial on or before July 6, 1778.

June 15, 1778.—*Of the City:* James Inglis, trader; Robert Conpar, trader; Carpenter Wharton, late commissary; John Chevalier, merchant; James Club, mariner; Benjamin Towne, printer; James Smyther, engraver; Joel Evans, merchant; Anthony Yeldall, surgeon; Wood Morris, mariner, late constable; John Cunningham, innkeeper; William Taylor, silversmith; Frederick Verner, yeoman; Anthony Thomas, Jr., batter; Samuel Garrigues, Jr., trader; Joseph Stansbury, dealer in earthenware; John Bray, schoolmaster, late constable; Ross Curry, gentleman, late lieutenant in the service of the American States; John Johnson, coach-maker; John Airy, late of the post-office; John Hales, stable-keeper; Dunning Irwin, trader; John Pike, dancing-master; John Palmer, mason; James Craig, rope-maker and merchant; John Henderson, mariner; Benjamin Davis, batter; George Spangler, trader; James Fisher, trader; Hugh Henry, peruke-maker; Jacob Mayer, peruke-maker; Isaac Wharton, merchant; Benjamin Gibbs, merchant; James Gregson and Thomas Bramhall, button-makers; Samuel Jeffreys, watch-maker; Michael Cannon, merchant; Robert Loosely, shoemaker; Henry Younken, trader; Henry Welfaig, shoemaker; and Robert Dove, leather-cutter.

Of the County: William Williams, shipwright; Lawrence Fegan, tavern-keeper; John Brown, distiller; William Taylor, shipwright, of the Northern Liberties township; David Gregory, mariner; John Tolley, mariner; David Thompson and Charles Moran, shipwrights, of Southwark; John Buckingham, laborer; Joseph Bolton, joiner; John Butcher, husbandman, of the township of Blockley; Peter Sour, printer, of Germantown; and Stephen Styer, yeoman, of Whitpain.

McKean, who held court several days in order to hear evidence in support of the charges. The press encouraged the Whigs in the prosecution of retaliatory measures. Town's *Evening Post*, which had been the first journal to welcome the British, and had chronicled their departure with no extravagant protestations of joy, now took another tack, and admitted to its columns a communication signed "Casca," in which the writer "hinted" to "traitors and those Tories" who had taken an active part with the enemy during their stay in the city that it would be more prudent for them to lower their heads and not "stare down" their "betters with angry faces," for, it was added, "you may be assured the day of trial is close at hand when you shall be called on to answer for your impertinences to the Whigs and your treachery to the country." Dunlap's *Packet*, which had been removed to Lancaster, now resumed publication in the city, the first number appearing on the 4th of July, and of course espoused the cause of the Whigs with the utmost warmth. The general feeling of dissatisfaction among the Whigs culminated in a riotous attack on the house of Peter Deshong, who, having been proclaimed a traitor, had surrendered himself to the authorities. Deshong thus escaped punishment at the hands of the mob, which accomplished nothing beyond alarming his family. Other Tories were similarly threatened, and an association was formed among the Whigs, the members of which pledged themselves "to support each other in disclosing and bringing to justice all Tories within their knowledge."

¹ The following were the signers of this association: Joseph Reed, John Parke, John Coats, Benjamin Randolph, Thomas Woceten, Samuel Nicholas, James Lang, Abraham Markoe, George Wilson, Jr., J. Prowel, W. Humphrey, L. Keen, Thomas Proctor, James Fallow, James Searle, J. Cowperthwaite, George Cottam, Charles Stewart, Robert Harris, John Campbell, Daniel Dennis, William Drewry, William Price, Peter Browne, Thomas Forrest, Walter Stephens, Stokley Hoffman, Thomas Dorsey, Joseph Marsh, Arthur Donaldson, James Craig, Jr., Thomas Leiper, Thomas Paine, Frederick Phile, Thomas Bradford, John Barnhill, Lewis Nicola, Paul Fooks, Charles Risk, Charles Miller, Matthias Sadler, George Shofford, George Hoffman, Michael Caner, Henry Deabarger, William B-aumper, Jonathan B. Smith, Thomas Pryor, Richard Humphreys, John Chalmers, Joseph Carson, Charles Bensell, Jr., Riloff Albertson, Thomas Rice, Thomas Crumble, William Webb, William Allen, William Moore, William C. Bradford, William Heysham, William Thorn, William Sharp, William Browne, William Gray, William Ketting, William Hall, Benjamin Harleson, Benjamin G. Eyre, Jehu Eyre, Robert Cather, Robert Harris, Robert Allison, Robert Bayley, F. Scoll, Edward Evans, Thomas Douglass, Cad'r Dickinson, Manuel Eyre, William Turnbull, William Cross, William Semple, James Pierson, William Will, Robert McConnell, Abraham Mitchell, Jr., Nathan Boys, George Felker, Edward Trench, John Morrell, John Harrison, John Rose, John Cameron, John Melcher, John Brown, John Lariner, John Bell, John Young, Jr., John Boyle, John Mitchell, Sr., John Frumberger, Robert Knox, Lewis Farmer, Jacob Parker, Jacob Shalins, John Kepple, John Brice, John Shute, John Ingram, William Pettz, George Garland, Thomas Goucher, John Laboyteaux, Joseph H. Ellis, George Douglas, James Lloyd, Ezekiel Letts, William Counts, David Chambers, James Armitage, James Robinson, James Longhead, Samuel Hillegas, Adam Alexander, Alexander Henderson, J. Bullock, Rob. Roberts, Samuel Simpson, Isaac Cox, Alexander Nesbitt, James Ash, James Bryson, James Tilton, James Josiah, James Bowman, F. Hassenauer, Samuel Correy, David Painscott, David Lenox, John Palmer, John Patten, William Adcock, William Bradford, George North, J. Hubler, James Budden, Thomas Hall, William Alricks, P. Baynton, Samuel McLane, Jacob

Nor did the social relations of those who were suspected of Toryism escape the general infection. Even the ladies who had taken part in the *Meschianza* came in for their share of the general disapprobation, to emphasize which a special entertainment was given at the City Tavern, in honor of "the young ladies who had manifested their attachment to the cause of virtue and freedom by sacrificing every convenience to the love of their country."¹

Leaving Arnold in command at Philadelphia, Washington had set out with the main body of his army to intercept the British retreat across New Jersey. On the 28th of June the battle of Monmouth was fought, resulting in the precipitate flight of Clinton with the wreck of his army to New York. About eight hundred of Clinton's men deserted, of whom seventy, says Marshall, in his *Remembrancer*, came to Philadelphia in one day (July 4th). Under these circumstances the second anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated at Philadelphia with some elation. The clouds that had lowered over the American cause so long had at length begun to lift. Congress recommended that there should be no illumination on the evening of the Fourth, owing to "the scarcity of candles" and the intense heat of the weather, but made provision for "a decent entertainment" at the City Tavern. A week later (July 12th) the patriotic citizens had additional cause for rejoicing in the arrival of Conrad Alexander Gerard, ambassador from the king of France. M. Gerard had come over in one of the vessels of the fleet commanded by Count D'Estaing. At Chester, where he landed, he was received by a committee of Congress, which escorted him from that point to Philadelphia. On his entrance into the city he was greeted with a salute from Col. Proctor's artillery, and the greatest enthusiasm was exhibited by the citizens. Apartments were provided for him on Market Street, and on the following day he was formally received by Congress

at the State-House.² In the afternoon a banquet was given in honor of the ambassador by Congress, at which the State authorities and many distinguished persons were among the guests. The presence of the French king's representative at the seat of government had a most encouraging effect throughout the country. It was regarded as an earnest of the active interposition of France in behalf of the colonies. Every opportunity was seized upon by Congress, and by other national and State authorities, and by the citizens of Philadelphia generally to testify their gratitude. On Sunday, August 23d, the birthday of the king of France, the president and members of Congress and the principal military and civil officers and a number of gentlemen called upon the French minister and tendered their congratulations. Two days later M. Gerard gave an entertainment at the City Tavern in honor of the same event.³

Arnold's administration of affairs in Philadelphia was marked by gross venality. His salary as an officer being insufficient to support his extravagant habits, he prostituted his position in order to raise the means of gratifying them. The first incident which attracted attention to his conduct was a difficulty growing out of the capture of the British sloop "Active." The "Active," laden with rum and coffee, left Jamaica for New York on the 1st of August, and, when near Cape Charles, fell in with two British cruisers, from whom she learned that Philadelphia had been evacuated by the British. Four American sailors who had been taken on board to work the vessel determined to attempt her capture. They succeeded in confining the officers, passengers, and remainder of the crew below by piling the cable and other obstructions upon the stairway leading from the cabin to the deck. But the prisoners, being well supplied with water, provisions, and ammunition, were not disposed to surrender, and failing to dislodge the barricade, opened fire upon the mutineers. The latter

Shuner, Peter Cooper, Charles Cooper, Nicholas Coleman, Nicholas Miller, Adam Zantlinger, William Thompson, Edward Pole, Greenly Hughes, John Mease, John Nicholson, John Coburn, John Dunlap, John Stille, John Van Brucen, John Shaffer, John Brice, John Osburn, Joseph Rice, Joseph C. Fisher, Thomas Casdrop, Philip Pounce, Christopher Pechin, Walter Cuse, Isaac Roach, Joseph Robinson, Joseph Dean, Benjamin Loxley, P. Duffy, Paul Cox, Sharpe Delaney, Isaac Craig, James Skinner, Joseph Sutter, William Stretch, Peter Stretch. These associators afterwards formed themselves into "The Patriotic Society."

¹ Thompson Westcott. On the other hand, Watson (vol. ii. pp. 292-3) says that "no offense was offered to the ladies afterwards for their acceptance of this instance of an enemy's hospitality. When the Americans returned they got up a great ball to be given to the officers of the French army and the American officers of Washington's command. When the managers came to invite their guests, it was made a question whether the *Meschianza* ladies should be invited. It was found they could not make up their company without them; they were therefore included. When they came they looked differently habited from those who had gone to the country, they having assumed the high head-dress, etc., of the British fashion, . . . and so the characters, unintentionally, were immediately perceived at a glance through the hall. (It was the Masonic Hall, in Lodge Alley.) But lots being cast for partners, they were soon fully intermixed, and conversation ensued as if nothing of jealousy had ever existed and all umbrage was forgotten."

² Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams, a committee appointed for the purpose, waited upon the ambassador at his lodgings. A coach and six horses were provided, in which Lee, Adams, and the ambassador took their places. Gerard's secretary followed in his chariot. When the party reached the State-House they found Congress in session. A chair was provided for the envoy, who, after being seated, rose and gave his credentials to his secretary, who handed them to the president. The secretary of Congress then read them aloud and translated them. When this was done the president, Henry Laurens, and Congress rose together. Gerard bowed to the president and Congress, and they bowed to him, after which all resumed their seats. M. Gerard then rose and addressed Congress in a formal speech, the members sitting, after which his secretary gave a copy of the address to the president. The latter and the members then rose, and the president made a reply, the ambassador also standing. The answer being ended, they were again seated, and the president gave a copy of his address to the secretary of the ambassador. The president, M. Gerard, and Congress then rose, and M. Gerard bowed to the president, who returned the courtesy, and then to the members, who bowed in return. The committee and Gerard then withdrew, and returned in the order in which they had come.

³ A visit to Philadelphia was paid about this time by the French frigate "Chimere," Capt. Le Saivre, which, on her return, was preceded by the "State Sloop" in order to ascertain whether any British cruisers were hovering about the coast.

being without ammunition and unable to work the rudder, which had been wedged, proposed a compromise, which was agreed to. By the terms of this truce the Americans were to steer the sloop near to land and effect their escape in boats, their principal object in attempting the capture having been to avoid imprisonment in New York. Before this arrangement was carried out, the American brig "Convention," Capt. Houston, fell in with the sloop and conveyed her as a prize to Philadelphia. At the time of the capture the privateer "Gerard" was near at hand,



Benedict Arnold

and when the distribution of the prize money came to be made, three-fourths was awarded, by a jury of the Admiralty Court of Pennsylvania, to the "Convention" and "Gerard," and one-fourth to Gideon Umstead, one of the American seamen who had preferred a claim for the money, and his fellows. Umstead, it was thought at the time, would have accepted the award but for Arnold, who, having purchased the claims of the four seamen, made an application in their names to Congress. That body, ignoring the decision of the Court of Admiralty, awarded the whole of the prize money to Umstead and his comrades, or, in other words, to Arnold. The court refused to execute the order of Congress, and a controversy between the United States and the State of Pennsylvania followed, which was not settled for some years. Arnold's conduct in the matter excited general indignation, and his subsequent course rapidly alienated the respect and confidence which his military services had inspired among the Whigs. Instead of choosing his associates from among the latter, he became a frequent visitor in Tory families, and while obviously making every effort to ingratiate himself with those whose loyalty was more than questionable, observed an attitude of marked reserve and *hauteur* toward those whose patriotic course had given them the right to look for respectful treatment at his hands. Complaint was also made against him for the arrogant manner in which he treated the city militia, compelling them to do guard duty at his residence, and perform services which they considered to be of a menial character. A communication in the *Packet*, signed "A Militia Man," after representing that the writer had been compelled to stand at the door of Arnold's house as sentinel, added that the general was exposed

to no real danger in Philadelphia. "From Tories, if there be any amongst us," it was stated, "he has nothing to fear. *They are all remarkably fond of him.* The Whigs to a man are sensible of his great merit and former services, and would risk their lives in his defense." Shortly after this Arnold employed the wagons furnished by the State of Pennsylvania for the use of the army to transport private property, some of which, belonging to Tories, was conveyed by John Jordan with twelve teams from Egg Harbor to Philadelphia, at a cost to the State of nine hundred and sixty pounds exclusive of forage.¹

Arnold, it was also charged, shut up the stores and shops on his arrival in the city, so as to prevent even officers of the army from purchasing, while he privately made purchases on his own account, and then through his agents sold them again at exorbitant prices. By these means he was able to maintain "a style of living of unprecedented extravagance."² He occupied the house of Richard Penn, formerly the headquarters of Gen. Howe, and afterwards the residence of Gen. Washington while President, on the south side of Market Street between Fifth and Sixth,³ where he lived in great state, maintaining a coach and four, and servants in livery, and giving magnificent entertainments.⁴

¹ Some of this property belonged to Stephen Stowell, a Tory, who had been attainted, and proclaimed a traitor.

² *Arnold's Governors of Pennsylvania*, p. 224.

³ On the 22d of March, 1779, Arnold purchased the Mount Pleasant estate on the east bank of the Schuylkill near the point where the Reading Railroad bridge now crosses the river, from John Macpherson, with the intention of presenting it to Margaret Shippen, his intended wife. On the 3d of April he executed a deed to Edward Shippen, John Shippen, and Samuel Powel, trustees for Miss Shippen for the use of his wife for life, and after her death the remainder to Arnold's three sons by the first marriage, and such children as might have been born after the marriage with Miss Shippen, in equal proportions. After the discovery of Arnold's treason the property was seized by the State of Pennsylvania, Oct. 2, 1780, and confiscated. Subsequently it was sold at sheriff's sale to pay off a prior mortgage. The estate afterwards belonged to Col. Richard Humpton, Blair McClenachan, Chief Justice Edward Shippen (Mrs. Arnold's father), and Gen. Jonathan Williams, from whom it descended to Henry J. Williams. The latter sold the estate, about 1853, to some Germans, who opened at the place a beer garden, which they called Washington's Retreat. The Park Commissioners purchased the old mansion and estate in 1868.

⁴ "When I meet your carriage in the streets," said T. G., a writer in the *Packet*, in an address to Maj.-Gen. Arnold, "and think of the splendor in which you live and revel, of the settlement which it is said you have proposed in a certain case, and of the decent frugality necessarily used by other officers of the army, it is impossible to avoid the question, 'From whence have these riches flowed if you did not plunder Montreal?'"

In Samuel Breck's biographical sketch of Judge Peters, who was commissioner of war during 1779, the following account is given of one of the means employed by Arnold to support his extravagance:

"On the 18th of July, 1778, Mr. Peters entered Philadelphia at the very time the enemy was evacuating the place. He went there under a strong escort sent with him by Gen. Washington. His object was to secure clothing and stores secreted by our friends who had remained in the city, and to purchase everything that he could from the dealers. He succeeded in fulfilling the wishes of the American general-in-chief. Arnold took command of the city a few days after, while Mr. Peters returned to York, in this State, where Congress then held its sessions. 'I left,' says Mr. Peters, in a letter to a friend, 'fifty thousand dollars to the order of Arnold for the payment of the clothing and stores. The traitor seized those articles and never paid for them, but converted the

Having succeeded in ingratiating himself into the good will of the Shippen family, he won the affections of Margaret (or "Peggy") Shippen, the young and accomplished daughter of Edward Shippen, afterwards chief justice of the State, who became

of the complaints against him. Among the most active of those who urged an investigation of the charges was Gen. Joseph Reed, president of the Council, and Arnold retaliated by accusing Reed of having permitted himself to be approached with a



MOUNT PLEASANT, AT ONE TIME THE PROPERTY OF GEN. BENEDICT ARNOLD.

his second wife. His corruption, greed, and ostentation at length became so scandalous that the Supreme Executive Council was forced to take official notice

greater part of the money to his own use, among others, to buy the country seat of Mr. Macpherson, on the Schuylkill. Col. Pickering and I detected him in ordering stores and provisions out of the public magazines to fit out privaters of his own, and for his extravagant family establishment. An attempt to stop this robbery produced between me and Arnold an open quarrel."

The following agreement, by which the power of purchasing on the part of the United States was arranged to be used for the private advantage of Arnold and his partners, was found among his papers in Philadelphia after his treason was discovered:

corrupt proposition from the British Government. The basis of this allegation was found in the statement of Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson, of Graeme Park,

"Whereas, By purchasing goods and necessities for the use of the public, sundry articles, not wanted for that purpose, may be obtained, it is agreed by the subscribers that all such goods and merchandise which are or may be bought by the clothier-general, or persons appointed by him, shall be sold for the joint equal benefit of the subscribers, and be purchased at their risk. Witness our hands, this twenty-third of June, 1778.

"B. ARNOLD.
"JAMES MEASE.
"WM. WEST."

relating the substance of interviews between herself and Governor Johnstone, one of the British peace commissioners just before the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British. Mrs. Ferguson had come into the city from the American lines in order to take leave of her husband, who claimed to be a British subject, but who had been attainted for treason by the State of Pennsylvania. In the course of their conversation Johnstone said to Mrs. Ferguson, who was a personal friend of Reed's, that if Reed would exert his influence in favor of an amicable adjustment of the differences between the colonies and the mother-country, he might command ten thousand guineas and the best post in the service of the government. He closed by asking Mrs. Ferguson to convey "that idea" to Reed. While professing to be "hurt and shocked"

at the suggestion, Mrs. Ferguson submitted the proposition to Reed, who replied that he was not worth purchasing, but such as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to buy him.

This effort to blast his character was not calculated to mollify Reed's feelings toward Arnold, and on the 3d of February, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council, following his lead, adopted a series of charges against Arnold, accusing him of illegal and oppressive conduct, of permitting vessels belonging to disaffected persons then voluntarily residing with the British in Philadelphia to come to a port of the United States without the knowledge or authority of the State or the commander-in-chief, of shutting up the stores and privately making purchases on his own account, of imposing "menial offices upon the sons of freemen" when called forth for militia duty, of interposing by an illegal and unworthy purchase of the "Active" prize-claim at a low and inadequate price to prevent an amicable adjustment of the suit and realize a large profit for himself, of appropriating the wagons of the State for the transportation of private property, of giving an unauthorized pass to a person suspected of disloyalty to enter the British lines, of sending an indecent and disrespectful refusal to a request for a statement concerning the use of the wagons, and of exhibiting "discouragement and neglect to civil, military, and other characters who had adhered to

the cause of their country, while preserving an entirely different attitude to those of another character."

It was added that, "If this command had been, as is generally believed, supported at an expense of four or five thousand pounds per annum to the United States, we freely declare we shall very unwillingly pay any share of the expense thus incurred;" and the Council decided that the attorney-general be instructed to prosecute Gen. Arnold for such conduct as was cognizable by the courts of law. It was further ordered by the Council "that, as the wagons sent by Gen. Arnold to Egg Harbor were drawn forth under the law of this State, and the wagoners not being able to procure payment either from the quartermaster's department or from Gen. Arnold, who is de-

parted from this city while the complaint against him was depending, and they being in a great necessity, this board ought to relieve them so far as to advance four hundred and fifty pounds, until they can procure further redress; and that John Jordan, wagon-master, give a special receipt to be accountable therefor."

Arnold, not caring to meet the charges, left the city, but before his departure a certified copy of the proceedings of the Council, it was said, was delivered to him. The Council thereupon made the whole matter public, and Maj. Clarkson, Arnold's aide-de-camp, published a letter alleging that the charges had been given to the world during



MRS. ELIZABETH FERGUSON.

Arnold's absence, and requesting a suspension of public opinion until Arnold could return and defend himself. From Camp Raritan, Arnold himself sent a letter addressed to the public under date of Feb. 9, 1779, in which he stated that since leaving Philadelphia he had learned "that the President and Council of the State have preferred to Congress eight charges against me for mal-administration while commanding in the State; and that, not content in endeavoring in a cruel and unprecedented manner to injure me with Congress, they have ordered copies of the charges to be printed and dispersed through the several States for the purpose of prejudicing the minds of the public against me while the matter is in suspense. Their conduct," he added, "appears the more cruel and malicious in making the charges after I had left the

city, as my intention of leaving it was publicly known for four weeks before." He announced that he had requested Congress to direct a court-martial to be held to inquire into his conduct, and expressed the hope that the issue would show that, instead of being guilty of the abuses of power of which he had been accused, he had been assailed by "as gross a prostitution of power as ever disgraced a weak and wicked administration," and which manifested "a spirit of persecution against a man (who has endeavored to deserve well of his country) which would discredit the private resentments of an individual, and which ought to render anybody who could be influenced by it contemptible."

Arnold's letter was followed by one from Maj. Clarkson, denying the assertion of the Executive Council that a copy of their charges and resolutions had been delivered to Arnold before his departure from the city. The action of the Council, it was said, was taken on the day of Gen. Arnold's departure, but after he had left. It might have happened, however, Maj. Clarkson admitted, that the resolutions were delivered to Gen. Arnold, who, finding the roads bad, had crossed the river again into Pennsylvania, before he had again crossed the line of the State, and this he believed to be the case; but the point he wished to make was that Arnold had not taken his departure after receiving a copy of the charges and in consequence of them.

Arnold had many friends in Congress, and it was with some difficulty that the passage was procured of a resolution directing that a court-martial be held at camp to try him on certain charges selected from those preferred by the Executive Council of Pennsylvania. The trial was delayed until January, 1780, when Arnold was convicted of making private use of the army wagons, but acquitted of any corrupt intent and was sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. The verdict exasperated Arnold, who was still further humiliated by the action of Congress on claims preferred by him growing out of the Canadian expedition. His estimate was materially reduced by the treasury officers, and when Arnold appealed to Congress a committee reported that a larger sum had been allowed him than was really due. Having failed to secure a loan from the French ambassador, he determined to betray his country for British gold. With this end in view he made a proposition through Maj. André, who had known Arnold's wife, Miss Shippen, while stationed in Philadelphia, to Sir Henry Clinton to surrender the important military post of West Point on the Hudson, the command of which he had solicited and obtained from Washington. The failure of this scheme, the flight of Arnold and the death of André, are familiar facts of history which it is unnecessary to dwell on here.¹

When the news of Arnold's treason reached Philadelphia, on the 27th of September, 1780, the sheriff was ordered by the Supreme Executive Council to make search for Arnold's papers and bring them before that body. This was done, and while no direct proof of his treachery was found, the papers disclosed, said the *Packet*, "such a scene of baseness and prostitution of office and character as it is hoped the world cannot parallel." "The illiberal abuse of every character opposed to his fraudulent and wicked transactions," it was added, "exceeds all description." The popular indignation in Philadelphia at the revelations of Arnold's baseness was intense. On the night after the intelligence of his flight was received, a hollow paper figure, with a light inside, and an inscription on it, was carried through the streets, and finally hung upon a gallows.

Two days later, September 30th, a public parade gave expression to the universal detestation of the traitor. The procession was composed of "several gentlemen mounted on horseback, a line of Continental officers, sundry gentlemen in a line, a guard of the city infantry," and drummers and fifers playing the Rogue's March, and preceding a cart, with guards on each side, in which was displayed an effigy of Arnold. The escort consisted of about twenty militia and three light-horsemen,—James Budden, John Dunlap, and Thomas Leiper. Each militiaman carried a lighted candle affixed to his musket. The figure of Arnold was seated on a stage, with one leg upon a chair, in imitation of his manner of sitting in consequence of his wound, and the head, which had two faces, emblematic of his treacherous conduct, was made to move continually. The effigy was dressed in uniform. In one hand it held a mask, and in the other a letter "from Beelzebub, telling him he had done all the mischief he could do, and now he must hang himself." Back of the effigy stood the figure of a devil, shaking a purse at the general's left ear, and holding in his right hand a pitchfork, "ready to drive him into hell as the reward due for the many crimes which his thirst of gold had made him commit." In front was placed a large transparency, with pictures representing the consequences of his crimes. On one part, Gen. Arnold on his knees before the devil, who is pulling him into the flames. A label from the general's mouth with these words: "My dear sir, I have served you faithfully." To which the devil replies, "And I'll reward you." On another side two figures hanging, inscribed, "The traitor's reward," and underneath, "The Adjutant-General of the British army and Joe Smith. The

¹ Arnold died at his house in London on the 14th of June, 1801, and his wife in the same city on the 24th of August, 1804. According to the

"Red Book," published in London in 1824, Edward Shippen Arnold, James Robertson Arnold, George Arnold, and Sophia Matilda Arnold, children of Benedict Arnold, received pensions of four hundred pounds sterling, paid by sign-manual of the king of Great Britain at the treasury. Another son, John Arnold, was a brigadier-general on the Bengal establishment in India. Edward S. Arnold also served as an officer on the same establishment.

first hanged as a spy, and the other as a traitor to his country." On the front of the lantern was the following inscription: "Major-General Benedict Arnold, late commander of the fort West Point. The crime of this man is high treason," together with a recital of the facts of his treachery, and the announcement that "the effigy of this ungrateful general" would be hanged "for want of his body," as that of a traitor to his native country and a betrayer of the laws of honor. The procession formed in the rear of St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, at Fourth and Elm (now New) Streets, and the effigy, after having been drawn through the city, was burnt on High Street hill.¹

Arnold's "address to the inhabitants of America" was produced in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, and a number of epigrams, squibs, and verses were published in Philadelphia, some of which were clever. The Executive Council of Pennsylvania promptly confiscated Arnold's property. His country estate, Mount Pleasant, was seized and rented to Baron Steuben; his horses and chariot were sold at the Coffee-House, and his household and kitchen furniture at the meal-market. In a letter to Washington, Arnold had begged protection for his wife, whom he declared to have been ignorant of what he had done, but the Supreme Executive Council, evidently thinking that she was not altogether innocent,—her family was one of Tory proclivities, and she had been one of the principal belles of the Meschianza,—adopted, on the 27th of October, an order directing her to leave the State within two weeks.²

In addition to the charges preferred against Arnold in that year, the public mind in Philadelphia was agitated, in 1779, by two other incidents affecting individuals high in the service of the colonies. The first of these caused a difficulty between Brig.-Gen. William Thompson and Chief Justice Thomas McKean. Thompson had raised a rifle regiment and marched to Cambridge at the beginning of the war, but was captured during the Canadian expedition under Montgomery and Arnold. After an imprisonment of four months he was released on parole and came to Pennsylvania, where he was forced to remain for more than two years and a half an idle spectator of the contest. Thompson claimed that he should have been exchanged long before and permitted to re-enter the service, and that Congress had treated him in a "rascally manner." He was particularly bitter

against McKean, whom he accused of having hindered his exchange, and denounced for having acted "like a liar, a rascal, and a coward." To this insulting language, evidently used with the view to provoking a duel, McKean replied that, "as chief justice of a new republic" nothing should disturb his steady purpose by his precepts and example to maintain peace, order, the laws, and the dignity of his station, and that he could not "set the precedent, obliging a member of Congress, or a magistrate, to subject himself to a duel with every person against whose opinion he gives his vote or judgment." McKean sued Thompson for libel, and the case was determined in the spring of 1781 by the award of five thousand seven hundred pounds damages in favor of the plaintiff. Dunlap, printer of the *Packet*, in which the libel appeared, confessed judgment. McKean released the damages in both cases, "as he only wanted to see the law and the facts settled."

The other affair alluded to was one of much greater magnitude, involving a charge of corruption against Silas Deane, one of the American representatives at the court of France. Almost all the financial transactions of the mission had passed through the hands of Mr. Deane, who was charged by William Carmichael, of Maryland, who had been secretary to the American commissioners at Paris, but was now a member of Congress from Maryland, with having made improper use of the public money. Carmichael and Deane were examined by Congress, and the investigation resulted in a violent controversy, Robert Morris heading one side of the contest and Richard Henry Lee the other. In an "Address to the People of the United States," which he published in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, Deane severely criticised the official conduct of Richard Henry Lee and of his brothers, Arthur and William, at the same time claiming for himself the credit of having obtained supplies for the colonies through Beaumarchais, the celebrated author of the "Marriage of Figaro." Beaumarchais had been commissioned by the king of France to carry the proposed transaction into effect, but as it was desirable that the French government should not officially appear in the matter, the business was conducted as though it were a commercial transaction under the firm-name of Roderique, Hortalez & Co. After the publication of Deane's article, Thomas Paine, the well-known writer and author of "Common Sense," who, besides receiving five hundred pounds from the State of Pennsylvania, had been rewarded for his pamphlet with the post of secretary to the Committee of Congress for Foreign Affairs, availing himself of papers which had come into his possession in his official capacity, published a statement showing that Arthur Lee and not Deane had consummated the arrangement with Beaumarchais, and that the money had been supplied, not by private parties, but by the French court. As Louis XVI. had intended that the real character of the transac-

¹ Watson's Annals, vol. ii. p. 327.

² "The Council, taking into consideration the case of Mrs. Margaret Arnold (the wife of Benedict Arnold, an attainted traitor with the enemy at New York), whose residence in this city has become dangerous to the public safety, and this board being de-irous as much as possible to prevent any correspondence and intercourse being carried on with persons of disaffected character in this State and the enemy at New York, and especially with the said Benedict Arnold, therefore

"Resolved, That the said Margaret Arnold depart this State within fourteen days from the date hereof, and that she do not return again during the continuance of the present war."

tion should not be disclosed to the British government, with which he was then nominally at peace, and had assured the English ambassador at Paris that France was taking no part in the struggle, the allegation of Paine created a sensation. In consequence of a complaint on the part of Gerard, the French ambassador, Paine resigned his position, and Congress passed a resolution denying that supplies had been received from the French court previous to the treaty of alliance between France and the United States, then recently concluded. Deane, however, continued to maintain that the supplies had been furnished by private parties and must be paid for by Congress. In order to protect the honor of the French Court, Congress voted to repay the money, although it was known that the king of France had furnished Beaumarchais with no expectation that it would be refunded by the Americans. Consequently, when Beaumarchais received the money from Congress, instead of paying it into the French treasury, he put it in his own pocket. In the course of the controversy growing out of the matter the Philadelphia newspapers teemed during the greater part of 1779 with statements and counter statements by Deane, Robert Morris, C. W. Peale, and others, and many bitter attacks on Paine.

In view of the strong Tory feeling in Philadelphia, it was deemed advisable, after the reoccupation of the city, to adopt the most stringent and energetic measures for the suppression of treason and disloyalty to the American cause. In August, 1778, Frederick Verner and George Spangler were tried by a court-martial, instituted by Arnold, on the charge of being British spies, and were convicted and sentenced to be hanged. Spangler was executed on the commons during the same month, but an appeal having been made to Congress in Verner's case, the sentence of the court-martial condemning him to death was not carried into effect, and, after lying in prison for some time, he was exchanged for an American in the hands of the British. Lieut. Samuel Lyons, of the "Dickinson" galley, Lieut. Ford, of the "Effingham" galley, Lieut. Joseph Wilson, of the "Ranger" galley, and John Lawrence, gunner of the "Dickinson" galley, were tried by naval court-martial for having deserted to the enemy during the attack upon Fort Mifflin in November, 1777. They went off in boats; were taken by the British, and sent to Philadelphia. Ford went about the city and sold liquor. After the evacuation of the town he accompanied the British army to Monmouth; deserted from it during the battle, and went to the American camp. These four men were all found guilty and sentenced to be shot. The Council pardoned Wilson and Lawrence, but refused to extend mercy to Lyons and Ford, who were executed on board of one of the guard boats in the Delaware River. On the 4th of September, 1778, Patrick McMullin, a deserter from the Pennsylvania troops, was executed on the commons. He had deserted from several Continental regiments and joined others, de-

frauding Congress of the enlistment money. During the same month occurred the trials of persons accused of high treason, the Court of Oyer and Terminer sitting at the college, with Thomas McKean as presiding judge. Peter Deshong, arraigned as one of the persons who had kept the gates of the city under the British, was shown to have been so lenient that he had been deprived of his office, and was therefore acquitted. George Cook, accused of having acted as guide for the British army, was acquitted; William Hamilton, charged with having assisted the British troops, was also acquitted. Abraham Carlisle, a house-carpenter by trade and a native of Philadelphia, charged with having kept one of the gates at the northern redoubt; and John Roberts, a miller of Lower Merion, accused of having enlisted with the enemy and attempting to persuade others to enlist, were convicted and sentenced to be hung. The conviction of Carlisle and Roberts, both of whom were Friends, created intense excitement among the Tories and Quakers, who feared that it was but the precursor of a series of sanguinary prosecutions, and powerful influences were brought to bear to secure a commutation of the sentence. Many leading Whigs interested themselves in behalf of the prisoners, both of whom, well advanced in years, were shown to be men of good character. Twelve of the grand jurors petitioned for mercy. Ten of the petit jury that had found Roberts guilty united in a similar appeal. The entire jury in Carlisle's case asked that leniency and a reprieve be extended to him. The Revs. William Smith, William White, John C. Kunze, Robert Davidson, and Casparus Weiberg pleaded for both Carlisle and Roberts. Three hundred and eighty-seven Philadelphians, among whom were Benjamin Rush, Gen. John Cadwalader, Col. William Coats, Col. Sharpe Delaney, Commodore Hazlewood, Blair McClenachan, Thomas Fitzsimons, and other leading Whigs, signed a petition begging that Carlisle's life might be spared. Strenuous efforts were also made on behalf of Roberts, and a number of Whigs came forward with evidence to show that he had interceded on behalf of prisoners, and protected them when they were being subjected to brutal treatment at the hands of the British and Tories. These appeals, however, had no effect on the Supreme Executive Council, and both Carlisle and Roberts were hung on the 4th of November. Carlisle's body was interred in the Friends' burying-ground, the funeral being witnessed by a large concourse of people. In the following year the property belonging to Carlisle and Roberts was confiscated by the State. Their execution and the seizure of their property appear at this day to have been dictated by the desire to satisfy popular clamor rather than a spirit of justice. The Whigs thirsted for revenge, and it seems to have been deemed expedient to supply them with at least two victims. It was thought desirable, moreover, to intimidate the Friends who were openly accused of aiding the British and of

doing everything in their power to injure the patriot cause.

The term for trials on the charge of treason lasted until December, and many cases were disposed of.¹

On the 3d of September a Dr. Berkenhout was arrested on the charge of having been employed by the enemy to ascertain upon what terms Congress would negotiate a treaty with Great Britain, and upon searching his papers the draft of a letter to Richard Henry Lee was found, offering to act as "a voluntary negotiator between the two contending powers" on the basis of a recognition of the independence of the United States. The Supreme Executive Council, after having examined Berkenhout's papers, ordered him to leave the city and State and go within the enemy's lines.

While the army was engaged in the brief but decisive campaign in New Jersey, active preparations were being made for resuming the offensive on the Delaware River and Bay. The armed brig "Convention" and the galleys, after having been fitted and manned, were ordered down the river to watch the movements of the enemy. Lord Howe's fleet had set sail on the 17th of June, but in consequence of continued calms did not arrive at the Capes until the 28th, the last vessel passing out on the 30th.

As the enemy had manifestly changed his base of operations, it was decided to be unnecessary to retain the naval force in its original strength, and resolutions were adopted for the discharge of all the officers and men except those required to man three galleys, three guard-boats, and the brig "Convention." Thomas Houston was appointed to the command of the latter vessel, with orders to cruise along the coast for the protection of shipping. The "Chatham," "Hancock," and "Bull Dog" were kept for future service, but the other vessels were sold. Shortly after the evacuation the British schooner "Lord Drummond," supposing Philadelphia to be still in the hands of the Howes, ventured into the

Delaware and was captured by one of the Pennsylvania galleys. A large number of letters of marque were issued, and commissions as privateers were granted to the sloop "Gerard" and the "Addition," together with supplies of powder and cannon; but no captures of special importance were made by any of these vessels. Embargoes upon the exportation of provisions were laid twice during the autumn of 1778, and the galleys were employed in guarding the river to prevent infringements. The capture of the British sloop "Active" by the "Convention" has already been narrated.

Upon the resumption of authority by the State government the fortifications erected in the Northern Liberties and elsewhere in the vicinity of Philadelphia were dismantled. The bridge at Middle Ferry, laid by the British, was removed to Gray's Ferry; and the floating bridge, originally at Market Street, laid during the time that Putnam was in command, in 1776-77, was towed back from the place where it had been concealed from the enemy, and moored at its old station. An agreement was afterwards made in relation to the bridge belonging to the United States (now removed to Gray's Ferry), that the State of Pennsylvania should pay its value and keep it in repair, and that the United States should pay eight hundred pounds per annum for the privilege of its use by the army. It was determined that, for the defense of the Delaware, four heavy pieces of artillery should be placed at Billingsport and two at Mud Island. An apartment in the old work-house at Third and Market Streets was appropriated to Capt. Hill for casting bullets, and the long room at the State-House was fitted up as a magazine of small-arms.

The scarcity of food, clothing, and other supplies offered a tempting bait to speculators, and the strenuous efforts made to prevent extortion met with indifferent success. While the State government was still at Lancaster a law was passed by which the price of various articles was determined. Wheat was to be sold at ten shillings per barrel, and flour at twenty-seven shillings per hundred. The charges of innkeepers were to be regulated by the Courts of Quarter Sessions. In November, 1777, a committee of Congress called the attention of the Supreme Executive Council to the fact that "the dangerous practices of engrossers" had increased so rapidly with the public distresses, and had so accumulated them, that "every friend to his country or even of humanity cannot but wish to see some remedy for an evil which threatens the existence not only of the several States, but of the poorer part of the individuals who compose them." It was suggested that the Legislature should not only fix the prices, but should pass laws compelling the dealers to part with their goods at those prices. "Persons in office," it was stated in a later communication, were using "the moneys intrusted to them in the engrossing of articles upon the public." On the

¹ Samuel Piles, Charles Woodfall, James Roberts, Lewis Guion, David Copeland, George Devenderver, John Huntman, Adam Stricker, Joseph Bolton, Aubrey Harrey, and Andrew Hatlie, were tried for high treason and acquitted. The bill against David Franks was returned *ignoramus*. There were discharged by proclamation—nobody appearing against them—Ludwig Kercher, Anthony Yeldall, Tench Cox, Carpenter Wharton, John Palmer, Joseph Shoemaker, Peter Robeson, John Wright, William Schuetliff, James Davis, Isaac Knight, Samuel Garrigues, Jr., and Stephen Byler. Edward Shippen, Jr., John Lawrence, James Humphreys, William Smith, D.D., Capt. Henry Gurney, Thomas Asheton, and Samuel Murdock, formerly held on parole, were discharged early in August. Rev. Thomas Coombe was granted a pass to New York. On October 31st, William Rosa, cordwainer, Walnut Street; Robert White, merchant and mariner; Richard Palmer, cabinet-maker; John Burd, butcher; John Colston, stocking-weaver; William Evans and John Evans, carpenters; Alexander Smith, blacksmith; James Warrel, brewer; David Jones, tavern-keeper and constable; Hudson Burr, hatter; John Burkett, waterman; Alexander Steinman, Esq., of the city; Thomas Green and Thomas Silkod, of the township of Hatfield; John Loughborough, blacksmith; Jacob Conly, yeoman; and John Burke, tailor, of Moreland, in the county of Philadelphia, were attainted as traitors, and commanded to come forward and take their trial before December 15th.

10th of December, 1778, the Supreme Executive Council appointed William Heysham, George Schlosser, and William Hollingshead to make inquiry concerning the engrossing of flour and other necessities in all that part of the city northward of the north part of Market Street. Nathan Boys, Jedediah Snowden, and Robert Bridges were commissioned to make like inquiries south of Market Street, and Col. William Coats, Frederick Kuhl, and Emanuel Eyre for the Northern Liberties.

The Assembly, summoned by the Supreme Executive Council to meet in August, 1778, did not secure a quorum until late in October. Some difficulty was experienced in organizing, from the apprehension of members that the oath requiring them to support the Constitution might prevent them from taking measures to ascertain the sense of the people as to proposed alterations. Finally a form of reservation was adopted by which members declared their right of doing anything proper to test the opinion of the people on the subject. Of the city delegation, Michael Shubart alone took the oath unconditionally, while Robert Morris, Thomas Mifflin, Samuel Meredith, and George Clymer made the reservation. Of the county members, John Bayard, Robert Knox, Robert Loller, and Archibald Thompson took the oath. Daniel Huster and Isaac Warner made the reservation. The question of amending the Constitution soon came up before the Assembly, which ordered an election to determine whether a convention for its revision should be held; but such was the popular opposition that the resolution, adopted by the Assembly Nov. 28, 1778, was repealed in the following February.¹

In view of the departure of the British army, the act providing that the courts of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester be held at Lancaster was repealed by the Assembly, an Admiralty Court was established, and

the duties of the naval officer defined and regulated. A draft of a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery was prepared and published, but the matter was postponed in order that the fullest opportunity for reflection might be afforded.²

On the 1st of December, 1778, Gen. Joseph Reed was elected president of the Supreme Executive Council, and George Bryan vice-president. After the new officers had been proclaimed at the court-house, the Council and Assembly dined at the City Tavern.

A supplement to the act for the better security of government extended the time for taking the obligation, so as to include persons who had been prisoners with the enemy and to soldiers and sailors who had been in the service of the State for three months from the date of the supplementary act, or after they should come into the State. A further supplement was passed in December, giving any person a right to take the oath of allegiance at any time. James Young, Plunket Fleeson, George Ord, and Isaac Howell were appointed commissioners for the city to take and receive the affidavits. John Moor, Jonathan B. Smith, David Knox, Seth Toll, and John Richards were appointed to the same office in the county. In consequence of the passage of this act the Supreme Executive Council issued a proclamation pardoning all persons who were confined in prison, "convicted of pertinaciously refusing to take the several oaths or affirmations of allegiance to the State."

About the same time the Assembly passed an act vesting the title to the house of Joseph Galloway, the Tory, at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets, in the president of the Supreme Executive Council, to be occupied as his official residence, or giving him permission, if he preferred to do so, to rent it and receive the money for his own use.³

¹ The feeling in Philadelphia in favor of the old Constitution was very strong. Remonstrances against the proposed election poured in upon the Legislature. On the other hand, a "Republican Society" was formed for the purpose of urging the revision of the Constitution, the members of which, in March, 1779, were Richard Bache, *Chairman*; Samuel Morris, Jr., John Calwalader, Benjamin Eyre, John Murray, W. Humphreys, George Meade, William von Plut, William Alricks, John Patton, John Donaldson, William Govett, Jacob Rush, Peter Scull, J. Mifflin, Jr., Jacob Hiltzheimer, Samuel Howell, Jr., B. Dougherty, James Crawford, John Baker, F. Hopkinson, Ephraim Blaine, Samuel Meredith, George Clymer, James Caldwell, William Allibone, Jacob Shallus, F. Hasselclove, Peter Baynton, Stephen Chambers, John Shee, John Lardner, James White, T. Leaning, Jr., Robert Morris, Peter Z. Lloyd, John Benezet, Lewis Weiss, Philip Wager, Samuel Caldwell, Alexander Foster, James Craig, Jr., T. Fitzsimons, John Nixon, George Ross, Thomas Peters, E. Biddle, James Mease, Mark Bird, Alexander Nesbitt, Samuel Nicholas, Robert Roberts, J. Humphreys, Jr., Thomas Franklyn, Thomas Mifflin, William Gray, John M. Nesbitt, George Woods, L. Calwalader, James Read, John White, John Parke, John Wilcocks, J. Gowerthwait, James Wilson, Joseph Moulter, Sharpe Delaney, N. Falconer, Thomas Smith, G. Noarth, Andrew Banner, Charles Thomson, Benjamin Rush, John Mease, Isaac Melcher, John Chaloner, Henry Hill, John Colloono, George Campbell, John Brown, Thomas Forrest, Samuel Miles. A "Constitutional Society," of which Charles Wilson Peale was chairman, was formed as a counter-move, and the controversy for a time was animated and exceedingly bitter, as, indeed, were most of the political discussions of that day.

² In the message from the Supreme Executive Council to the Assembly, the following passage proves that a strong public sentiment existed in favor of abolition:

"The late Assembly was furnished with heads of a bill for manumitting infant negroes born of slaves, by which the gradual abolition of servitude for life would be obtained in an easy mode. It is not proposed that the present slaves, most of whom are scarcely competent of freedom, should be meddled with; but all importation must be forbid if the idea be adopted. This, or some better scheme, would tend to abrogate slavery—the opprobrium of America—from among us; and no period seems more happy for the attempt than the present, as the number of such unhappy characters, ever few in Pennsylvania, has been much reduced by the practices and plunder of our late invaders. In divesting the State of slaves you will equally serve the cause of humanity and policy, and offer to God one of the most proper and best returns of gratitude for His great deliverance of us and of our posterity from thralldom. You will also set your character for justice and benevolence, in a true point of view, to all Europe, who are astonished to see a people eager for liberty hiding negroes in bondage."

³ On the 18th of March, 1779, the Assembly passed an act vesting the title to the property in Plunket Fleeson, Jonathan Bayard Smith, William Henry, George Schlosser, and Isaac Howell, as trustees, to allow the president of the Supreme Executive Council for the time being to have the exclusive care and management of the same, to use it either as a residence or to lease the same and receive the rents, issues, and profits for his own use. The property extended to Minor Street, at the corner of which there was a coach-house and stable. President Reed took possession of this mansion immediately afterwards, and continued

In December, 1778, the campaign being nearly over, Gen. Washington paid a visit to Philadelphia, having been preceded by his wife, who was honored with a ball at the City Tavern on the 17th, at which the French minister and President Reed were among

to reside in it while he had the office. The large mansion of the Rev. Jacob DuRoi, at the northeast corner of Third and Pine Streets, also confiscated, was, by vote of the Assembly, delivered to Chief Justice McKean, to be used as an official residence. The estates of Thomas Hale, in Lombard Street, forfeited to the State, were appropriated for the accommodation of the horses of the members of the General Assembly. During the same year the forfeited estates of the following Tories were sold by the confiscation agents:

David Sprent, southwest corner of Front and Walnut Streets, nineteen feet on Front Street by ninety feet, sold to Christian Wirtz, of Lancaster, for £14,400.

Samuel Shoemaker, north side of Mulberry, between Front and Second Streets, sold to George Haynes for £39,100.

Henry Junkin, tract of land in Philadelphia County, sold to Owen Farries for £17,010.

David Thompson, lot from the Delaware to Front Street, one hundred feet by five hundred and sixty feet, sold to Thomas Leaning, Jr., Andrew Banner, John Munger, and Joseph Coleman Fisher for £68,600.

David Thompson, house and lot, south side of Almond Street, east of Front, twenty-one feet by sixty-six, sold to Charles Baker for £1310.

George Harding, two houses and lots, Southwark, sold to John Compy for £350.

George Harding, lease of lot northeast corner of Front and Catharine Streets, sold to John Compy for £1500.

George Harding, lot, Third Street, Southwark, nineteen feet four inches by eighty feet, sold to Henry Osbourne for £2300.

Arthur Thomas, Second Street, Northern Liberties, fifteen feet six inches by sixty feet, sold to John Sternfeld for £5000.

Thomas Shoemaker, Front Street, twenty feet by forty, sold to Thomas Button for £660.

Thomas Mackiness, houses and lot, northeast corner of Third and Vine Streets, thirty-six feet six inches by ninety feet, sold to Rev. David Telfair and wife for £21,000.

John Tolly, house and lot, northeast corner of Second and Christian Streets, forty feet by one hundred and twenty, sold to David Duncan for £5100.

John Smith, two houses and lots, Queen Street, Southwark, fifty-three feet by one hundred, sold to Charles Wilson Peale for £13,010.

Enoch Story, ground-rent of £3, on lot west side of Moyamensing road, Southwark, sold to John Young, Jr., for £120.

Joseph Galloway, three tracts of meadow land on Boon's Island, Kingessing, sold to John Dunlap for £7980.

Joseph Galloway, tract on Schuylkill, east side, near Sepickan Creek, twenty-nine acres, sold to John Little and Ephraim Blaine for £15,520.

Christopher Saur, house, paper-mill, saw-mill, mill-dam, etc., Wissahickon road, Roxborough, sold to Jacob Morgan, Jr., for £5150.

Christopher Saur, house and lot, southwest side of main road, Germantown, corner of Bowman's Lane, sold to Jacob Bay for £4200.

John Patrick, house and tract of fifty-four acres, on the river Delaware, in the Northern Liberties, sold to Jacob Morgan, Jr., for £27,600.

George Enser, two houses and lots, west side of Second Street, between South and Shippin Streets, forty feet by seventy-seven feet six inches, sold to Gottlieb Roll for £11,490.

Peter Arthur, house and lot, east side of Second Street, Southwark, twenty-nine feet six inches by sixty-five feet, sold to James Rowan for £1500.

Alexander Bartram, four houses and lots, northeast corner of Third and Shippin Streets, one hundred feet by one hundred, sold to John Dunlap and George Henry for £7000.

Alexander Bartram, two houses and lots, west side of Second Street, near Christian, forty-seven feet by two hundred, sold to Charles Wilson Peale for £4070.

John Roberts, house and lot, one hundred acres, Lower Merion township, sold to Daniel Clymer for £4000.

Peter Campbell, house and lot, south side of Chestnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth, one hundred and six feet by two hundred and fifty-five feet, sold to Andrew Caldwell for £36,500.

John Bartlett, half of three houses and lots, east side of Second Street, Southwark, sold to James Little for £1100.

the guests. Washington reached the city on the 22d, but "so late in the day," says Dunlap's *Packet*, "as to prevent the Philadelphia troop of militia, light-horse, the gentlemen officers of the militia and others in the city from showing those marks of unfeigned regard for this great and good man which they fully intended, and especially of receiving him on his entrance into the State and escorting him hither." While in Philadelphia, Washington, as a member of the order, participated in a procession of Free and Accepted Masons. The Grand Lodge had been re-organized in December, and a public celebration of St. John's Day was held on the 28th of December. The procession formed at the college and moved from that point to Christ Church, where divine service was held. Prayers were read by Rev. William White, and a sermon was preached by the Rev. William Smith, D.D. After service the procession returned to the college, "the musical bells belonging to the church and the band of music playing proper Masonic tunes." A collection was taken at the church for the relief of the poor, which realized four hundred pounds, and it was stated that additional contributions might be sent to William Ball, John Wood, John Howard, and William Shute, to whom "objects of charity, bringing proper recommendations," were instructed to apply.

Owing to the rapid depreciation of Continental money, persons who had goods for sale were naturally loth to dispose of them, fearing that the currency in which they would have been paid might soon become practically worthless. At length the scarcity of food and other necessities of life became so great the Supreme Executive Council, on the 18th of January, 1779, issued a proclamation against forestalling and engrossing, charging the civil officers to make diligent search for all persons suspected of such offenses and ordering their vigorous prosecution, if detected. In March, 1779, a petition was presented to the Assembly from citizens of Philadelphia complaining of the practice of disaffected persons who injured the Continental currency by taking smaller sums in specie than they would in paper. A similar protest was made by citizens of Germantown. On the 3d of April the Assembly passed a law intended to prevent forestalling, which prohibited purchasing in market, or within four miles of the city, to sell again,—regular butchers and hucksters buying to sell in market alone excepted, and forbade buying or selling with or for hard money; severe penalties being provided for each class of offenses. A law was also enacted providing for the establishment of a police force to prevent the resort of Tories and other agents of the enemy to Philadelphia, with authority to arrest suspicious persons and expel them from the State if necessary.

The popular dissatisfaction at the scarcity and costliness of provisions was greatly heightened by an incident which occurred in May. A polacre, the "Vic-

torious," and some other vessels laden with flour having arrived in port, it was expected that a reduction in the price of flour would follow; but instead of decreasing, the price, it was claimed, had actually risen. Robert Morris, Blair McClenachan, and others who were interested in the vessels, were openly censured, and at a town-meeting on the 25th of May, Gen. Roberdeau presiding, Timothy Matlack, David Rittenhouse, Capt. Blewer, Thomas Paine, Charles W. Peale, and Col. J. B. Smith were appointed a committee to wait on Robert Morris to make inquiries about the "Victorious." At the same meeting Col. William Henry, Col. Bradford, George Schlosser, Col. Will, Col. Jehu Eyre, Capt. Heysham, Maj. Boyd, Philip Boehm, Jedediah Snowden, Nathaniel Donnell, Capt. Robert Smith, Capt. Lang, Dr. Hutchinson, William Brown, Paul Cox, Edward Poole, Thomas Casdrop, Capt. George Ord, James Skinner, John Kling, William Thorn, William Coates (tanner), Joseph Dean, John Young, Cadwalader Dickinson, and Capt. Thomas Moore were chosen as a committee of inspection to determine what the price of various articles should be. The committee to wait on Morris censured him for having given the refusal of the cargo to Mr. Solikoff, of Baltimore, so that the Commercial Committee of Congress were prevented from buying it; but, as Solikoff withdrew and Morris was able to sell the flour to Continental agents at fair prices, the matter was dropped.

The Committee of Inspection adopted a schedule of prices and a regulation forbidding persons to purchase butter at a higher price than fifteen shillings a pound. At a subsequent meeting held on the 26th of June, 1779, the removal of goods from the city exceeding one hundred pounds in value, without a permit, was prohibited. It was supposed that these stringent regulations would prove effective; but such was not the case. Evasions and violations of the law were frequent; and considerable indignation was aroused by the discovery that the French consul-general, Holker, aided by Robert Morris, was clandestinely shipping flour to the French fleet, which had been bought at prices beyond those established by the regulations. A meeting at which Gen. Daniel Roberdeau presided was held, at which Paine, who had taken a prominent part in the newspaper attacks on Robert Morris, was indorsed and declared to be "a friend to the American cause." At this meeting Gen. John Cadwalader, on attempting to speak in behalf of Morris, was interrupted by men armed with clubs. Cadwalader and his friends then withdrew to College Yard, in Fourth Street, where a meeting was held, with Robert Morris in the chair. Resolutions indorsing Holker and Morris were adopted, and a committee appointed, consisting of Andrew Caldwell, James Wilson, Sharpe Delaney, Whitehead Humphreys, Benjamin Rush, Maj. David Lenox, and Maj. Benjamin Eyre, to give effect to the action of the meeting.

Holker complained to the Supreme Executive Coun-

cil, which, after investigating the matter, declared that he was free from any suspicion of carrying on a clandestine private trade, and that the flour which had been seized should be given up to him. Both parties agreed to the election of a new committee for the regulation of the sale of provisions, etc., and, by a vote of 2115 to 284 for an opposition ticket, a committee headed by Blair McClenachan was chosen.¹

Stringent regulations were adopted by the new committee for the enforcement of the measures taken to prevent engrossing, forestalling, secreting supplies, etc. A thousand bushels of wheat were seized in a mill near Germantown; wagons leaving the city with supplies of groceries were stopped and brought back; and Richard Wistar, Thomas Story, — Mason, and B. Humphreys, charged with infringing the rules, were arrested. Goods belonging to parties found guilty of such violation were seized and sold. These efforts to prevent extortion were generally indorsed; and the Philadelphia company of artillery, Capt. John McGinley, which had been on garrison duty at Mud Island fort, marched to the State-House, on being discharged, and assured the Supreme Executive Council of their approval of all that had been done in their absence, after which they proceeded to the college, where the inspection committee was sitting, and announced their intention of supporting the committee in their efforts to reduce the prices of goods and provisions. There was of course great dissatisfaction among the tradesmen at the arbitrary schedule of prices fixed by the committee, and complaint was made that the regulations did not bear evenly upon

¹ The members of this committee (for both city and county) were Blair McClenachan, W. Hollingshead, Capt. Joseph Stiles, Jacob Shriner, Thomas Cuthbertson, Paul Cox, Cadwalader Dickinson, George Pickering, D. Rittenhouse, Owen Biddle, Capt. G. Reinhart, James Skinner, Col. Robert Allison, William Robinson (Southwark), George Henry, Andrew Burkart, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas Willis, James Hood, Lewis Farmer, Nathaniel Donnell, James Rowan, Robert Aitken, W. Smith (druggist), Lazarus Stow, James Pickering, Andrew Kennedy, William Peltz, Robert Barnhill, Philip Hall, Jonathan B. Smith, Dr. J. Hutchinson, William Moulder, Timothy Matlack, Emanuel Eyre, John McCulloch (carpenter), Andrew Caldwell, Michael Schubert, Thomas Paine, Col. W. Bradford, Matthew Irwin, George Schlosser, R. Smith (hatter), Capt. W. Coats, Jr., Joseph Marsh, Maj. Joseph Kerr, Benjamin Eyre, William Seuple, Anthony Cutbert, Derrick Peterson, Capt. William Brown, James Dundas, Charles Syng, William Heysham, Jedediah Snowden, Edward Pole, Jeremiah Fisher, Samuel Young, Nicholas Weaver, Frederick Swinkle, William Moore (Northern Liberties), Andrew Dox, William Will, James Wharton, Maj. Alexander Boyd, Benjamin Paschall, William Thorne, Frederick Hagner, T. Fitzsimons, Col. John Rice, Capt. George Ord, Jacob Graffen, John Kling, Capt. R. Salter, David Panncoat, Philip Boehm, Capt. James Craig, William Bonham, Anthony Leckner, Thomas Irwin, Francis Ferris, Joseph Falconer, Alexander Quarrier, Capt. William Price, James Hunter (tallow-chandler), David McCulloch, Thomas Britton, William Van Pelt, Isaac Rouse, Peter Brown, James Budden, S. Wetherill, Jr., William Colliaday, John Shee, John Smith (Southwark), Presley Blackstone, James Milligan, Ephraim Falconer, Thomas Casdrop, Thomas Shields, Thomas Weiper, Charles W. Peale, Peter Wyckoff, William Jackson (Walnut Street), Joseph Carson (merchant), Samuel McLean, Hugh Hodge, Jr., Isaac Cooper, Thomas Leaning, William Thorpe, George Woellper, Baltzar Steinfeld, Lambert Wilsner, F. Hopkinson, Adam Foulke, Robert Knox, Frederick Phile, John Barker, Thomas Humphrey, William Richards (skinner).

all parties. The cordwainers, carriers, and tanners asserted that while the prices of provisions had been enormously increased¹ there had been no corresponding advance in the remuneration of their labor, and an address signed by James Roney, setting forth their grievances, was prepared and published. These complaints were supported in a memorial to the Executive Council presented by the merchants of Philadelphia on the 2d of September, in which the regulations of the committee were attacked as being an invasion of the law of property in compelling "a person to accept of less in exchange for his goods than he could otherwise obtain," and consequently "a tax upon one portion of the community only." It was urged, moreover, that as circumstances were constantly changing it was impracticable to undertake to maintain a fixed and arbitrary scale of prices. It was also pointed out that if prices were to be fixed by the purchaser, as had practically been done through the intervention of the committee, merchants would no longer care to import goods, or if they did continue to do so, the foreigners from whom they purchased would refuse to sell to a community which forced the dealers to part with their goods at certain prices. The address declared further that the limitation of the price of foreign articles could only be accomplished by enabling the merchant to get his goods freighted upon moderate terms, fixing the price of goods he was to export, and opening an insurance for a low premium. "Until these things be accomplished," it was added, "you may, indeed, by power, force away our property at such a valuation as you may deem proper to allow; but, like the owner of the goose which laid golden eggs, you will cut off the source of supplies, and, when you repent, you will repent in vain."

The memorial closed with a series of recommendations as to the measures most likely to bring about an appreciation of the currency.²

¹ Tea, which had sold at 3s. 9d. to 5s. per pound in the beginning of 1777, was now advanced to £4 10s., or about twenty prices. Rum, from 4s. 6d. per gallon, was increased to £6 12s. 6d., or about thirty prices. Sugar was thirty prices in increase, and other articles experienced a like benefit. But sole leather was only put up to 20s. from 1s. 6d., formerly charged, and calf-skins from 11s. to 150s. In reality the advance upon these articles was only about fourteen prices, or less than half what was allowed to others. Under these rates the shoemaker would receive but £3 10s. profit on a pair of shoes beyond the actual cost of materials, and the journeyman's wages would absorb the latter, so that the employer would have nothing. While, therefore, the shoemaker was receiving but fourteen prices advance, he was compelled to pay from twenty to thirty prices for almost every article of food or clothing which he bought.

² The signers of this memorial were John Kean, George Kennedy, John Steinmetz, Philip Wilson, Thomas Moore, Francis Lewis, Jr., J. Cowperthwait, Charles Young, John Murray, John White, James Vanuxem, James Tatter, John Patton, Alexander Todd, Cadwalader Morris, Robert Morris, Isaac Mease, William Turnbull, John Lardner, J. Purviance, William Lawrence, George Meade, William Davis, Thomas Morris, James Caldwell, Joseph Carson, William Abicks, Robert Bridges, Benjamin Davis, Jr., F. Hassenclever, John Barclay, P. Webster, J. Shalins, J. Donaldson, Butler Sline, John Campbell, William Cross, Samuel Meredith, John Wilcocks, Patrick Moore, John Boyle, Charles White, Nicholas Law, Andrew Bunner, David Duncan, Matthew Duncan, Samuel Caldwell, T. White, John Ramsey, Thomas Barclay, Peter Frensch, David Lenox, Thomas Franklin, John Benetz, John Mease, Alexander

Various expedients for relieving the general distress were suggested, and in July a plan "for raising money and stopping the emission of paper currency was set on foot," which received the indorsement of a town-meeting. The features of this plan embraced the stoppage of all issues of Continental money after the 1st of September, and the raising of a revenue by subscription to be solicited from house to house for the service of the United States, the money thus raised to be considered a loan payable in three years and receivable in payment of taxes. A committee to solicit subscriptions³ was appointed, but nothing is now known as to the results of its labors.

In the mean time Congress had been pursuing a policy which could not fail to accelerate the depreciation of the currency and intensify the public distress. Reduced by the withdrawal of many of its able members who were busy with the affairs of their own States, it was no longer the wise and prudent

Foster, A. Hodge, Jr., James Ash, S. Inglis & Co., Jonathan Mifflin, William Pollard, James Crawford, James Mease, Alexander Nesbitt, Francis Gurney, William Bell, Alexander Nelson, James King, John Nixon, James Cochran, D. H. Conyngnam, John Pringle, Peter Whiteside, John Imlay, Samuel C. Morris, Joseph C. Fisher, Robert Duncan, Lardner Clark, John McKim.

³ This committee consisted of the following: *Northern Liberties*,—Col. Rice, Henry Nagles, Thomas Brittain, Benjamin Eyre, Emanuel Eyre, Col. Joseph Cowperthwaite, William Masters, and Elias Lewis Treichel. *Malberry Ward*,—Jacob Schriener, Philip Boehm, William Bush, Capt. James Craig, David Shaffer, Jr., Maj. Ker, Andrew Burkart, William Colladay. *Upper Delaware*,—Andrew Hodge, William Milnor. *High Street Ward*,—William Ball, William Hollingshead, Thomas Francis, Stephen Collins. *Lower Delaware*,—Blair McClenachan, Andrew Caldwell, Matthew Irwin, Samuel Howell. *North*,—Benjamin Harbeson, Jacob Burge, Peter De Haven, John Wilcox, Lambert Willmore, Samuel Wetherill. *Chestnut*,—Richard Humphreys, John Stille, John Shields. *Middle*,—Benjamin Randolph, John Steinmetz, Gen. Wilkinson, Robert Tuckniss, William Falkner, Francis Lee. *South*,—Sharpe Delaney, Andrew Tybout, Isaac Gray. *Walnut*,—Samuel Caldwell, Dr. Duffield. *Dock*,—James Hunter, Thomas Leiper, Thomas Fitzsimons, John Hazlewood, Presley Blackiston, William Turnbull. *Southwark*,—William Clifton, Capt. Ord, Col. Robert Allison, Joseph Marsh, William Falkner.

The scarcity of salt and flour in particular occasioned much distress in Philadelphia. In August the Supreme Executive Council succeeded in obtaining from all holders of salt an agreement to give it up for distribution among the inhabitants of the town and country, and the sheriff of Philadelphia was ordered to have the salt stores guarded in order that tumult or disturbance in the distribution might be avoided. All salt that was not needed for the use of inhabitants was ordered by the Assembly to be appropriated to the use of the State, and Charles Pryor, James Hunter, Jr., John Wilson, Robert Hunter, David McCulloch, Anthony Cutburt, William Will, Adam Foulke, Matthew Irwin, Robert Aitken, James Hood, Maj. Boyd, Paul Cox, John McCullough, Thomas Casdrop, William Robinson, William Thorp, George Henry, and William Hey-ham were appointed commissioners "to make inquiry into the quantity of salt in the city and liberties, above the allowance of a common family, admitting possessors to retain one peck for every poll in each family above seven years of age, the residue to be considered as public property, and paid for accordingly." They had power to seize all salt above the allowed quantity, and to take into possession whatever cargoes might arrive. Great hopes were entertained with regard to the salt-works established near Tom's River, N. J., but disappointment was the only result. The works, after having been operated at great expense without producing any benefit, were finally sold for fifteen thousand pounds. In order to alleviate the suffering caused by the scarcity of flour, the Assembly, on the 9th of October, in response to a recommendation from the Supreme Executive Council, decided to distribute one hundred barrels of flour among poor housekeepers. A bounty for the supply of firewood was also proposed.

body it had once been. "The number in attendance seldom amounted to thirty, and was often less than twenty-five."¹ One hundred millions of Continental money was already in circulation, but Congress determined at the beginning of the year 1779 to issue fifty millions more; in February, ten millions more, with twenty additional millions of loan certificates; in April, five millions more of bills of credit; and in May and June twenty millions more. The depreciation of the currency which resulted was so rapid that it soon reached twenty for one, and Congress, now thoroughly frightened, called on the States to pay in forty-five millions of the bills, besides the fifteen millions already called for during the current year. It was only natural that the frauds and speculations which were suggested and promoted by the state of the public finances should have excited intense and general indignation. "It gives me very sincere pleasure to find," wrote Washington to President Reed, "that the Assembly is so well disposed to second your endeavors by bringing those murderers of our cause, the monopolizers, forestallers, and engrossers, to condign punishment. It is much to be lamented that each State, long ere this, has not hunted them down as pests to society and the greatest enemies we have to the happiness of America. I would to God that some one of the more atrocious in each State was hung in gibbets upon a gallows five times as high as the one prepared for Haman. No punishment, in my opinion, is too severe for the man who can build his greatness upon his country's ruin." Unfortunately, the very laws adopted for the purpose of putting a stop to these abuses tended only to aggravate them; for, obeyed by the honest, they were violated by the dishonest class whom they were framed to reach, and while patriotic citizens were compelled to suffer because of their fidelity, rogues and Tories prospered and grew rich.

Notwithstanding the arrests and confiscations which had followed the reoccupation of the city by the Americans, the Tory spirit continued unsubdued. Among the most pertinacious British sympathizers was Samuel R. Fisher, a Friend, who was brought before Judge McKean on the charge of having sent information to the enemy at New York. He was convicted and sent to jail without any definite term of imprisonment having been fixed, and remained there until some time in February, 1781, when he was released by the Supreme Executive Council, whom he had tired out by his stubborn refusal to enter a recognition for future good behavior. George Hardy, tried for an overt act of treason in helping to disarm citizens of Southwark, was convicted, sentenced to death, and taken to the place of execution, where, with the rope around his neck, he was reprieved until after the sitting of the next Assembly.²

¹ Hildreth, vol. iii. page 270.

² During the year 1779 the following persons were tried for political offenses:

In May of this year a meeting was held at the German school-house, of which Dr. James Fallon was chairman, and George A. Baker secretary, to consider measures for ascertaining whether persons inimical to the United States remained in the city, and William Bonham, Peter Cooper, Benjamin Harbeson, Jacob Keehmle, William Falconer, Francis Gurney, George A. Baker, William Hardy, Theobald Schreiber, Dr. James Fallon, James Rowan, and Thomas Hale were appointed a committee to hear evidence against such persons.³

James Stephens, for keeping watch for the British at the bridge at Schuylkill, and examining persons going in and out, was acquitted, but ordered to give security for good behavior during the war; Samuel Garrigues, accused of the same offense, was acquitted; William Whitefield, tried for going about with British soldiers, collecting arms from the citizens, was acquitted; David Soleybury Franks, charged with sending information to the enemy at New York, was acquitted; Robert Strettel Jones, tried for high treason, was acquitted; Edw. Culhant, tried for high treason, was acquitted; Joseph Wirt, tried for high treason, was acquitted; Peter Miller, tried for high treason, was acquitted; Richard Mason, tried for high treason, was acquitted; Joseph Pritchard, charged with having been employed by the British to attend Middle Ferry and inspect persons going in and out, was found guilty of misprision of treason, sentenced to forfeit half his property, real and personal, and to imprisonment during the war; John Elmslie, for refusing to serve as constable, was arrested and imprisoned, but discharged Dec. 2, 1780; Daniel Dawson, for the same offense, was imprisoned until October, 1780; William Casseley, alias Thompson, tried for high treason, was convicted, and sentenced to death; Charles Humphreys, for misprision of treason, was acquitted.

There were discharged—no witnesses appearing against them—John Brown, William Williams, Michael Ryan, Christian George, Philip Allebach, William James, and John Pike, upon their giving security for good behavior.

On the 22d of June the following persons were attainted as traitors, and ordered to surrender for trial:

John Bartlett, late clerk in the royal custom-house; George Knappes, baker; Charles Eddy, ironmonger; Thomas York, sail-maker,—late of the city of Philadelphia.

Joseph Greensold, distiller; John Clark, late sheriff's clerk; John Mackinet, merchant; John Kearsley, gentleman, son of Dr. John Kearsley, deceased; John Adams, silk-weaver; and Thomas Mackiness,—of the Northern Liberties.

Peter Arthur, house-carpenter; George Ensor, cooper; Dennis Crockett, lumber merchant; John Patterson, joiner; William Rhoddon, mariner,—of Southwark.

Jacob Falsterstein, yeoman,—Passyunk.

Nathaniel Roberts, yeoman,—Bristol.

Daniel Jones, yeoman,—Moreland.

John Robinson, cordwainer: Isaac Taylor, yeoman,—Whitpain.

Thomas Gordon, yeoman,—Oxford.

Holton Jones, hatter,—Germantown.

Daniel Williams, yeoman,—Horsham.

Frederick Kesselman was specially proclaimed May 5th.

³ In the following month the grand jury made a presentment to the effect that the wives of British enemies still remain among us and keep up an injurious correspondence with the enemies of the country, by giving them intelligence and propagating the most poisonous falsehoods.

The question as to how far citizens taken on the high seas in arms against the United States were liable as traitors or pirates was presented to Judge McKean in August of this year, and a decision was rendered that "all who did not on the 11th of February, 1777, or since, owe any allegiance, are to be deemed prisoners of war; but that those [not] falling within that description may be proceeded against as traitors on the Act of Assembly, entitled an Act for establishing a Court of Admiralty."

The following prisoners, taken at sea, were under confinement in September, all of whom had been citizens of Philadelphia:

John Papley, taken in the "Patey," British letter of marque, under a captain's commission.

The committee held sessions at the State-House, but its proceedings did not satisfy the popular resentment to the Tories, and at length the militia determined to take more active measures. Meetings of the different companies were held and a committee formed, consisting of one man from each company, to effect the arrest of British sympathizers. It soon began to be rumored, however, that this committee would not confine its attentions exclusively to Tories, but would also seek the punishment of all engrossers, monopolizers, and those who sympathized with them, as well as certain lawyers who had appeared as counsel for the accused at the Tory trials. On the 4th of October, placards appeared in various portions of the city, denouncing, among others, Robert Morris, Blair McClenachan, and James Wilson, the latter a signer of the Declaration, but one of the lawyers who had defended the Tories accused of treason. On the same day the committee of militiamen went to the Friends' meeting-house on Pine Street, and when the meeting which was being held there had ended, arrested John Drinker. They then searched for Joseph Wirts in his own house, but failed to find him, after which they arrested Matthew Johns, Bauckridge Sims, and Thomas Story, whom they conducted to Mrs. Burns' tavern on the common. Here a meeting of the militia was held, and being in want of a leader, they sent for Charles Wilson Peale, Col. Brill, Maj. Boyd, and Dr. James Hutchinson, who complied with the summons in the hope of preventing a disturbance, but failing to impress their views upon the meeting withdrew. The militia, who numbered about two hundred, with Miles, a North Carolina captain, Faulkner, a ship-joiner, Pickering, a tailor, and a man named Bonham, as their leaders, set out in search of James Wilson. Wilson and his friends anticipating an attack, had made preparations for resistance. A large party had gathered at his house, at the southwest corner of Third and Walnut Streets, and the Philadelphia Troop of Light-Horse (now the First City Troop) assembled for the purpose of protecting those who were threatened. At the hour for dinner, there being no signs of disturbance, the troopers dispersed to their homes. But the militia were now in motion, and marching down Chestnut to Second Street,

down Second to Walnut, and up Walnut to Third, with drums beating and two pieces of cannon, they arrived at Mr. Wilson's house. At Walnut and Dock Streets the rioters were met by Col. Allen McLane and Col. Grayson, a member of the Board of War, who, addressing Faulkner (who appeared to be the leader), requested that they would not make an attack on Wilson. Faulkner replied that "they had no intention to attack Mr. Wilson or his house. The purpose was to support the Constitution and the Committee of Trade. The laboring part of the city had become desperate from the high price of the necessities of life."

During the halt which resulted from this brief interview, Pickering and Bonham pressed to the front, and, inquiring the cause of the delay, ordered Faulkner to move on. In the rush that followed, McLane and Grayson, together with a number of Quakers and Tories who had been arrested, were swept on with the mob. Wilson's house was a large brick building



RESIDENCE OF JAMES WILSON, KNOWN AS "FORT WILSON."

with an extensive garden fronting on Third and Walnut Streets. Among those in the house at the time were James Wilson, Robert Morris, Mark Burd, John Lawrence, Jr., George Clymer, Daniel Clymer, Col. Stephen Chambers (of Lancaster), John F. Mifflin, Staats Lawrence, Sharpe Delaney, Dr. Jonathan Potts, George Campbell, Paul Beck, David Solebury Franks, Thomas Lawrence, Andrew Robinson, William Bell, John Potts, Jr., Nathaniel Potts, Samuel C. Morris, Matthew McConnell, Capt. Campbell, Gen. Thomas Mifflin, Maj. Francis Nichols, and Gen. Thompson. They were armed, but had not much ammunition; their whole supply consisting of some cartridges with which Maj. Nichols and Daniel Clymer had hastily filled their pockets at the arsenal at Carpenters' Hall, while the mob was on its way from the common. On reaching the corner of Third and Walnut Streets, the militia gave three cheers and continued up Walnut Street. But for the imprudence of Capt. Campbell, one of the party in the house, no trouble, probably, would have resulted. After the rear of the procession had passed, Campbell opened a window, commenced some conversation with persons in the mob,

William Ryan, captain of marines on board the privateer "Jenny," of New York.

Joseph Moffat, taken on board a schooner, prize to the "Bayard," privateer, of New York.

Joseph Paxton, taken on the privateer "Intrepid," of New York.

Jacob Gatchens, captain of the British privateer "Impertinent."

Samuel Saunders, pilot of the British privateer "Impertinent."

James Thompson, seaman, of the British privateer "Impertinent."

Charles McClain, seaman, of the British privateer "Impertinent."

John McDonald, seaman, of the British privateer "Impertinent."

Zachariah Hutchins, prize-master of the British privateer "Impertinent."

James Dawson, Edward Hollan, John Shannon, Charles McBride, John Nardin, Thomas Guitbrey, Robert Dodd, and William Hughes, deserters from the Pennsylvania State fleet, taken on board of British privateers.

and, it is said, shook a pistol "at those in the street." According to the narrative of Philip Hagner, Campbell having discharged his weapon from a third story window, the party in the street immediately facing about, "opened a brisk fire into the house, and Campbell fell mortally wounded." Col. Allen McLane afterwards stated that he heard Campbell "call out to those in arms to pass on," and that "musketry was immediately discharged from the street and from the house." The mob gave way and fled in all directions; but some of the militia passing round into Third Street, Gen. Mifflin opened a second story window in Wilson's house and attempted to address them. He was fired at, the ball striking near the sash and breaking it, whereupon he discharged both his pistols into the street. An unsuccessful attempt was made to force the door of the house, but a sledge-hammer, procured by a rioter, named Huler, from a blacksmith's shop in Pear Street, was used with such effect that the door soon gave way, and Huler, accompanied by a German who had aided in procuring the sledge-hammer, rushed in. They were confronted by Col. Chambers, who fired upon them, wounding the German. Huler rushed forward and seizing Chambers by the hair, dragged him down stairs, and pierced his body with a bayonet; but before he could inflict further injuries was pulled off by Hagner, a non-combatant. Chambers was borne off in safety to Willing's house by Hagner and Col. Mifflin. Several others who entered the house, according to Col. McLane's statement, were wounded by the inmates from the stair-case and cellar windows. During the temporary check thus given to the mob Wilson's friends barricaded the doorway with tables, chairs, etc., and, before the rioters had rallied, Gen. Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Executive Council, made his appearance on the scene, followed soon after by Maj. Lenox, the two Majors Nichols, Thomas Morris, Alexander Nesbitt, Isaac Cox, and Thomas Leiper, of the troop of light-horse, who, together with the troopers belonging to Col. Baylor's regiment, whom they had met on the way, wheeled suddenly round Chestnut Street, and charged upon and dispersed the mob.¹

¹ On his way down Third Street President Reed overtook Gen. Benedict Arnold, who, in his carriage, was being driven towards the place of riot. Mr. Reed forbade him to proceed further, "which order was sullenly obeyed." "After the riot was quelled," says Philip Hagner, in his narrative, "and Gen. Reed had left the ground, Gen. Arnold came down Third Street in his carriage, and stopped at the door of Mr. Wilson's house. Some of the gentlemen from the house assisted him out of his carriage, he being lame. In getting out I heard him say, 'Your President has raised a mob, and he cannot quell it.' He then went up-stairs into the house and showed himself at the window with a pair of pistols."

Samuel R. Fisher, then a Tory prisoner in the jail at Third and Market Streets, thus relates his experience of the riot: "From the jail I saw Joseph Reed, Timothy Matlack, James Claypoole, and John O. Kelly, on horseback, come down Market Street, the two first with drawn swords in their hands. They rode round the corner of Third Street and proceeded to Wilson's house, where, with a number of those called the City Light-Horse, they dispersed and took up those called Militia, some of whom they brought to jail. They then returned to Market Street,

Many of the rioters were arrested and sent to jail, a number having been wounded by the sabres of the cavalry. A man and a boy were killed in the street, and of the party in the house Capt. Campbell was killed and Messrs. Mifflin, Chambers, and S. C. Morris were wounded. A guard was placed at the powder magazine and arsenal, and the streets were patrolled by the City Troop during most of the night. Owing to the active part taken by the troop in the suppression of the riot, the feeling against them was very bitter. Maj. Lenox especially was singled out for destruction. An attack upon him at his residence in Germantown by a midnight mob was only frustrated by means of a pledge which he gave to open the door at daylight and the prompt arrival of some of his comrades, whom, in the mean time, he had contrived to summon to his aid from Philadelphia. Owing to the excited state of public feeling the persons who had defended Wilson's house were advised to leave the city, but after considering the matter at a meeting held at Mr. Gray's house, about five miles below Gray's Ferry, they decided to return to town. It was deemed expedient, however, that Mr. Wilson should absent himself for a time. The others made their appearance in Philadelphia as usual, and attended the funeral of Capt. Campbell.

On the day following the riot a meeting of militia officers was held at the court-house, at which violent measures for the release of the militiamen confined in jail were proposed, and would doubtless have been carried into effect had not a compromise been reached by which the soldiers were admitted to bail. The twenty-seven prisoners, on being released, drew up in front of the jail and gave three cheers, after which they marched to the court-house, where they were addressed by President Reed. On the same day a large meeting was held in the Supreme Court room, at the State-House, at which many of the clergy and principal citizens were present, including Robert Morris and Sharpe Delaney, who had assisted in the defense of Wilson's house. President Reed spoke at

at the corner of which I saw them meet some of the militia, who had got two brass field-pieces, and were going with them to join their companions. With much difficulty Reed, Matlack, Claypoole, and Kelly, with sundry assistants, forced the militia into the jail, not without many strokes of their swords, and, taking hold of the horses, led away the field-pieces. Reed's party, with the Light-Horse, were frequently putting some into jail this afternoon, till the number amounted to twenty-seven. Reed's party all went away, when an attempt was made by a collection of people in the street to break the jail and let out the militia, and, had not Hossman [the keeper] got a hint of it, and very suddenly shut the outer door, they might have accomplished their purpose. But in a short time a portion of the Light-Horse returned, and a parcel of the bucks and blades of the town were stationed under arms, also some artillery-men and field-pieces, both of which remained all night, as it was said a party from Germantown were coming to assist. A little before dark, John Drinker, Buckridge Sims, Thomas Story, and Matthew Johns came into my room and informed me they had been under guard in the street near Wilson's house during all the firing, and were afterwards taken out a second time to Burns' Tavern, and from thence had been on their way home by order of some of the Light-Horse, but accidentally meeting Joseph Reed in Arch Street, they were ordered by him to jail, as they said, for the safety of their own persons from violence."

this meeting also, and by his prudent and conciliatory course succeeded in soothing the passions of both parties. On the following day, however, some of Wilson's friends paraded with cannon and insulted members of the opposing faction; but although there was considerable excitement, no outbreak followed. Meanwhile, on the 5th, the Assembly offered its assistance to the president and Council in any measures that might be necessary to restore tranquillity, and on the 6th the Council issued a proclamation calling on the rioters and the inmates of Wilson's house to surrender themselves to the sheriff or some justice of the peace until an examination could be made under due process of law, and ascribing the disturbances to "the undue countenance and encouragement which has been shown to persons disaffected to the liberty and independence of America by some whose rank and character, in other respects, gave weight to their conduct. The unweaned opposition, and the contempt manifested in many instances to the laws and public authority of the State," it was added, "have also contributed; and justice also requires us to declare that some licentious and unworthy characters, taking advantage of the unhappy tumult, artfully kindled by themselves, have led many innocent and otherwise well-disposed persons into outrages and insults which, it is hoped, on cool reflection, they will condemn."

On the 10th the Assembly formally thanked President Reed for his exertions in suppressing the riot, and assuring him of their support in all similar crises. The proceedings growing out of the affair finally ended in a compromise. Neither the militia nor Wilson's friends were prosecuted, and on the 13th of March, 1780, an act of amnesty and pardon to all the persons implicated was passed by the Assembly. The sanguinary character of the attack on the Wilson house caused it to be known as "Fort Wilson," a name which it kept as long as it remained standing.

An outbreak among the sailors in January, 1779, was of much less consequence. Complaining that their wages were too low, they undertook to force the merchants to increase them, and with that object paraded the streets, displaying clubs and other weapons. At the wharves they compelled workmen to suspend their labor, and unstripped some of the vessels in order to prevent them from sailing. In this emergency, Gen. Arnold was called upon for military aid, but after fifteen of the rioters had been arrested, order was restored without further trouble.

Owing to depredations on vessels belonging to Philadelphia by British privateers from New York it was decided by the Supreme Executive Council, in March, 1779, to procure a cruiser to be employed in the service of the State. A new vessel, the "General Greene," was purchased, and placed under the command of Capt. James Montgomery. Blair McClenachan and Matthew Irwin were appointed agents to fit out the vessel, and in order to obtain seamen

with which to man her, an embargo upon the sailing of any commercial vessel was proclaimed about the 1st of June. The sum of £20,000 was subscribed by citizens of Philadelphia towards fitting out the "General Greene," and £40,000 was contributed by the State. About the 1st of June the vessel set sail, with a crew of one hundred and twelve men. On passing the Capes the "General Greene" fell in with the schooner "Humming Bird," laden with tobacco, which had been captured by the British privateer "Bayard," and retook her. The privateers "Imperitent" and "Bayard," of New York, were subsequently captured by the "General Greene," which in October took another New York privateer, besides recapturing two American vessels. On the return of the "General Greene" to Philadelphia, the Council ordered her to be sold, the increase in the number of privateers belonging to Philadelphia merchants having rendered it unnecessary to retain her in the service. The armed galleys "Fame," "Franklin," "Hancock," "Chatham," "Lion," and "Viper," and the "Dragon," look-out boat, were employed on the bay and river. The "Experiment," "Dickinson," "Burke," and "Effingham," armed boats, and the hulls of the "Washington" and "Effingham" frigates, burned by the British at Bordentown in 1778, were sold. The "Holker," a privateer commissioned during this year, and commanded by Capt. Geddes, made many important captures, including the snow "Diana," from London for New York, with eighty cannon, sixty swivels, ten coehorns, powder, ball, and ammunition; supplies which were of great value to the Continental army.¹

¹ Geddes was succeeded by Matthew Lawlor as captain of the "Holker" in the latter part of the year. It was probably after the return from the first voyage of the latter that the following circumstance happened, as related by Richard Peters, who was commissioner of war in 1779: "Gen. Washington wrote to me that all his powder was wet, and that he was entirely without lead or balls, so that, should the enemy approach him, he must retreat. I received this letter while I was going to a grand gala at the Spanish ambassador's (Don Juan de Miralles), who lived in Mr. Chew's fine house on South Third Street. The spacious gardens were superbly decorated with variegated lamps, and the edifice itself was in a blaze of light. The show was splendid, but my feelings were far from being in harmony with all this brilliancy. I met at this party my friend Robert Morris, who soon discovered the state of my mind. 'You are not yourself to-night, Peters. What's the matter?' asked Morris. Notwithstanding my unlimited confidence in that great patriot, it was some time before I could prevail on myself to disclose the cause of my depression, but at length I ventured to give him a hint of my inability to answer the pressing demands of the commander-in-chief. 'The army is without lead, and I know not where to get an ounce to supply it. The general must retreat for want of ammunition.' 'Well, let him retreat,' replied the high and liberal-minded Morris, 'but cheer up. There are in the "Holker" privateer, just arrived, ninety tons of lead, one-half of which is mine, and at your service. The residue you can get by applying to Blair McClenachan and Holker, both of whom are in the house with us.'

"I accepted the offer from Mr. Morris," said Mr. Commissioner Peters, "with many thanks, and addressed myself immediately to the two gentlemen who owned the other half for their consent to sell, but they had already trusted a large amount of clothing to the Continental Congress, and were unwilling to give that body any further credit. I informed Morris of their refusal. 'Tell them,' said he, 'that I will pay them for their share.' This settled the business. The lead was de-

The schooner "Mars," Capt. Taylor, captured an English transport, having on board a Hessian colonel and two hundred men, together with a cargo of dry goods, and after a spirited fight, the British privateer "Active." The "Mars," which took several commercial vessels during the summer, frequently cruised in company with a vessel commanded by Capt. Spencer, and assisted in taking several additional prizes.

After her capture by the "General Greene," the "Impertinent" was sent out under the American flag in charge of Capt. Young, and falling in with the British cruiser "Harlem," gave chase. The "Harlem" was abandoned off Lewes by her crew, who made their escape. The privateer "Hunter," a schooner under the command of Capt. John Douglass, when off Cape May, having captured a schooner from St. Kitts laden with rum, was engaged by a large ship of twenty-two guns, and so badly damaged that she was compelled to draw off. The schooner "Addition," Capt. Craig, made several captures, and the "Comet," Capt. Stephen Decatur, took a packet-boat from England, but accomplished little else during the several cruises which she made. Capt. John Macpherson now became active in the privateering business again, and fitted out a little squadron, consisting of the sloop "Tiger," Capt. Martin Parkinson; the schooner "Cat," Capt. Macpherson; and the schooner "Jackal," Capt. Inslee Anderson, of which Macpherson wished to be commodore. The other officers, however, refused to submit to his authority, and when Macpherson, his own vessel having been upset, went on board the "Tiger," and attempted to take command, Parkinson resisted, and the enterprise was abandoned. On returning to port, Macpherson sued Parkinson for fifty thousand pounds damages for breaking up the voyage.¹

About this time four sailors of the sloop "Terrible," of New York, rose on the captain and the rest of the crew, took the vessel, and brought her into Philadelphia. The "Trial," a British privateer of ten guns, was sent in by the "Boston" and "Deane" frigates. The privateer "Pole," of New York, a ship carrying twenty-four six and nine-pounders, surrendered to

the "Boston" without resistance, and was sent to Philadelphia.

Of vessels bearing letters of marque, the ship "General Mercer," Capt. Robinson, brought in the ship "Minerva," of sixteen guns, captured after a smart engagement. The brig "Hibernia," Capt. Angus, had two sea-fights in October, and lost ten men killed and wounded. The "Intrepid," Capt. Gardner, brought in four prizes in December.

On the 21st of April, George Ross, of Lancaster, was appointed judge of the admiralty, but died on the 13th of July, and was succeeded by Francis Hopkinson.

Having determined to occupy the fortifications at Billingsport and Mud Island, the Supreme Executive Council sent Col. Bull to repair the banks and sluices at the latter place, to complete barracks for fifty men and their officers, and to make, as soon as possible, six *chevaux-de-frise*, to be sunk at different depths. The plans for these works were furnished by Gen. Du Portail, a French engineer. Col. Proctor was sent to Billingsport on the 29th of March, 1779, with thirty men, twenty being stationed at Mud Island. Proctor was to stop inward-bound vessels, and if the result of the examination was favorable, he was to signal Mud Island to that effect. The forts were provided with cannon, and in April two companies of the Philadelphia militia (artillery) were ordered to be sent down to Billingsport and Mud Island to relieve Proctor, who was transferred to another point. In October the workmen at these points were discharged, and in consequence of the unhealthiness of the posts the troops were withdrawn with the exception of a sergeant and fifteen men, who were to be relieved every week by a new party.

Some uneasiness was created in Philadelphia, in June, by the impression that the British contemplated a sudden movement on the city, and orders were issued to the lieutenants of the different counties to put the battalions in an efficient condition. The alarm was only temporary; but in October the Assembly received a letter from Gen. Washington requesting the co-operation of the State authorities in raising a force to assist in an attack upon New York in conjunction with the fleet. President Reed issued a proclamation calling on the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march at short notice. The light-horse were divided into two squadrons, and Col. Eyre was appointed to command the artillery. President Reed announced that he intended to take the field at the head of the Pennsylvania troops, and Col. John Bull was appointed adjutant-general; David Jackson, quartermaster-general; Dr. James Hutchinson, surgeon- and physician-general; James Searle, Jared Ingersoll, and Mr. Shields, aides-de-camp; and Maj. Eustace, extra aide-de-camp. In consequence of the failure of Count D'Estaing to arrive with the fleet, the projected movement was abandoned.

livered. I set three or four hundred men to work, who manufactured it into cartridge bullets for Washington's army, to which it gave complete relief."

¹ Capt. Macpherson's son, Maj. William Macpherson, a Philadelphian by birth, was an officer in the King's Sixteenth Regiment of Foot. He was a brother of Capt. John Macpherson, who was killed at Quebec. At the first opportunity he sold out his commission and succeeded in effecting his escape from the British lines to Philadelphia, where he tendered his services to the Board of War and the Supreme Executive Council. He was commissioned a major in the Pennsylvania line, and, after the war, became the commander of the celebrated volunteer corps, "Macpherson Blues." Capt. Alexander Fowler, of the Eighteenth British Regiment, came to Philadelphia about the same time. His sympathies were strongly with the Americans, and he determined, on the breaking out of hostilities, to quit the British service. Having sold his commission he went with the family to France, and brought them to America, with the intention of becoming a citizen of the United States.

The agitation for the abolition of slavery, whose progress has been traced in these pages, was now about to be crowned with success. On the 5th of February, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council in a message to the Assembly suggested that a plan be adopted "for the gradual abolition of slavery, so disgraceful to any people, and more especially to those who have been contending in the great cause of liberty themselves, and upon whom Providence has bestowed such eminent marks of its favor and protection." "Honored will that State be in the annals of mankind," it was added, "which shall first abolish this violation of the rights of mankind; and the memories of those will be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance who shall pass the law to restore and establish the rights of human nature in Pennsylvania." The draft of a law was adopted by the Council, but the Assembly passed a resolution to the effect that, while it was strongly impressed with the policy of abolition, it could not consent to receive the proposed law from the Council, as the Constitution had committed the power of originating laws to the Assembly. It was moved to amend that "the House, having full power, will in due time appoint a committee to bring in a bill for that valuable purpose;" but the amendment was lost by a vote of twenty-two yeas to twenty-seven nays. A motion to dismiss the subject entirely was carried by a vote of twenty-nine yeas to twenty-one nays, and a resolution adopted that as the Constitution vested in the General Assembly the whole powers of legislation, all bills proposed to be enacted into laws ought to originate in the House. A bill was shortly afterwards introduced in the manner designated, which was read twice. Nothing more was done with it, although the Council called attention to the matter in September.

A new Assembly was elected in the following month, and George Bryan, formerly vice-president of the Executive Council, who was a member of the newly-chosen body, moved that the subject of emancipation be referred to a committee. His motion was agreed to, and Mr. Bryan prepared a new preamble and the draft of a law for gradual emancipation, which, on the 29th of February, 1780, was adopted by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-one.¹

"Our bill," wrote George Bryan to Samuel Adams, "astonishes and pleases the Quakers. They looked for no such benevolent issue of our new government, exercised by Presbyterians." The bill declared that no child born thereafter in Pennsylvania of slave parents should be a slave, but a servant until the age of twenty-eight years, at which time all claim of service on the part of the master should cease. All slaves then in the State were required to be registered before the 1st of November under penalty of their becoming immediately free, as none were to be deemed slaves unless registered. Negro slaves were to be tried

in the same manner as other persons; and, in case of sentence of death, to be valued, and the price paid out of the State treasury.²

We have seen that stringent measures had been taken against individual Philadelphians who sided with the British, but the hostility of the Whigs was now extended to corporate bodies, and the first to feel the weight of their displeasure was the College of Philadelphia. The provost, Rev. William Smith, a Scotchman by birth, and a clergyman of the Church of England, who had received the degree of D.D. from the University of Oxford, was suspected of Tory proclivities. Before the war he had taken part with the proprietaries in their disputes with the Legislature, and his course in this respect had rendered him objectionable to a large and influential party. He was frequently attacked in the newspapers and openly accused of leaning to the British side. Several of the trustees were known to be unfriendly to the American cause, and some of them had actually gone over to the enemy. In fact, the college was generally regarded as a Tory institution, and as such was constantly exposed to the interference of the Whig authorities. By their discreet and prudent course, however, its officers succeeded in averting the danger for a time. When the Continental Congress first assembled in Philadelphia it was invited to attend the commencement exercises, and, the invitation having been accepted, the members proceeded in a body from the State-House to the college. Through the influence, it is supposed, of Benjamin Franklin, who was a strong friend of the institution, a clause was inserted in the State Constitution of 1776, which provided that all "societies incorporated for the advancement of religion and learning, or for other pious and charitable purposes," should continue to enjoy the rights and privileges which they had formerly possessed; but on the 2d of January, 1778, an act was passed by the General Assembly suspending, for a limited time, the power and authority of the trustees of the college and academy, and depriving them of all their powers under the charter. In the "act for the better security of government," passed at Lancaster, on the 1st of April following, it was provided that "all trustees, provosts,

² To George Bryan belongs the chief share of credit for the passage of this humane and enlightened measure. His services in this direction are given special prominence in the inscription upon his tombstone, which was originally in the burying-ground of the Second Presbyterian Church, Arch Street near Fifth. The inscription is as follows:

"In memory of GEORGE BRYAN, who died 27th January, 1791, aged sixty years. Mr. Bryan was among the earliest and most active and uniform friends of the rights of man before the Revolutionary war. As a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and of the Congress of New York in 1765, and as a citizen, he was conspicuous in opposition to the Stamp Act and other acts of British tyranny. He was equally an opponent of domestic slavery. The emancipation of the people of color engaged the feelings of his heart and the energies of his mind, and the Act of abolition [which] laid the foundation of their liberation issued from his pen. He filled several important offices during the Revolutionary contest, and for the last eleven years of his life he was one of the judges of the Supreme Court. In his private deportment he was exemplary,—a Christian in principle and practice."

¹ Bancroft, vol. x. p. 360.

rectors, professors, masters, and tutors of any college or academy, and all schoolmasters and ushers . . . should be prohibited from acting in those capacities unless they took the oath of allegiance,"—a measure directly aimed at the college faculty.

In February, 1779, the growing hostility to the college showed itself in the passage of a resolution appointing a committee to inquire into the rise, design, and condition of the college, with power to send for persons and papers. The queries propounded by this committee were answered by Provost Smith, at the desire of the trustees, in a paper defending the course of the trustees and officers, and refuting the charges against them. No decision was reached by the Assembly at that session, but at the opening of the following session the matter was again brought up in the message of President Reed, and on the 27th of November, 1779, a law was enacted abrogating the proprietary charters of the college, and removing from office the provost, vice-provost, professors, and all others connected with the institution. The rights and property vested in the trustees were transferred to other hands, and it was provided that the college should thereafter be known as "The University of the State of Pennsylvania." A practically new institution was thus created, which the Assembly endowed with an annual income of fifteen hundred pounds, to be derived from confiscated lands. As an excuse for the adoption of this radical measure it was alleged that the academy and college had been founded in a spirit of "free and unlimited catholicism," but that the trustees had, by action taken on the 14th of June, 1764, "departed from the plan of the original founders, and narrowed the foundation of the said institution." The object of the act, it was claimed, was to restore the foundation to its original character.¹

A new board of trustees was appointed by the Assembly, consisting of three classes. The first class consisted of persons holding offices under the govern-

ment who were *ex officio* members of the board. These were, when the act was passed: 1, The president of the Supreme Executive Council, Joseph Reed; 2, the vice-president of the Council, William Moore; 3, the speaker of the General Assembly, John Bayard; 4, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, Thomas McKean; 5, the judge of the Admiralty, Francis Hopkinson; 6, the attorney-general, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant. The second class consisted of six clergymen,—the senior ministers of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, German Calvinist, Baptist, and Catholic Churches, viz., Rev. William White, an earnest friend of the college under the old management; Rev. John Ewing, Rev. John Christopher Kunze, Rev. Caspar Weyberg, Rev. William Rogers, and Rev. Ferdinand Farmer. The third class was composed of thirteen individuals,—Dr. Benjamin Franklin, then United States Minister at Paris; William Shippen, Benjamin Searle, and Frederick Muhlenberg, members of Congress from Pennsylvania; William Augustus Atlee and John Evans, judges of the Supreme Court; Timothy Matlack, secretary of the Supreme Executive Council; David Rittenhouse, State treasurer; Jonathan Bayard Smith, Samuel Morris, George Bryan, Dr. Thomas Bond, and Dr. James Hutchinson. As was to have been expected, these individuals, chosen more on account of their prominence in public affairs than because of any special fitness for the duties, paid but little attention to the details of management, and the administration of affairs soon became feeble and inefficient.

Another important measure with which the Assembly was called upon to deal about this time was the extinguishment of the proprietary interest in the commonwealth. Quit-rents to a large amount and a number of manors and other real estate were still the property of the Penns, although their government had been formally superseded by that of the people's representatives, and a settlement with the Penn family had been rendered necessary. Chief Justice McKean having been applied to by the Assembly, expressed the opinion that the quit-rents were legal reservations for the private use of William Penn, and that the pre-emption right of buying land from the Indians was a proper one, under the charter from Charles II., to be exercised by Penn and his successors; but that by the Revolution those rights as well as the charter totally ceased, and could not be executed again. Judge McKean's views were opposed, except in one particular, to the wishes of the Whigs, who decided not to adopt them. The matter had been under consideration since February, 1778, and John Penn having been notified was represented by counsel. During the early part of 1779, after the subject had been debated for five days, the Assembly adopted a series of resolutions to the effect that the charter of Charles II. was general in character and "ought to be considered as containing a public trust for the benefit of those who should settle in the State of Pennsylvania,

¹ The assertion of the Assembly that the foundation had been narrowed was not warranted by facts. The resolution of the trustees referred to was taken in connection with a letter signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Thomas and Richard Penn in reference to the Rev. Dr. Smith's collections in England in behalf of the college, in which, after alluding to the fact that the institution had been originally founded and carried on "for the general benefit of a mixed body of people," and that "people of various denominations" had "contributed liberally and freely" to its support, the hope was expressed that the foundation would not be narrowed, whereby some party "might endeavor to exclude the rest, or put them on a worse footing than they have been from the beginning or were at the time of this collection, which might not only be deemed unjust in itself, but might likewise be productive of dissension unfriendly to learning and hurtful to religion." It was therefore recommended that the trustees should "make some fundamental rule or declaration to prevent inconveniences of this kind," etc. The trustees, after inserting this letter in their minutes, added a resolve "that they would keep this plan closely in view, and use their utmost endeavors that the same be not narrowed, nor the members of the Church of England or those dissenting therefrom . . . be put on any worse footing in this seminary than they were at the time of obtaining the royal brief." So far from narrowing the foundation, therefore, the trustees took especial pains to preserve it in its original breadth and liberality.

coupled with a particular interest accruing to the said William Penn and his heirs, but in its very nature and essence subject and subordinate to the great and general purposes of society mentioned in the said grant;" that the quit-rents and payments of money upon land other than their own tenths or manors imposed by the proprietaries, were in violation of the original charter and concessions; that the re-establishment of the powers and claims of the heirs of William Penn as they had been exercised both in property and government was "not to be admitted in a government founded upon equal liberty and the authority of the people; that all the property of the proprietaries in Pennsylvania other than the quit-rents arising from lands allotted to servants at the end of their servitude, and the reserved lands known by the names of proprietaries, tenths of manors, and such purchases as may have been made by them or either of them in their private right or capacity, should be vested in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the use and benefit of the inhabitants; "that commissioners be appointed, who shall hold a board, to be called the board of property, which shall be vested with full power to demand, receive, and collect all papers, books, records, maps, draughts, surveys, and other papers, now in the possession of the said proprietaries, or any persons heretofore holding offices under them, touching, or in anywise respecting the administration or management of the lands within this State, and also to be vested with power to grant patents, confirm suspended titles, under a seal of office to be by them devised, to appoint deputy surveyors in each county (the surveyor-general and receiver-general being appointed by Council) and such other officers as may be necessary, and to receive such moneys as may hereafter arise from the sale of the lands within this State that are not yet surveyed or located;" and that, finally, "all quit-rents heretofore reserved by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, other than the quit-rents before mentioned, being badges of slavery, and reserved without any just authority, shall be abolished, and be no longer demanded of the free citizens of this State."

In compensation for the rights of which they were thus deprived, it was determined that the Penn family should be paid one hundred and thirty thousand pounds in five years after the passage of the act. The Penns also retained their manors and other real estate, their ground-rents, and quit-rents derived from the manors, and were still the largest landed proprietors in Pennsylvania. From the British government they received in addition an annuity of four thousand pounds for the losses resulting to them from the Revolution.

In January of this year, 1779, Washington paid another visit to Philadelphia, remaining about two weeks, as the guest of Henry Laurens, president of Congress, and Mrs. Washington came on from Mount

Vernon to meet him. The Supreme Executive Council adopted a resolution requesting Washington to sit for his portrait. The invitation was complied with, and the portrait was painted by Charles Wilson Peale.¹

On the 18th Congress celebrated the alliance with France by a banquet to the French minister, at which thirteen toasts were drunk, accompanied by salutes of artillery. Various other public occasions were celebrated during the year.—St. Tammany's Day, the first recorded observance of a noted anniversary, on the 1st of May by the Sons of St. Tammany, "and their adopted brethren of St. Patrick, St. Andrew, and St. George," with a dinner at the old theatre, Southwark; the Fourth of July, which, falling on Sunday, was observed on the 5th (Congress having on the previous day attended services at Christ Episcopal Church and the Catholic Chapel) by an oration in the Dutch Calvinist Church by Mr. Brackenridge, an entertainment given by Congress to the French minister, president, and chief officials of the State, French consul, and others, and a display of fire-works in the evening; the birthday of Louis XVI., on the 23d of August, with salutes from the vessels in the harbor and the city artillery, ringing of bells, and pyrotechnics from a stage erected before President Reed's official residence, at Sixth and Market Streets; the arrival, in less than a month later, of M. de Luzerne, the new French minister, and M. Marbois, secretary of the commission, who were escorted into the city by the light-horse and citizens amid firing of cannon and ringing of bells, and honored by a dinner given by Congress in the following month; the departure of Henry Laurens, president of Congress, who set out for Charleston November 10th, on his way to Holland as an envoy from Congress, and was escorted as far as Gray's Ferry by members of Congress and others;² and the election of Joseph Reed as president, and William Moore as vice-president of the State, celebrated in November by the usual procession, with a dinner afterwards at the City Tavern, at which M. de Luzerne, the French minister, was present. Another incident of a different character was the burial of William Henry Drayton, member of Congress from South Carolina, on the 4th of September,³ which was followed on the 11th of Oc-

¹ Don Juan Miralles, then spoken of as "a Spanish gentleman of distinction and high character," but who afterwards appeared in his true rôle of ambassador from the court of Spain, ordered five copies, of which four were sent to Europe. The original was placed in the Council chamber. Peale published a mezzotint engraving of this picture the next year, of the size fourteen by ten inches. It was the largest and most authentic portrait of Washington that had yet been engraved. This fine painting of Peale was not suffered to remain long in the possession of the Council. In September, 1781, some Tories broke into the Council room, in the State-House, and totally defaced this portrait, as also a curious picture, entitled, "A Monument to General Montgomery."

² Laurens was captured by the British on the voyage out, and thrown into the tower as a prisoner of state.

³ The funeral service was performed at Christ Church, by Rev. William White, D.D., and the body interred in the cemetery adjoining.

tober by that of Joseph Hewes, member of Congress from North Carolina.¹

Now that the authority of Congress and the State government had been firmly re-established, home manufactures began to revive. Works for drawing wire were erected by Nicholas Garrison, Valentine Eckert, and Henry Voight, but were soon relinquished owing to the defective character of the iron furnished by the manufacturers. In August John Marshall unsuccessfully petitioned the Executive Council for aid to set up a manufactory of thread, and Hewson & Long re-established a linen-printing factory in Kensington adjoining the glass-works.

The year 1780 opened in Philadelphia under rather discouraging circumstances for the patriot cause. Considerable difficulty was experienced both in city and county in levying taxes, and divers means were resorted to in order to evade the law. The Quakers were particularly troublesome, declining to furnish any information as to the extent of their property, although liable to fourfold taxes in case of concealment.² Great embarrassment was also caused by the depreciation of the Continental currency, whose value had become almost nominal. The State currency was affected by the general distrust, and as one of the measures for maintaining its credit, a list of officers of the State and lawyers and others who agreed to take the paper money of the issue of March, 1780, as equivalent to gold and silver, was published.³

The pall-bearers were President Reed and two members of the Executive Council, Judge Hopkinson, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, and Gen. Hogan. The president and members of Congress as mourners, and the French minister and suite were present.

¹ Mr. Hewes was buried at Christ Church, next to Mr. Drayton.

² Thompson Westcott.

³ The following were the signers of this agreement: Joseph Reed, president; William Moore, vice-president; John Lacey, Jr., Joseph Gardner, John Hambright, Thomas Scott, Jacob Arnt, members of Council; T. Matlack, secretary of Council; John Ord, Plunket Fleeson, Isaac Howell, David Kennedy, William Rush, Benjamin Paschall, William Adcock, justices of the peace; Samuel Miles, Joseph Dean, J. Miller, John Purviance, auditors of accounts; Thomas McKean, chief justice; George Bryan, fourth justice of the Supreme Court; James Searle, Jared Ingersoll, Frederick A. Muhlenberg, delegates in Congress; Jonathan Sergeant, attorney-general; J. B. Smith, prothonotary of Common Pleas; Andrew Robeson, register of Admiralty; William Bradford, Jr., register of Court of Appeals; John Morris, Jr., register of deeds; John Haley, clerk of Sessions; Frederick Phila, naval officer; Edw. Burd, prothonotary of Supreme Court; Ephraim Bonham, Frederick Hagner, William Bartram, Benjamin Dungan, sub-lieutenants; Francis Hopkinson, judge of Admiralty; John Armstrong, delegate in Congress; James Claypool, sheriff; William Henry, lieutenant of city; Matt. Clarkson, marshal of Admiralty; Thomas Paine, clerk of General Assembly. Practitioners of law who will take the bills at par: James Wilson, Asheton Humphreys, G. North, George Campbell, Henry Osborne, John Vannost, William Lewis. Merchants and traders who will take the paper money issued by Act of Assembly of the 25th of March, 1780, as of equal value with gold and silver: Robert Morris, J. M. Neelitt & Co., Meredith & Clymer, Blair McClenachan, Hugh Shiell, John Nixon, William Richards, Mease & Caldwell, John Dunlap, John Donaldson, Thomas Lefter, David Duncan, William Alricks, F. C. Hassenclever, Thomas Fitzsimmons, P. Whitelide & Co., Manuel Eyre, G. Clarkson, William Hall, Andrew Tybout, R. Humphreys, James White, George Henry, Ephraim Blaine, David Lenox, Francis Nichols, John Benezet, Cox & Lawrence, S. C. Morris & Co., Paul Fooks, George Meade, John Wilcocks, Sharpe Delaney, Thomas Irwin, Joseph Carson, James Ash,

On the 31st of May the Assembly passed an act suspending the law making Continental bills a tender for three months. Subsequently the suspension, after having been prolonged by the Assembly for a specified time, was continued indefinitely. On the 1st of June the Assembly authorized the passage of an act to redeem the Continental bills to the amount of twenty-five millions of dollars by the collection of taxes at the rate of one million of dollars to forty millions. Three days previously (May 29th) the Assembly had passed resolutions authorizing a loan of two hundred thousand pounds to be effected on behalf of the State and payable in ten years. Hon. James Searle was appointed agent to negotiate the loan in Europe, with instructions, if he succeeded, to purchase clothing for the troops, military stores, etc., and one hundred chests of Bohea tea and twenty-five chests of green tea. Searle, however, failed to negotiate the loan, and was recalled in the summer of 1781.

In the mean time the outlook for the American cause grew rapidly darker. In its winter-quarters at Morristown the army was undergoing privations and sufferings equal to those of Valley Forge, and in the South the British generals seemed to be carrying all before them. But notwithstanding the general anxiety and gloom, the patriotic citizens of Philadelphia continued their labors in behalf of the cause without relaxation, and when news was received of the surrender of Charleston to the British, on the 28th of May, the announcement, instead of discouraging them, seemed to infuse new life and vigor into their efforts. The ladies were the first to move. Among themselves they instituted subscriptions for a fund to supply destitute soldiers with clothing, and in a few weeks had raised three hundred thousand six hundred and thirty-four dollars, equal in specie to seven thousand five hundred pounds. The wife of Lafayette contributed one hundred guineas in specie, and the Countess de Luzerne six thousand dollars in Continental paper and one hundred and fifty dollars in specie.⁴

John Mease, John Shee, Budden & Lawrence, Isaac Wikoff, James Crawford, John Pringle, Bertles Shee, Samuel Inglis, Matthew Irwin, William Semple, William Turnbull, Jacob Morris, A. & H. Hodge, A. Hodge, Sr., Michael Hillegas, Isaac Melchor, Melchor & Vandever, John Peters, Jr., Nathan Bush, J. Lawerswyler, Andrew Forsyth, John Rupp, Robert Werr, Peter Paris, Styner & Cist, William Will, J. Pickering, Jacob Schreiner, David Boehm, D. Schaffer, Jr., John Schaffer, Isaac Moses, Lewis Farmer.

⁴ Mrs. Esther Reed, wife of Gen. Joseph Reed, was the chief officer of the committee under whose direction these contributions were obtained. The members of the committee, who made the collections were, Mrs. G. B. Eyre, Mrs. Coates, and Mrs. J. B. Smith, for the Northern Liberties; Mrs. F. Wade, for the district from Vine to Race Streets; Mrs. Hutchinson, Mrs. Hassenclever, Mrs. Hillegas, and Mr. and Mrs. Clarkson, from Race to Arch Streets; Mrs. Thompson Richards, Mrs. J. Blair, and Mrs. T. Smith, from Arch to Market Streets; Mrs. R. Bache, Mrs. T. Francis, Mrs. J. Mitchell, Mrs. J. Caldwell, and Mrs. B. McClenachan, from Market to Chestnut Streets; Mrs. S. Caldwell and Mrs. Dr. Rush, from Chestnut to Walnut Streets; Mrs. J. Mease and Mrs. James Wilson, from Walnut to Spruce Streets; Mrs. T. McKean, Mrs. J. Searle, Mrs. J. Mease, Mrs. Dr. Shippen, and Mrs. R. Morris, from Spruce to Pine Streets; Mrs. W. Turnbull and Mrs. J. Benezet, from Pine to South

The money thus obtained was employed, at the suggestion of Gen. Washington, in furnishing shirts to the army, and many of these garments were made up by Philadelphia ladies. The patriotic action of the women was followed by an organized movement among the men for obtaining supplies for the army through the agency of a bank. This institution was known as the "Bank of Pennsylvania," and its object was declared to be the supplying of "the army of the United States with provisions for two months." Each subscriber gave his bond to the directors of the bank for such sum as he desired, obligating himself to pay it in specie in case such payment became necessary to meet the bank's engagements. The securities amounted to the sum of three hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, Pennsylvania currency, at the rate of 7s. 6d. to the dollar. The directors were authorized to borrow money on the credit of the bank for six months or any shorter period on special notes at six per cent. interest, and were to receive from Congress such sums as might be appropriated for the reimbursement of the bank. When the latter source and the amounts occasionally borrowed or interest failed to afford sufficient funds, the directors were authorized to demand from every subscriber to the general loan such part of his subscription as might be needed, a note bearing interest being given for the amount so advanced. The purchases of supplies for the army were to be made by a factor appointed by the sureties of the bank, who was also to forward them to points where they were required. All moneys borrowed or received from Congress were to be applied "to the sole purposes of purchasing provisions and rum for the use of the Continental army, of transporting them to camp to be delivered to the order of his excellency the commander-in-chief or of the Board of War, and of discharging their notes and the expense of conducting their business" and for no other purposes.¹

Streets; Mrs. Marsh, Mrs. Ord, Mrs. Blewer, Mrs. Knox, and Mrs. Penrose, for Southwark; Mrs. H. Hill, Mrs. Hillegas, Mrs. M. Clarkson, Mrs. Hassenelever, and Mrs. R. Bache, for Germantown and Betlehem. Among the names of the subscribers is that of Lady Christiana Griffin, for two thousand dollars.

¹ The officers were: Directors, John Nixon, George Clymer; Factor, Trench Francis; Inspectors, Robert Morris, J. M. Nesbitt, Blair McClenachan, Samuel Miles, Cadwalader Morris. The subscribers were: For £10,000 each, William Moore, Robert Morris, Blair McClenachan; for £6000, Bunner, Murray & Co.; for £5500, Trench Francis; for £5000, James Wilson, George Clymer, William Bingham, J. M. Nesbitt & Co., Richard Peters, Samuel Meredith, James Mease, Thomas Barclay, Samuel Morris, Jr., John Cox, Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., Hugh Shell, Emanuel Eyre, Matthew Irwin, Thomas Irwin, John Philip De Haas, Philip Moore, John Nixon, Robert Bridges, John Benezet, Henry Hill, John Morgau, Samuel Mifflin, Thomas Mifflin, Thomas Willing, Samuel Powell; for £4000, Benj. G. Eyre, William Coats, John Dunlap, James Budden, Michael Hillegas, John Mease, Joseph Carson, Thomas Leiper, Kean & Nicholls; for £3000, John Pringle, Samuel Miles, Charles Thompson, Isaac Moses, Jonathan Penrose, Samuel Morris; for £2500, Cadwalader Morris; for £2000, Joseph Reed, Thomas McKean, Isaac Bass, Owen Biddle, John Gibson, Charles Pettit, John Mitchell, Robert Knox, Joseph Bullock, Francis Gurney, George Campbell, William Lewis, John Wharton, Benjamin Rush, Thomas Lawrence, Joseph

The bank was opened at its quarters on Front Street, two doors above Walnut, on the 7th of July. Meanwhile the Continental money had continued to sink in value, although repeated efforts had been made to sustain it. At a meeting held at the State-House in November (John Bayard, Speaker of the Assembly, presiding), it was decided that the value of Continental money, as compared with specie, be fixed at seventy-five to one; that a voluntary association be entered into by the people of the city and liberties "to pay and receive this money as freely as specie" at the rate agreed upon; all who refused to do so, to be "exposed to the public" as enemies to the independence of America and to the peace and good order of the city; that a committee, consisting of Col. Benjamin G. Eyre, H. Kamerer, John Dunlap, Thomas Fitzsimmons, John Shee, Capt. Blewer, Dr. Hutchinson, Col. Knox, Col. Cowperthwaite, John Bayard, B. McClenachan, Andrew Tybout, and Samuel Caldwell, be appointed to draw up articles of association, to appoint committees for obtaining signatures to that instrument, and generally to carry the purposes of the meeting into effect. The committees to obtain signatures were to be composed of two persons in each ward and district in the city and liberties, who were "to carry round the association, and present the same for subscription to every householder, trader, and tradesman within their respective districts; and to take a memorandum in writing of the name and description of every person who refuses to sign the association, and any remarkable circumstance of such refusal, and report the same to the committee aforesaid, that they may be known to the associators."²

The necessities of the army at this time were extreme. "I assure you," wrote Washington to Reed on the 28th of May,

"every idea you can form of our distresses will fall far short of the reality. There is such a combination of circumstances to exhaust the patience of the soldiery that it begins at length to be worn out, and we see in every line of the army the most serious features of mutiny and sedition. All our departments, all our operations, are at a stand, and unless a system very different from that which for a long time has prevailed be immediately adopted throughout the States, our affairs must soon become desperate beyond the possibility of recovery. . . . The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance, and if we disappoint its intentions by our supineness, we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind; nor can we after that venture to confide that our allies will persist in an attempt to establish what it will appear we want inclination or ability to assist them in. . . . Now, my dear sir, I must observe to you that much will depend on the State of Pennsylvania. She has it in her power to contribute, without comparison, more

Blewer, Matthew Clarkson, William Hall, John Patton, B. Fuller, B. Randolph, Abraham Bickley, George Meade & Co., John Donaldson, John Steinmetz, Andrew Dodge, Henry Keppeler, Francis C. Hassenelever, Isaac Melcher, John Schafer, Alexander Tod, John Purviance, John Wilcox, Samuel English, Nathaniel Falconer, James Caldwell, Gerardus Clarkson, Abraham Shoemaker; for £1000, John Lacey, James Thompson, John Hambricht, Samuel Caldwell, Samuel Penrose, William Turnbull, John Shee, Benjamin Davis, Jr., Sharp Delaney, Andrew Doo, Peter Whiteside, Andrew Robinson. Total subscriptions, £315,000.

² In December the committee "published" Richard Powell, a shoemaker, living in Front Street, for asking of Lieut.-Col. John Nevell twenty-five shillings, hard money, or three hundred and twenty Continental dollars, for a pair of shoes.

to our success than any other State in the two essential articles of flour and transportation. . . . Pennsylvania is our chief dependence. From every information I can obtain she is at this time full of flour. I speak to you in the language of frankness and as a friend. I do not mean to make any insinuations unfavorable to the State. I am aware of the embarrassments the government labors under from the open opposition of one party and the underhand intrigues of another. I know that with the best dispositions to promote the public service you have been obliged to move with circumspection; but this is a time to hazard and to take a tone of energy and decision. All parties but the disaffected will acquiesce in the necessity and give their support. The hopes and fears of the people at large may be acted upon in such a manner as to make them approve and second your views. The matter is reduced to a point, —either Pennsylvania must give us all the aid we ask of her, or we undertake nothing. . . . I wish the Legislature could be engaged to vest the executive with plenipotentiary powers. I should then expect everything from your abilities and zeal. This is not a time for formality or ceremony. The crisis in every point of view is extraordinary, and extraordinary expedients are necessary. I am decided in this opinion. I am happy to hear that you have a prospect of complying with the requisitions of Congress for specific supplies; that the spirit of the city and State seems to revive and the warmth of party decline. These are good omens of our success."

Lafayette also wrote to Reed, under date of May 31st, urging that energetic measures be immediately taken in behalf of the army, and that in particular the Continental battalions be filled up by militia drafts. In consequence of these appeals the Assembly on the 1st of June authorized the president or vice-president in Council during the recess of the House, should the circumstances of war make it necessary, to declare martial law; and on the 5th of June, President Reed was enabled to write Gen. Washington that the Assembly had passed a law for raising two men out of every company of militia, which arrangement would produce about one thousand men, of whom about six hundred might be used to fill up the ranks of the Continental army. In the mean time strenuous efforts had been made to increase the effectiveness of the militia. On the 20th of March the Assembly passed an act providing for the appointment of one lieutenant for the city and each county, and two sub-lieutenants or more, not exceeding the number of the battalions, who were to make out lists of all white males between the ages of eighteen and fifty-three years who were fit for military duty. Southwark, Moyamensing, Northern Liberties and Passyunk were incorporated with the city for military purposes. It was also provided that there should be one battalion of artillery in the city, and that corps of light-horse should be formed in the counties not exceeding in number six men for each battalion of infantry, the troop in the city being restricted to fifty men, exclusive of officers. On account of a provision allowing the hiring of substitutes, the bill met with considerable opposition, but was finally adopted under a protest from many members of the House. In May a petition from citizens of Philadelphia, who had served in the army, requesting permission to form an independent company of infantry, was laid on the table by the Assembly, which during the same month passed an act "for the ease of the militia," directing that each company in the State should procure or hire one man to be embodied with the others from other

companies, into companies to be called "the Pennsylvania Volunteers," which would be available for service at any time. Under this act William Henry was appointed lieutenant for Philadelphia, and Ephraim Bonham and Frederick Hagner sub-lieutenants. Col. William Coats was appointed lieutenant for the county, and Lieut.-Col. Jacob Engle, Col. George Smith, Col. William Deane, Peter Richards, Abel Morgan, and Llewellyn Young sub-lieutenants for the county.

A meeting of the militia of the city for the choice of officers was set for the 17th of April, but on the 14th a placard appeared, requesting the militia to assemble at Byrne's tavern on the 17th, to take into consideration "the present militia act and its consequential bad effects on the laboring poor, as all the fines and forfeitures, together with their own tour of duty, will centre on themselves. Also the partiality exhibited in said act to those least entitled to it." The placard being regarded as seditious, the Supreme Executive Council offered a thousand pounds for the detection of the author, printer, or publisher. William Young, apprentice of Benjamin Town, printer, was arrested on suspicion, but after having been confined in jail three days was discharged. The meeting summoned by the placard did not take place, and the militia elected their officers without further molestation.¹

To add to the difficulties of the situation, the Tories began to be troublesome, and the effect of their intrigues was such that Gen. Wayne, Col. Walter Stewart, Lieut.-Col. John Stewart, and Maj. Henry Lee, Jr., the principal Continental officer then in the city, found it advisable on the 6th of April to publish an address, declaring their "fixed and unalterable resolution to curb the spirit of insolence and audacity, manifested by the deluded and disaffected," and that, to effect this, they would not associate or hold communication with any person or persons who had exhibited by their conduct "an inimical disposition, or even lukewarmness to the independence of America," nor with any person "who may give countenance or encouragement to them, however respectable his character or dignified his office." They also announced that they would "hold any gentleman bearing a military commission who may attempt to contravene the object of this declaration in the smallest degree as a proper subject for contempt. "On the 6th of June the Supreme Executive Council adopted resolutions to the effect that as extraordinary measures for the supply of the army had become necessary, discrimination should be made between citizens who had shown themselves to be friends of the country, and those who had appeared in a different character. All persons who

¹ The militia, to the number of two thousand nine hundred and sixty men, were reviewed in May by President Reed, in the presence of Gen. St. Clair, Gen. Wayne, the Chevalier de Luzerne, and other distinguished persons.

had taken the oath of fidelity and abjuration were notified to keep their certificates ready for production at the shortest notice, and those who had lost them were advised to get duplicates. In consequence of the intercourse and correspondence which had been kept up between persons who had joined the enemy, and their wives and children, the residence of the latter in the State was declared to be inconvenient and dangerous, and the Council ordered that notice be given all such persons to quit the State within ten days. The carrying of letters to and from the enemy's lines, except under certain conditions, was forbidden under penalty of imprisonment. On the same day a proclamation was issued, announcing that an "office of inquiry" would be opened for the examination of all strangers entering the city, and for the arrest of suspicious persons; that in view of the exigencies of the situation, the ordinary forms of procedure would be dispensed with, and martial law enforced, and that persons would be appointed to proceed as specially directed from time to time, for whose actions the proclamation would be considered sufficient authority. An embargo was laid on all outward-bound vessels except those in the service of France, in order that the collection of provisions might be facilitated; seizures of horses, the property of Quakers and Tories, were made for the use of the army, and the houses of persons suspected of disloyalty were searched for arms.¹

These stringent measures had been precipitated by a sudden movement of the British into New Jersey. On the 16th, Washington wrote to the Executive Council requesting that the city light-horse should march as soon as possible to the camp. They left Philadelphia on the 24th, but returned on the 29th, Sir Henry Clinton having moved off up the Hudson. On the receipt of this news the embargo was removed, and active proceedings under martial law suspended.

The arrival at Rhode Island of the French army under Count Rochambeau led to the formation of a plan for a combined attack upon New York. Washington's army, however, was in no condition for an offensive movement. "We are now," wrote Gen. Greene to President Reed, on the 29th of June, "in the greatest distress imaginable. The army without tents and the officers without baggage for want of teams." Pennsylvania was urged to come to the rescue, and energetic measures were taken by the State authorities for furnishing additional troops and supplies.² On the 28th of July a circular was issued

requiring the county lieutenants to call out and organize the militia, four thousand being the quota demanded from Pennsylvania. Dr. James Hutchinson was appointed director-general of the military hospital, and Trenton, N. J., was chosen as the rendezvous. Here a camp, commanded by President Reed in person, was established, but on the 2d of September it was broken up, on account of the abandonment of the projected attack on New York.

A memorial from Friends, adopted Nov. 4, 1779, and signed by Isaac Zane as clerk, was presented to the Assembly of 1780, which complained of injurious laws affecting their liberties and privileges, and asserted that they were restrained by divine principles from complying with requisitions made on them for "tests and declarations to either party who are engaged in actual war." It was also asserted that members of the society had been abused and vilified, and that some of them had suffered hardship and oppression at the hands of officers of the law, particularly in the enforcement of the militia law. The Council passed a resolution discountenancing these severities, and requesting that offenders be presented for punishment. In the Assembly the committee to whom the memorial was referred prepared a series of queries designed to draw from the Friends an official declaration of their sentiments towards the State government and the established order of things. The reply, signed by Isaac Zane, Jr., on behalf of the committee of Friends, was so vague and unsatisfactory that the committee of the Assembly characterized it as being "couched in language so incomprehensible that it could be considered only as an evasion of the questions proposed." At the suggestion of the committee no further consideration was given to the matter, and not long after the Friends found it advisable to adopt an address in vindication of their political course.³

The proceedings against the Tories were still conducted with unabated vigor. David Dawson, of Chester County, convicted of high treason in having visited Philadelphia while in possession of the British, was hanged, and a number of Tory estates were confiscated during the year.⁴

Streets to be used for casting shot and shell, the establishment was seized and used for that purpose. Prompt action was also taken for raising additional troops. From the city five hundred, and from the county five hundred and fifty, militia were drafted.

¹ This address, which was agreed to on the 24th of August, appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of September 2d. It professed to emanate from "a meeting of the representatives of the people called Quakers, of Pennsylvania and New Jersey," and was signed by John Drinker, clerk. After a general defense of the course pursued by Friends, the document stated that, while some members of the society were in Virginia as prisoners, it had been intended to prepare a defense and submit it to Congress, then sitting at Yorktown; but, being shortly afterward called to Lancaster, they were told that they might have certificates of discharge. They solicited to be allowed to clear their characters, but were not permitted. They looked upon their discharge as a complete acquittance of the impeachment against them, and that the occasion of their defense was removed. They therefore declined making it public.

⁴ During 1780 the following sales of confiscated property were made: Samuel Shoemaker, ground-rent, 422 10s., on lot southeast corner of Water and Callowhill Streets, sold to Thomas Britton for £1520.

¹ Christopher Marshall, in his diary, mentions the following seizures of horses at this time: William Allen's two coach horses, four from Jeremiah Warder, three from Joshua Howell, two from Samuel Enlen, three from — Pusey, two from William Garrigues, one from John Parrish, two from James Pemberton, etc.

² Philadelphia was directed to furnish a monthly quota of three hundred barrels of flour and three thousand bushels of forage; Philadelphia County, two hundred barrels of flour and one thousand bushels of forage. Wagons and horses were also to be supplied. Nancarrow, a founder, having refused to permit his air-furnace at Eighth and Walnut

Notwithstanding the prohibition against communicating with residents of New York and other points within the enemy's lines, it was discovered in November that a number of persons in Philadelphia, in concert with others in New Jersey and the city of New York, were carrying on an illicit trade with the latter place, and bringing British goods into Pennsylvania.¹

Christopher Saur, tract Ridge road, Roxborough township, to Daniel Clymer for £17,610.

Christopher Saur, Jr., tract 19 acres 118 perches, Bristol township, to Abraham Rex for £2820.

Christopher Saur, three lots, Germantown Street and Bowman's Lane, to Col. John Bull for £3930.

Samuel Shoemaker, lot Shackamaxon Street and Frankford road, one acre and twenty perches, to Benjamin George Eyre for £3700.

Samuel Shoemaker, 76 acres, Point-no-Point road, life estate, sold to Peter Wikoff, Isaac Wikoff, and James Hutchinson for £12,400.

Samuel Shoemaker, life estate in three ground-rents, amounting to 90 Spanish milled dollars and one-third of a dollar, sold to Jacob Geiger for £4050.

Peter Arthur, one-half of lot north side of Plumb Street, Southwark, sold to James Heudry for £110.

Joseph Galloway, tract of 100 acres, Blockley township, to Thomas Lawrence, James Budden, and John Dunlap for £25,000, subject to ground-rent payable to University of Pennsylvania of twelve and a half bushels merchantable wheat.

Joseph Galloway, tract of 58 acres 35 perches Germantown road and Turner's Lane, sold to Thomas Lawrence, James Budden, and John Dunlap for £60,000, subject to ground-rent 30 bushels wheat.

Joseph Comley, tract 100 acres, manor of Moreland, sold to Charles Walker for £25,100, subject to ground-rent 12 bushels and 11-20 wheat. John Parrock, house and lot northeast corner Second and Sasfras Streets, 19 by 100 feet, to Christopher Wertz, John Schaffer, and John Geiger for £40,000, subject to ground-rent 20 bushels of wheat.

George Harding, lot Third and George Streets, Northern Liberties, 22 by 200 feet, to William Lawrence for £300.

George Knapper, house, bake-house, stable, and lot, west side of Front, between Mulberry and Sasfras Streets, 19 by 169 feet 9 inches, to Francis Lee for £44,000, subject to ground-rent 22 bushels of wheat.

John Potts, tenement plantation tract of 235 acres, Douglas township, to Jonathan Potts for £20,100.

John Roberts, two plantations and tracts of ground, Lower Merion township, containing together 378 acres, to Edward Milner for £271,600, subject to ground-rent 135 4-5 bushels of wheat.

John Wright, tract of land, 50 acres, Hatfield township, sold to Owen Faries for £5100.

Abram Carlisle, house and lot, west side of Front, between Sasfras and Mulberry Streets, 16 by 106 feet, sold to Capt. Robert Bethell for £20,000, subject to ground-rent 10 bushels of wheat.

¹ The following political offenders were arrested during 1780:

April 1. Dominick Joyce, charged with having accompanied the British army to New York; discharged on condition of leaving the State.

April 6. John Kugler, charged with ferrying Burgoyne's escaped soldiers across the Delaware thirty-five miles from Philadelphia; released September 1st, on £60,000 bail for good behavior.

April 13. George Harrington, charged with illuminating his windows at the time the British entered the city; found guilty of misprision of treason; imprisoned until December, when he enlisted on the "Confederacy" frigate.

April 29. John Wilson, charged with enlisting with the British; sentenced to be hung. Edward Greswold, charged with enlisting with the British; sentenced to be hung. John McCarty, charged with enlisting with the British; sentenced to be hung. These three were pardoned afterward.

April 30. Francis Nelson, found guilty of misprision of treason.

June 18. Carol Corlies, for getting British goods from New York; arrested and imprisoned.

June 20. Thomas Hutchinson, for getting British goods from New York; arrested and imprisoned. Nathan Hall, for getting British goods from New York; arrested and imprisoned.

June 27. David Dawson, of Chester, charged with visiting the city

By this arrangement lumber, which was in great demand in New York, was shipped to the latter city in vessels which left Philadelphia ostensibly for some other port. If overhauled by British cruisers, they exhibited papers secretly furnished them by the British admiral, and proceeded unmolested to New York; but if they fell in with American cruisers, their regular papers procured in Philadelphia were produced, and they were allowed to continue on their way. On arriving at New York the captains and crews were treated ostensibly as American prisoners, and as such exchanged at the first opportunity.

while in possession of the British; goods confiscated; sentenced to be hung October 26th; hanged December 25th.

July 4. Daniel Offley, for refusal to pay taxes on military account; imprisoned. Caleb Offley, for refusal to pay taxes on military account; imprisoned. Henry Shaw, for refusal to pay taxes on military account; imprisoned.

September 19. Alpheus Brooks, charged with conveying British refugees. Joseph Perkins, charged with conveying British refugees. Both discharged on giving bail for good behavior.

September 29. John Lindley, for misprision of treason while the British were in Philadelphia; sentenced to forfeit one-half of his goods and estates, and undergo imprisonment. James Scott, for going with the British army to New York; imprisoned; released on bail for good behavior December 24th.

October 3. David Franks, William Hamilton, and James Seagrove, arrested as suspicious persons and imprisoned. Seagrove afterwards released. Franks and Hamilton released on giving security in £200,000 each to go within the enemy's lines, and stay there during the war.

October 28. James Sutton, for running away with the American privateer "Luzerne," and taking her into Bermuda; found guilty at the Court of Admiralty and ordered to be hung; executed on the lower part of Windmill Island, December 30th.

November 5. William Constable, arrested as suspicious; admitted to surety in £25,000. James Reed, passing counterfeit Congress bills; sentenced to be hung, but pardoned. Richard Chamberlain, passing counterfeit Congress bills; sentenced to be hanged December 25th. William Cassidy, charged with enlisting in the British army; pardoned on condition of enlisting in the Continental frigate "Confederacy." Philip Swartz, charged with being inimical to the American cause; discharged after many months' imprisonment. Samuel Chapman, of Bucks, for entering into the British service as an officer; found to be an English subject; permitted to go to New York.

November 22. Joshua Bunting, of Chesterfield, N. J., charged with trading to New York. Samuel Clark, of Stony Brook, charged with trading to New York; bail, £4000. John Cummings, of Philadelphia, charged with trading to New York; bail, £4000. Patrick Garvey, of Philadelphia, charged with trading to New York; sent to New Jersey for trial. Joseph Stansbury, of Philadelphia, charged with trading to New York; discharged on condition of going to New York. Joseph Greswold, of Philadelphia, charged with trading to New York; bail in £2000.

November 25. James Stillman, of Philadelphia, charged with trading to New York; sent to New Jersey for trial. William Black, of Philadelphia, charged with trading to New York; sent to New Jersey for trial. John Shaw, of Philadelphia, charged with trading to New York; sent to New Jersey for trial.

The following residents of Philadelphia City and County were proclaimed traitors by the Supreme Executive Council, and ordered to appear and stand their trials:

August 28. Thomas Eddy, ironmonger; James Talbert, trader; John Fox, cutter; Daniel Rundle, Matthias Aspdon, John Warder, and Benjamin Booth, merchants; Phineas Bond, attorney-at-law; Joseph Fox, blacksmith; William Pyle, mariner, of the city; William Corker, cooper; James Wain, yeoman, Northern Liberties.

September 30. Benedict Arnold, late a major-general in the army of the United States; Anthony Yeldale, druggist; William West, Jr., merchant, late a major in the army of the United States; Thomas Lightfoot and John Turner, merchants, of the city; John Hutchinson, yeoman. Kingsessing: John Wright and Jonathan Wright, Hatfield township.

With the proceeds from the sale of the lumber goods were purchased in New York and sent to Shrewsbury, N. J., whence they were secretly conveyed to Philadelphia. British agents and spies went back and forth by the same route. When the plot was discovered, the following persons were arrested on the charge of being concerned in it: Joseph Stansbury, china merchant and Tory poet; Patrick Garvey, assistant apothecary in the Continental service; Samuel Clark, living near Princeton, N. J.; Joshua Bunting, of New Jersey, who kept the stage-house where the emissaries and agents stopped; John Cummings, merchant; and Joseph Greswold Atkinson, of Moorestown; James Steelman, John Shaw, and William Black, captains of vessels engaged in the traffic. The discovery gave rise to an organization known as the "Whig Association," which was formed for the purpose of preventing all intercourse with Tories and suspected persons. Capt. John Shee was president, and H. Osborne secretary. The Executive Committee consisted of Col. Joseph Reed, Maj. Boyd, Maj. Eyre, Maj. Salter, Col. Will, Maj. Kerr, Maj. Pancake, Col. Shee, Maj. Rees, Col. Knox, Maj. Casdorp, Col. Marsh, Maj. McCullough, Capt. Budden, Dr. James Hutchinson, Mr. Dunlap, Mr. Markoe, Mr. Lieper, Dr. Shields, Mr. Kamerer, Mr. Wade, Mr. Sergeant, Col. Semple, Mr. Foulke, Blair McClenachan, Capt. McDowell, Col. Farmer, Capt. Barker, Maj. Powell, Dr. Phile, Capt. Burkhard, and Capt. Huston.

Several women, the wives or relatives of Tories with the enemy in New York, were arrested, but were nearly all released on condition of removing within the British lines.

In consequence of depredations committed in the Delaware Bay and River this year by picarooning boats belonging to Tories, Capt. Boys was sent down with one of the State galleys to chase off the marauders.⁶ The packet "Mercury" was also ordered by Congress to assist in clearing the bay and river, and commissions were issued to the pilot-boats "Randolph," Capt. Abraham Bennett; the "George," Capt. Daniel Hand; and the "Hell Cat," Capt. Joseph Jacques. In November the "Fair American," Capt. Stephen Decatur, captured one of the enemy's craft near New Castle. Notwithstanding the activity of the vessels thus fitted out, the British marauders succeeded in inflicting considerable damage on Philadelphia commerce. Privateering continued to be prosecuted with energy from Philadelphia during this year. The "Holker," Capt. Matthew Lawler, cruised generally with the "Fair American," Capt. Decatur, and the "General Greene," Capt. Samuel Hollinshead, and, with those vessels, captured in May the ship "Commerce," of Liverpool, loaded with rum, sugar, and coffee, and subsequently the ship "Lady Margaret" and some smaller craft. In August the "Holker," "Fair American," and "Enterprise," Capt. Rufus Gardner, captured the packet "Mercury,"

having six British captains on board. While on her way to Philadelphia in July the "Holker" fell in with a British privateer off Little Egg Harbor, supposed to have been the "Active," formerly of Philadelphia, which had been captured by a British cruiser. A sharp engagement followed, resulting in a loss to the "Holker" of six killed and eighteen wounded, the latter including Capt. Lawler and his first lieutenant. The British privateer, which finally sheered off and abandoned the fight, returned to New York, where she reported the captain and lieutenant killed, with six or seven others, and twenty wounded. Capt. Keane succeeded Capt. Lawler in command of the "Holker," Lawler having been transferred to the "Ariel." Under Keane the "Holker," with the "Fair American," captured the English brigs "Rodney" and "Richard," and the ship "Richmond." The "Fair American," Capt. Decatur, and the "Argo," Capt. Ridge, captured the letter-of-marque brig "Elphinstone," and the privateer "Arbuthnot," and a Philadelphia vessel, commanded by Capt. Thomas Truxton, brought in the "Clyde," a large and valuable prize. The "Comet," Capt. Kemp, made prizes of some smaller vessels, and the "Ariel," Capt. Lawler, took a ship and schooner. Prizes were also sent in by the Continental frigates "Saratoga," "Trumbull," and "Confederacy," and by the "Viper" and other privateers. A new Court of Admiralty was constituted by act of Assembly passed on the 8th of March, 1780, and Francis Hopkinson, former judge of the admiralty, was appointed judge of the new court. The law provided that a prize-agent should be appointed to take charge of the interests of vessels during their absence, and growing out of the appointment of an agent under this clause, charges were brought against Hopkinson, which resulted in his being impeached by the Assembly in December. The charges were, first, that Hopkinson had offered to appoint Blair McClenachan prize-agent if he would make him a present of a suit of clothes, but that upon McClenachan's refusal to do so he appointed some one else; second, that he had improperly issued a writ for the sale of the prize ship "Albion's" cargo; and third, that he had taken illegal fees. The Assembly presented its charges before the Supreme Executive Council through a committee and the attorney-general; the accused was represented by James Wilson and Jared Ingersoll. After a trial lasting three days the Council unanimously acquitted Judge Hopkinson on all the charges.

Among the local incidents of the year were the funeral of Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish agent, who was buried at St. Joseph's Catholic Church, on the 4th of May, in the presence of the French minister, M. de Luzerne, Congress, military officers, and others; the visit of Mrs. Washington in June, her reception by the light-horse, who escorted her into the city, and a regatta on the Delaware given in her honor, accompanied by a display of colors from the vessels in port;

the parade on the Fourth of July of Col. Nicola's invalid regiment and the artillery regiment, who marched to the State-House, and, in the presence of Congress and the President and Executive Council of the State, performed various evolutions, amid the firing of guns, ringing of bells, etc.; a celebration by the Chevalier de Luzerne, on the 25th of August, of the birthday of the King of France, by an entertainment given to Congress and others; the proclamation of President Reed's re-election, at the court-house, followed by "a cold collation" (substituted for economical reasons in place of the costly entertainment usually provided) at the City Tavern, after which a dinner was given by President Reed; the visit, on the 30th of August, of Gen. Washington and Count Rochambeau, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, the Chevalier de Chastellux, who were received by the light-horse and escorted to the City Tavern, and thence to the house of Robert Morris, on Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth.¹ The difficulties experienced by the State authorities of Pennsylvania in raising troops and military supplies culminated in the summer and fall of 1780, and at one time seemed to threaten the utter ruin of the colonial cause. On the 15th of July, President Reed, who had been fiercely attacked with charges of incompetency and lack of energy, wrote to Washington in a strain of profound discouragement. "Comparisons of former taxes, burdens, etc.," he says, "are now frequent, and it is my firm opinion, sanctified by that of many gentlemen of more knowledge and experience, that the people of this State would, if too heavily pressed, more readily renew their connexion with Great Britain than any State now in the Union." "Should there be a want of provisions," wrote Gen. Greene to President Reed, "we cannot hold together many days in the present temper of the army." Greene's anticipations were speedily realized, at least in part. In May, 1780, two Connecticut regiments, rendered desperate by the want of clothing, food, and pay, announced their intention of returning home in order to procure subsistence for themselves, but through the influence of Washington were induced to stand by their colors. On the night of the 1st of January following (1781) occurred a much more serious revolt, the mutiny of a part of the Pennsylvania line at Morristown. The soldiers, having been detained in service after the terms of the enlistment had ceased, were unwilling to submit for a longer period to the usual privations of poor and uncertain pay, scanty food of bad quality, and wretchedly inadequate camp equipage and clothing. On the night in question they broke out into

open revolt, and during the disturbance one of their officers was killed and another wounded. Under the lead of their non-commissioned officers they commenced a disorderly march for Philadelphia, but at Princeton were met by President Reed and Gen. James Potter, who had been deputed by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, together with Messrs. Sullivan, Witherspoon, Matthews, Atlee, and Bland, a committee appointed on the part of Congress.

A conference between these committees and the mutineers resulted in the adoption of a compromise, some of the soldiers being discharged at their request and others induced to remain in the service by the promise that their claims would be paid and their just wants satisfied. Sir Henry Clinton, seeking to take advantage of the apparent disaffection of the men, sent emissaries among them with offers of pay, provision, clothing, and a free pardon if they would join the British army; but the soldiers, though mutinous, had no intention of betraying their country. They spurned Clinton's offers and voluntarily surrendered their agents, James Ogden and John Mason, to the State authorities, by whom they were hanged as spies. During the absence of President Reed at Princeton, Vice-President Moore and the Council set on foot a subscription in the hope of raising fifteen or twenty thousand pounds in specie, or its equivalent, to meet the emergency, but to their great mortification only fourteen hundred pounds was subscribed. On his return President Reed issued a proclamation stating the circumstances under which the loan was asked for, calling for more subscriptions, and threatening to lay an embargo if the desired assistance was not forthcoming. The proclamation had the effect of procuring additional subscriptions, but not enough to enable the authorities to redeem their promise to the troops. In view of complaints that he had exercised a power not authorized by the Constitution, President Reed, whose resolution seems to have yielded under the pressure of continuous assaults upon it and the many discouragements of the crisis, determined to make no further efforts to raise the sum required, but to excuse, as best he could, his failure to carry out the agreement with the soldiers. The mutiny of the troops, the subsequent negotiations, and the failure of the State authorities to redeem their promises had a disastrous effect on the Pennsylvania line, which was nearly broken up, and encouraged a spirit of insubordination in the army which immeasurably aggravated the difficulties and embarrassments of Washington. In April considerable uneasiness was caused in Philadelphia by the embarkation of British troops at New York, whose destination was reported to be the Delaware River. It was decided to raise two companies of seventy men each for the defense of the river, and Capt. Isaac Roach was sent to the Capes for the purpose of keeping a lookout for the enemy. A com-

¹ At three o'clock they proceeded to the State-House and paid their respects to Congress, after which they returned to Mr. Morris', where they dined in company with Samuel Huntington, the president of Congress, Gens. Knox, Moultrie, and other distinguished officers. In the evening the city was illuminated. M. de Chastellux, who was a distinguished writer and a member of the French Academy, visited the city again in December, accompanied by Baron de Montesquieu, son of the great Montesquieu, Capt. Lynch, and Col. Du Plessis.

pany of artillery was ordered to Mud Fort and Billingsport, and efforts were made to man the frigate "Trumbull" with seamen for service in the river only. It soon became apparent, however, that the enemy had no intention of operating on or near the Delaware, and the preparations for an attack were abandoned.

The movements of the British forces in the South had now become so formidable that Washington and Rochambeau determined to transfer their operations from New York to that section of the country. Notice of the intention to march southward was given to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania in August, and, in order to supply the army with transportation for ammunition and stores down the river from Trenton to Christiana Creek, an embargo was laid upon all vessels of one hundred tons and upward. Washington, Rochambeau, Chastellux, Gen. Knox, Gen. Moultrie, and other prominent officers arrived at Philadelphia on the 30th, and were received by the militia and light-horse on the outskirts and escorted into the town. Washington stayed at the City Tavern, whence he proceeded to the State-House, and had an interview with Congress. At the house of Robert Morris, where he lodged, Washington and the other officers, with Thomas McKean, president of Congress, were entertained at dinner. In the afternoon the vessels in the Delaware displayed their colors and fired salutes, and in the evening there was an illumination, during which Washington, with his suite, walked through the streets, which were filled with a vast concourse of people, "eagerly pressing to see their beloved general."¹

On Sunday, September 2d, a large detachment of the American army passed through Philadelphia on its way to the South, followed on the 3d and 4th by the French, whose fresh appearance and bright uniforms excited general admiration.² The French encamped on the commons, and, as they marched past the State-House, having come down Front or Second Street, they were reviewed by Thomas McKean, president of Congress, who on this occasion appeared in black velvet, with a sword at his side, and his head covered. On his left hand were Washington and Rochambeau, uncovered, and on his right, M. de Luzerne, the French minister. As the officers saluted in passing, McKean responded by removing his

hat. After the ceremonies, McKean sent a letter to Rochambeau expressing his satisfaction, and that of Congress, at "the brilliant appearance and exact discipline of the various corps." At the dinner which followed, given to the officers by M. de Luzerne, the latter announced that he had just received intelligence of the arrival in the Chesapeake of the French fleet under Count De Grasse. When the news came to be generally known a large assemblage gathered in front of M. de Luzerne's residence and cheered for Louis XVI.

On the 4th of September the regiment De Soissonois, one of the finest in the French army, was exercised on the common in the presence of Congress, M. de Luzerne, and the military officers. Twenty thousand spectators witnessed the maneuvers, which were executed by the regiment with a spirit and precision that excited great enthusiasm. Public confidence was still further stimulated about this time by the arrival from Europe of Henry Laurens and Thomas Paine with the cheering news that a loan of four hundred thousand French crowns had been obtained. After the departure of the troops it was feared that the unprotected state of the country might tempt the British to make a descent upon Philadelphia from New York, and the Pennsylvania militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for instant service. A portion of the Philadelphia troops, including the light-horse, together with commands from other portions of the State, were ordered to rendezvous at Newtown, Bucks Co., and a lookout was established at Cape May. Preparations were also made for the removal of the public records in case of necessity, and on the 21st of September the plan was proposed and advocated of raising revenue by a compulsory collection of a quarter's rent from the inhabitants of Philadelphia. The Assembly also vested large powers in the Executive in order to enable him to cope with the emergency. About the middle of October, however, it having become apparent that the enemy intended to attempt the relief of Cornwallis, who had been shut up in the trenches at Yorktown by Washington, De Grasse, and Rochambeau, the preparations for the defense of Philadelphia were suspended, and the camp at Newtown broken up. About three o'clock on the morning of the 22d of October, an express-rider, bringing the news of the surrender of Cornwallis, reached the city and was conducted to the residence of Thomas McKean, president of Congress, by an old German watchman,³ who, after the dispatches had been delivered, proclaimed in a loud, sonorous tone, "Basht dree o'clock and Gornwallis isht daken."⁴ The news spread rapidly through the town, and when daylight came the rejoicing was general. By order of the Executive Council, however, the public celebration of the victory was delayed until the arrival of official confirmation of the news.

¹ The Tories naturally did not see anything to admire in Washington. "I saw this man" (Washington), says Samuel R. Fisher, "great as an instrument of destruction and devastation to the property, morals, and principles of the people, several times walking the street, attended by a concourse of men, women, and boys, who huzzaed him, and broke some of my father's windows, and others near us."

² Cromot Du Bourg thus describes the entry of the troops: "The army marched, September 3d, from Red Lion Tavern to Philadelphia, which the First Division entered in full column at eleven o'clock." On the 4th the Second Brigade arrived, nearly about the same hour, and produced no less effect. "The Regiment De Soissonais, the facings of which were rose color, carried upon the caps of the grenadiers a white and rose-colored plume, which struck with astonishment the beauties of the town."—*Les Français en Amérique, par Thomas Balth.*

³ His name is said to have been Hurry.

⁴ Thompson Westcott.

On the 24th, Col. Tench Tilghman, aid to Gen. Washington and a Philadelphian, arrived with dispatches from the commander-in-chief, announcing the capitulation. At eleven o'clock the vice-president of the State and Executive Council waited upon President McKean, the members of Congress, and the French minister, in order to exchange congratulations on the great event. The standard of the State was raised, and at twelve o'clock salutes were fired by the artillery in the State-House yard and by the vessels in the harbor, which also displayed their colors. In the afternoon, Congress, the State Council, M. de Luzerne, and others, went in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church, where a service of thanksgiving was performed by the Rev. Mr. Duffield, one of the chaplains to Congress. In the evening there was a general illumination, and on the following evening a display of fire-works.¹ Congress voted honors to Washington, Rochambeau, and De Grasse, and special acknowledgments to the officers and troops. On the afternoon of Saturday, November 3d, twenty-four stands of British colors reached Philadelphia, were escorted into town by the local volunteer cavalry, and were carried down Market Street, preceded by the French and American colors, to the State-House, where they were presented to Congress, and "laid at their feet." During the latter part of the month, Gen. Washington and his wife arrived in Philadelphia from Virginia, and were received with marked demonstrations of popular affection and respect. A number of "addresses" were presented to Washington during his stay, and a concert was given in his honor by the French minister, at which "an original oratorio, composed in honor of the chief and set to music by an amateur, a citizen of Philadelphia," was performed.

The Philadelphia privateers rendered good service to the Revolutionary cause during 1781. One of the most gallant feats of the war was the capture of the British sloop "Savage," Capt. Stirling, twenty guns, by the privateer "Congress," Capt. Geddes, of Philadelphia, after a desperate engagement. The "Savage" was afterwards recaptured from the prize-crew of the "Congress." Capt. Lawler, in the "Ariel," captured the "Cornwallis" galley of the royal navy, the fire-ship "Resolution," laden with sugar, and a brig and schooner. Capt. Joseph Jackaways, in the "Fair American," took two brigs, a sloop, and some smaller craft, and Capt. Phineas Eldridge, who succeeded Jackaways in command of the vessel, captured

the privateer brig "Porcupine," which had done much mischief, recaptured the American privateer "Rambler," and made a number of other prizes. In the fall of 1781 the "Fair American" was sold and withdrawn from the privateer service. The "Holker," Capt. Keane, captured the privateer "Fame," of New York; and the "Rising Sun," Capt. Casson, took the privateer "Rattlesnake," and a ship, schooner, sloop, and some smaller vessels. The ship "Revolution," of twenty guns, commanded by Capt. John McNachtane, made her first cruise in the summer, and after taking the British privateer "Maltin," one sloop and one large ship, was captured by British cruisers. The "Royal Louis," a new ship of twenty-two guns, of which Capt. Stephen Decatur took command during the summer, captured the British brig-of-war "Active," Capt. Delaney, and the sloop "Phoenix," of New York. In October, however, Capt. Decatur was compelled to strike his colors to a British frigate, two others being in sight at the time. The letter of marque "Dove," Capt. Lyons, and another letter of marque commanded by Capt. Sutton made several important captures. Prizes made by other vessels were sent into Philadelphia during the year, among them the ship "Revolution," and a British schooner captured by the Continental frigate "Saratoga." The famous Paul Jones visited Philadelphia with his vessel in February, and was the recipient of marked attention. The French frigate "Hermione," Chevalier La Touche, arrived at Chester on the 26th of March, and after remaining there several weeks came up to Philadelphia. In May La Touche gave an entertainment to Congress and the President and Vice-President of the State, at which the French minister and others were present, and soon after a ball and supper to the citizens of Philadelphia with a display of fire-works on Windmill Island.

The financial difficulties resulting from depreciation of the currency, instead of being alleviated by the measures taken for that purpose had become more serious, and the Continental money was destined during this year to reach the lowest point of depression. In view of the depreciation of the State issues and the frauds which had been practiced under the system, the Assembly, on the 20th of February, passed a law repealing the former acts which made the paper issues of Jan. 29, 1777, and March 20, 1777, legal tender in all cases. On the 6th of April, however, the Assembly authorized an issue of five hundred thousand pounds, to which it was attempted to give value by providing that "if any person refused to receive any of the bills of credit thereby authorized when tendered in payment of any debt, bargain, contract, or demand whatsoever, if for the whole debt or contract, such person or corporation refusing should forever be barred from suing for or recovering the same, and that if any person should refuse to take the bills of credit in payment for anything he should sell or expose for sale, or offer the

¹ Several patriotic citizens testified their joy by the exhibition of designs emblematic of the event at their dwellings. Alexander Quesnay de Gloax, a French teacher, displayed at his lodgings, in Second Street between Chestnut and Walnut, pictures of Washington, Count de Grasse, and Rochambeau, accompanied with appropriate mottoes, emblems, etc.; Mr. Peale, at his house, on the northwest corner of Third and Lombard Streets, exhibited a picture intended to typify the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, together with portraits of Washington and Rochambeau, and the inscription "For our Allies, Huzza! Huzza!"

same for a less price or a smaller sum of money, to be paid in gold or silver, or should give or receive a greater nominal sum of said bills of credit for gold or silver, every person, on conviction before a justice, or, if above five pounds forfeiture, in Quarter Sessions, should forfeit and pay the value of the articles so exposed to sale, one-half to the prosecutor, the other half to the use of the poor."

Robert Morris, Thomas Mifflin, and others protested against the act on the ground that value could not be given to money by laws imposing penalties for its rejection, that such laws were iniquitous and not to be justified, and that every measure to enforce the acceptance of money rendered it to the interest of debtors to depreciate it, and enabled bad men to take advantage of such depreciation, "to the injury of the honest and the absolute ruin of many who were once in easy and affluent circumstances." A number of other arguments were employed to induce the Assembly to reconsider its action,¹ but nothing was done, and on the 11th of May the Council published a proclamation stating that one-third of the money had been issued and taken by the State troops, that goods had been sold for it to the public commissioners, and that great loss and injury would result if depreciation followed. All citizens were therefore urged to accept the paper, with the understanding that no more was to be issued, and that the Assembly, when it met again, would be requested to secure the holders of it from loss. Notwithstanding this appeal there was still exhibited much repugnance toward the money, and at a conference of leading business men at the Coffee-House it was decided to take the old and new paper money at such rates as it held on the 1st of May, thus leaving every one to fix his own value upon it.

This arrangement was opposed by the friends of the government, who held a meeting at the State-House, Col. Robert Knox presiding, at which resolutions were adopted declaring it to be the duty of every good citizen to discourage the efforts which were being made by "evil-disposed and disaffected persons," who had endeavored to depreciate and now altogether refused to receive the new issue of paper money, to discredit that currency, "thereby causing distress to the public, and the greatest hardship to the well-affected individuals who have relied on the public faith." It was further agreed that those present would each take and receive, and as far as possible promote and encourage the circulation of the money in all their dealings and transactions; that they would enforce the laws of the State on all such as refused to receive it, and consider them as enemies to the country; that papers containing the resolutions

of the meeting be carried through every ward by two members chosen from each company of militia, for the purpose of obtaining signatures, and that the names of those who refused to sign be set down in a separate column and published; "that the disaffected people shall not live with us," and that a petition, to be drawn by Jonathan B. Smith, Mr. Cannon, and Mr. Hutchinson, who were also to obtain signatures, be presented to the Assembly to invest the Supreme Executive Council with power to drive them out of the State. When the Assembly met, however, the promise of the Council that no more paper money should be issued was respected, and measures were taken for the redemption of that already in circulation. For this purpose the lots in the city formerly the property of the Proprietaries and Province Island were ordered to be sold, and on the 21st of June an act was passed levying a tax of not more than six pounds, nor less than forty-five shillings, at the discretion of the assessors, on single persons, for the purpose of assisting the redemption. All laws making Continental bills a tender were repealed, as was also the provision that bills issued by the State or colony, with the exception of the issues of March 25, 1780, and April 7, 1781, should be received as legal tender. The provision for determining fines, penalties, and salaries by the price of wheat was also done away with, and gold and silver alone were declared to be the legal standard.

In consequence of the passage of this law there was an immediate rise in the value of the State's paper money. The difficulties relating to the Continental money² were not so promptly nor so easily removed, and after various expedients had been suggested,—among them one from a writer in the *Packet* in February recommending the coining of plate in the possession of private families and individuals,—Robert Morris, then superintendent of finance, submitted to Congress in May "a plan for establishing a national bank for the United States of North America," with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, in shares of four hundred dollars, payable in gold or silver, the notes of the bank to be receivable in payment of duties and taxes. Congress approved the plan, and books were opened for subscriptions to the stock, which were not confined to Pennsylvania. The stock having been subscribed and directors chosen, Congress on Dec. 31, 1781, passed an act creating the stockholders a perpetual corporation.

The bank enjoyed high credit, and the circulating

¹ The signers of the protest were Henry Hill, Adam Reigart, George Gray, Thomas Lilly, John Allison, Robert Morris, Thomas Mifflin, David Thomas, John Patton, Moses McClean, Evan Evans, Mark Bird, Joseph Park, James Jacks, William Harris, John Steinmetz, Joseph Powell, James Dickson.

² Samuel R. Fisher, in his journal of May 5th, states that Continental bills were then held at two hundred and fifty dollars for one dollar of silver. S-me sailors, with Continental money in their hat-bands and wrapped around the necks of their dogs, had gone around the town, and a mob had for several days been going about the city, compelling individuals to promise that they would work for nothing but gold and silver. The value of the Continental money fell so rapidly that during the month, which opened with the rate of exchange two hundred dollars of Continental money for one of specie, the rate fell, by the end of the month, to five hundred dollars for one dollar in specie, so that Continental money went out of circulation after May 31st.

medium not being sufficient to meet the wants of the community, its issues soon largely exceeded its capital. It rendered important aid to the government at a serious crisis, and without its assistance the business of the department of finance could not have been successfully accomplished.¹

On Thursday, the 1st of March, a memorable day in the history of the country, the articles of confederation and union between the States were formally ratified by Congress. The act was announced to the people of Philadelphia at twelve o'clock, with ringing of bells and firing of salutes from the land batteries and vessels in the harbor. The frigate "Ariel," whose commander was the famous Paul Jones, made a gallant display of colors and fired a *feu de joie*. In the afternoon the President of Congress received the congratulations of the State authorities, military officers, etc., and at night there was a display of fireworks. The Fourth of July was celebrated this year in rather sober fashion. Congress, the State officers, and the French minister attended the graduation ceremonies at the college,² after which a "cold collation" was served at the State-House. The celebration of the king of France's birthday, on the other hand, was marked by more imposing demonstration, including a royal salute at dawn, and the ringing of bells throughout the day. The President of the State, accompanied by the militia officers of the city and liberties, waited on the French minister to present their congratulations, after which they proceeded to Spring Garden, where a handsome entertainment was provided.

¹ William M. Gouge, in his "History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States," thus describes the straits to which the officers of the bank were sometimes reduced in order to inspire public confidence in its operations:

"The individual subscriptions being about seventy thousand dollars, Morris, after the bank was organized, took the responsibility of subscribing for the stock on behalf of the United States, and applied about two hundred and fifty-four thousand dollars (then remaining in the treasury from the proceeds of a French loan) to that purpose, and the United States thereby became the principal stockholder.

"As is remarked by Mr. Gouverneur Morris, the sum subscribed by government may be said to have been paid in with one hand and borrowed with the other, leaving the bank but seventy thousand dollars at most for its proper operations. On this amount it undertook to make advances to the government and to individuals; but, as the experiences of the evil of Continental money was fresh in the minds of the people, some difficulty was encountered in giving currency to the notes of the bank. To remove this prejudice the gentlemen who were interested were, as we have learned from undoubted private authority, in the practice of requesting people from the country and laboring men about town to go to the bank and get silver in exchange for notes. When they went on this errand of neighborly kindness, as they thought, they found a display of silver on the counter, and men employed in raising boxes containing silver, or supposed to contain silver, from the cellar into the banking-room, or lowering them from the banking-room into the cellar. By contrivances like these the bank obtained the reputation of immense wealth, but its hollowness was several times nearly made apparent, especially on one occasion, when one of the copartners withdrew a deposit of some five or six thousand dollars, when the whole specie stock of the bank did not probably exceed twenty thousand."

² An unfortunate incident of the exercises was the withholding of his diploma from F. W. Murray, one of the graduates, owing to the fact that in his oration, while censuring Arnold, he deplored the fate of André.

In July of this year a large number of citizens of Charleston who had been taken prisoners by the British upon the capture of that city, were brought to Philadelphia, under flag of truce, in a destitute condition. Their families had preceded them long before, having been sent to Philadelphia immediately after the capitulation, which had occurred in May of the previous year. Altogether there were nearly a thousand persons thus cast upon the charity of Philadelphians.³

On the 13th of July the Supreme Executive Council ordered Deputy Quartermaster-General Miles to find accommodations for the exiles, and a subscription paper was circulated among the Whigs in order to ascertain how many could be accommodated by private individuals. On the 23d, Congress passed a resolution that five suitable persons be appointed to open a subscription for a loan of thirty thousand dollars for the support of "such of the citizens of the States of South Carolina and Georgia as have been driven from their country and possessions by the enemy;" and the delegates from those States pledged themselves that as soon as possible their Legislatures would make repayment of the amount thus borrowed. William Bingham, John Bayard, George Meade, Jacob Barge, and Dr. Hutchinson were appointed commissioners for effecting the loan. It was proposed to assess the Tories for the support of the exiles, and one writer suggested that Samuel Powell be called upon to yield liberal contributions from his rent-rolls. Robert Morris suggested a lottery for raising money, and appealed to Hugh Roberts, John Reynolds, James Pemberton, John Pemberton, Samuel Emlen, Owen Jones, and Nicholas Waln, leading members of the Society of Friends, to raise among their people a loan to the United States at six per cent. interest, to be used in relieving the wants of the exiles. These Friends, however, replied declining the loan, on the ground that the society's "capacity for the exercise of benevolence" had been much diminished, "not only through the general calamity prevailing, but most particularly by the very oppressive laws which have been enacted in Pennsylvania, and the oppressive manner in which they have been frequently executed, to the impoverishment of many innocent and industrious inhabitants, so that there are divers instances of many families in the city and county who are already nearly stripped of their substance;" that they had been called upon to aid their friends in the Carolinas, and that they were in no condition to contribute to the support of the exiles in Philadelphia. The Assembly, in order to aid the latter, passed a law

³ Among the exiles were Gen. Moultrie and other prominent men. The families of Governor Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Thomas Pinckney were cared for by Dr. James Logan, at Stenton, near Germantown, where they remained for six months. Many of the exiles found employment, and were thus enabled to support themselves. James H. Thompson opened a school, and Dr. Noble W. Jones, who had been Speaker of the Georgia Assembly, commenced the practice of medicine.

granting to inhabitants of other States obliged to take refuge in Pennsylvania the right to bring their slaves with them, and to hold them after registry, notwithstanding the abolition law, on condition that they did not sell them to inhabitants of Pennsylvania, and that they would not remain longer than six months after the expiration of the war with Great Britain.

Considerable bitterness of feeling was engendered this year by controversies growing out of local political contests. On the 10th of November a petition was presented to the Assembly from citizens of Philadelphia County, contesting the election held in October, on the ground that the officers of the Philadelphia militia battalions had endeavored to force the private soldiers to vote for certain candidates, and that Gen. Lacey had aided this scheme by ordering the soldiers to march to the polls under their officers, and that they should be subject to military law until after the election. The men, it was alleged, were marched to the polls in battalions, and tickets already prepared having been placed in their hands, they were required to vote. Consultation among them or with citizens outside the ranks was not permitted, and soldiers refusing to vote were threatened with flogging. Gen. Lacey denied having had any sinister motive in doing as he had done, and asserted that as he had no authority to discharge the soldiers in order that they might go to the election, it was necessary that they should proceed to the polls under military command. The House, after hearing many witnesses, finally, in March, 1782, appointed a committee to hear the evidence further. Finally, on the 8th of April, it was resolved by a vote of thirty-two ayes to eighteen nays that the charges were not supported so far as they related to any undue means to carry the election. The subject also came up before the Supreme Council in connection with the election of John Bayard as councilor, and after a long investigation it was decided that the election should not be set aside. Another political incident of the year was an attack upon Chief Justice McKean for holding in addition to the office of judge those of delegate to Congress from Delaware and president of Congress. It was shown that other members of Congress had done the same thing; and although the Constitution of Pennsylvania prohibited him from serving as chief justice and member of Congress at the same time, it was urged that the prohibition did not apply to him, from the fact that he held the offices from different States.

A feeble attempt to revive the corporation of the city—the first since 1776—was made this year, and a petition to that effect with only fifty-four signatures, chiefly of residents of the upper end of Second Street, was presented to the Assembly in June. Distrust of the Tories, who had controlled the old city government, was so strong, however, that it extended to the form of government which they had administered, and, although a committee was appointed to bring in a bill, nothing further was done. The feeling against

the Tories was intensified later in the year by the discovery of a plot to steal and carry off as many of the secret journals and other papers belonging to Congress as could be secured. The plan was arranged by the traitor Arnold, and its execution was attempted by Lieut. James Moody, his brother, John Moody, and Lawrence Marr, assisted by Addison, an Englishman, employed as an assistant by Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress. The plot was discovered and Marr and John Moody were captured, convicted of being spies, and sentenced to death. Lieut. Moody avoided arrest and escaped to New York, but John was hanged on the common. Marr was respited and afterwards released. Thomas Wilkinson, convicted of piracy, was hanged in May of this year at Windmill Island, and his remains taken to Mud Island, where they were gibbeted.¹

¹ The following estates of Tories, seized and forfeited for treason, were disposed of during the year 1781:

Samuel Shoemaker, lot of ground, Poplar Lane, between Third and Fourth Streets, containing 4 acres 48 perches, sold to William Coats for £4900, subject to ground-rent to University of Pennsylvania of 2½ bushels of wheat.

Samuel Shoemaker, house and lot, east side of Fourth Street, above Mulberry, 17 feet 6 inches by 49 feet 6 inches, sold to Eleazar Levy for £3300 Pennsylvania money.

Samuel Shoemaker, three-story brick house and lot, east side of Water Street, above Mulberry, 31 feet 11 inches by 92 feet, etc., to the Delaware, sold to James Lacaze and Michael Mallet for £186,000 Continental money.

Joel Evans, one-half of a tract of land of about 47½ acres in Blockley township, near Cobb's Creek, sold to James Budden, John Dunlap, and Thomas Lawrence for £15,000 Continental money, subject to ground-rent of 7½ bushels of wheat.

Joseph Griswold, tract of land, Northern Liberties, about 30 acres, sold to James Budden, John Dunlap, and Thomas Lawrence for £27,000 Continental money, subject to ground-rent of 13½ bushels of wheat.

John Henderson, brick house and lot, east side of Second Street, between Walnut and Spruce, 20 feet front, extending to Dock Street 97 feet, sold to Joseph Dean for £49,900 Continental money, subject to ground-rent of 24½ bushels of wheat.

John Loughborough, tract of land, manor of Moreland, 126 acres, 126 perches, sold to George Benner for £20,400 Continental money, ground-rent 20½ bushels of wheat.

Jonathau Wright, tract of land, Hatfield township, 141 acres, sold to Joseph Dean for £11,400 Continental money, ground-rent of 5½ bushels of wheat.

John Butcher, message and tract of land on the Schuylkill, in Blockley township, adjoining properties of — George, Widow Peters, and John Penn (now in Fairmount Park), 56 acres sold to Joseph Dean for £14,800 Continental money, ground-rent of 7½ bushels of wheat.

Holton Jones, house and lot, Main Street, Germantown, 1 acre 40 perches, sold to Joseph Dean for £11,100 Continental money, ground-rent of 5½ bushels of wheat.

John Parrock, lot east side of Water Street, above Mulberry, 25 feet 6 inches to the Delaware River, sold to Capt. Michael Simpson for £560 Pennsylvania currency, ground-rent 16½ bushels of wheat.

John Parrock, two-story house and lot, south side of Sassafras Street, between Front and Second, 14 feet 10 inches by 51 feet, sold to Jonas Phillips for £16,150 Continental money, ground-rent 8½ bushels of wheat.

John Parrock, lot, wharf, and chair-house, northeast corner of Water and Sassafras Streets, 20 feet to the Delaware River, sold to Lieut. John Weidman for £13,500 Pennsylvania currency, ground-rent 39½ bushels of wheat.

John Parrock, stores, lot of ground and wharf, southeast corner of Water and Sassafras Streets, sold to Maj. James Parr for £1850 Pennsylvania currency, subject to ground-rent.

John Parrock, lot east side of Water Street, above Mulberry, 20 feet 6 inches, extending into the River Delaware, sold to Capt. Jacob Bunner for £1090, ground-rent 32½ bushels of wheat.

The year 1782 opened with a dramatic entertainment in honor of Gen. Washington, which sorely offended certain staid and worthy citizens. It was

Oswald Eve, house, two plantations, and powder-mill on Frankford Creek, 270 acres, sold to Capt. John Eve for £108,000 Continental money, ground-rent 54 bushels of wheat.

Henry Welfling, house and lot, north side of High Street, between Fifth and Sixth, 18 feet by 110, sold to James Laug for £16,900 Continental money.

John Wright, tract of ground, Hatfield township, 50 acres, sold to Owen Faries for £5100 Continental money, ground-rent $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

John Burke, tract of ground, manor of Moreland, on Philadelphia and Newtown road, $33\frac{1}{2}$ acres, sold to James Vansant for £6100 Continental money, ground-rent $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

Christopher Sauer, the elder, tract of land on the Schuylkill, Roxborough township, 11 acres 156 perches, sold to Benjamin Harbeson for £6000 Continental money, ground-rent 3 bushels of wheat.

Isaac Allen, life estate on two tracts of ground, Hickory Lane and Poplar Lane, Northern Liberties, containing together about 8 acres, sold to William Coats for £1350 Continental money.

Isaac Allen, house and lot, west side of Fourth Street, between High and Chestnut Streets, 15 feet by 49 feet 6 inches, sold to Benjamin Harbeson for £12,000 old Continental money, ground-rent 6 bushels of wheat.

William Rhodden, house and lot, south side of Catharine, between Front and Second Streets, 20 feet by 101 feet 6 inches, sold to Capt. Charles Alexander for £4100, ground-rent $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

Andrew Elliot, life estate in house and store and lots, west side of Front Street, below Walnut, extending to Dock Street, sold to Lieut. Col. Thomas Forrest for £870 Pennsylvania currency.

Joseph Galloway, one-half house and lot, north side of Mulberry, between Third and Fourth Streets, 16 feet by 140, sold to Maj. James Parr for £135 Pennsylvania currency.

Joseph Galloway, house and plantation on the Schuylkill, near Mount Pleasant, 44 acres 122 perches, sold to Dr. James Hutchinsun for £34,400 Continental money, ground-rent $10\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

John Fox, frame house and lot, east side of Second Street, Southwark, 20 feet by 65 feet, sold to Alexander Powers for £760 Pennsylvania currency, ground-rent $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

Jacob Duche, Jr., mansion, coach-house, stables, and four lots of ground, east side of Third, between Pine and Union Streets, sold to Thomas McKean, president of Congress, for £7750 Pennsylvania currency, ground-rent $232\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

David Jones, lot on Dock Street, between Second and Third, 17 feet by 64, sold to William Power for £2765 Pennsylvania currency, ground-rent $8\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

Jonathan Adams, snuff-mill, warehouse, houses, and lot, Wissahickon road, Northern Liberties, sold to Christopher Stewart for £1530 Pennsylvania currency, ground-rent $45\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

Peter Campbell, meadow ground, Hollander's Creek, Moyamensing township, 3 acres, sold to Joseph Carson for £600 old Continental money, ground-rent 3 bushels of wheat.

Benedict Arnold, life estate in mansion and plantation of Mount Pleasant, Northern Liberties, on the Schuylkill (now in Fairmount Park), 97 acres 97 perches, sold to Col. Richard Hunton for £850.

William Evans, carpenter-shop and lot, north side of Pine, between Third and Fourth Streets, 20 feet by 160 feet to Union Street, sold to Benjamin Evans for £900 Pennsylvania currency, ground-rent $4\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

Nathan Roberts, one-fifth part of tract of 250 acres, Bristol township, sold to Capt. William Rice for £810.

Christopher Sauer, two pieces of ground, Northern Liberties, containing together 3 acres, sold to Joseph Carson for £2560 old Continental money.

Christopher Sauer, two lots of ground, Germantown township, containing $\frac{6}{8}$ acres, sold to Joseph Carson for £1610 old Continental money.

John Tolly, house and lot, north side of Catharine Street, Southwark, 13 feet 9 inches by 40 feet, sold to Patrick Robinson for £3400 Continental money, ground-rent $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat.

The following traitors were attainted during the year, and proclamation made that they should appear and stand their trial: Jonathan Adams, snuff-maker, and Susannah, his wife, of the township of Germantown, county of Philadelphia.

given on the 2d of January, at the Southwark Theatre, under the direction of Alexander Quesnay, and embraced a prologue written for the occasion, Beaumarchais' "Eugenia," and, as an afterpiece, "The Lying Valet." Several dances were introduced, and a transparency, with a painting intended to symbolize the union of the States, was exhibited. The success of the performance encouraged M. Quesnay to announce that a similar entertainment would be given on the 11th, in aid of the poor in the Pennsylvania Hospital and the soldiers in the barracks, but the magistrates of the city interfered, and issued a notice calling attention to the act of Assembly forbidding such performances. Quesnay evaded the prohibition by transforming the theatre into an "Academy of Polite Science," where, although he did not venture to produce plays, he entertained the company with "music, illuminations, transparencies, and a variety of French dances." Notwithstanding their Quaker tastes and prejudices, the people of Philadelphia do not appear to have been slow to avail themselves of the facilities for amusement contrived by the gay and ingenious Frenchman. Hope had once more begun to glow in their hearts, and after long years of wretchedness and gloom they naturally turned with a sense of relief to the recreations suggested by Quesnay.

Fêtes and festivities were numerous during the year, and the different public occasions were celebrated with more than the customary splendor and éclat. On the 13th of May, Luzerne, the French minister,¹ formally announced to Congress the birth of the Dauphin of France. The ambassador was escorted to the State-House by the City Light-Horse, and was there received by the Continental troops and the City Artillery. An autograph letter from Louis XVI., announcing the event, was presented by M. de Luzerne, and after his address had been replied to by the president of Congress, John Hanson, the minister withdrew amid a *feu de joie* of musketry from the troops. In the afternoon he dined with Congress at the State-House, and at night a display of transparencies, with paintings by Peale, was made by order of Congress in the State-House yard. Some days later the president and Supreme Executive Council of the State entertained the French minister and Congress; and on the 15th of July, M. de Luzerne gave a splendid fête in honor of the Dauphin at his residence, the old Carpenter mansion, northwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets.²

¹ During a storm which swept over the city on the 27th of March, 1782, the residence of M. de Luzerne was struck by lightning. M. de Meaux, a French officer, was struck, and so seriously injured that he died a few days later. The building and furniture were seriously damaged.

² A contemporary writer thus describes the entertainment:

"At nine o'clock in the morning his excellency invited to his apartments all the French residents in Philadelphia to return thanks to the Supreme Being for the late blessing he has bestowed on their nation. The *Te Deum* was chanted, after which the Chevalier De La Luzerne

Little did the gay throng which flocked to the brilliant entertainment imagine that the child in whose honor it was given would in a few years be an outcast and a beggar,—the victim of a revolution that found

received the congratulations of the officers of government, citizens, etc. At the same time was presented to him an ode upon the birth of the Dauphin, composed by Mr. Smith, a young lawyer.

"His excellency invited more than fifteen hundred guests from this and the neighboring States to attend at this entertainment, which began at eight o'clock in the evening. In the court-yard belonging to the house he had caused to be built for their reception a hall of the most excellent architecture, and the court-yard itself had assumed, in less than two months, the form of a regular garden—groves formed into arches, and hung over with glass lamps, the prospects judiciously disposed at a small distance, where appeared a splendid illumination representing a palace, ornamented with a great number of pyramids and columns; the fire-works played off at intervals from the most distant part of this perspective; an innumerable crowd of persons that covered the fields round about; a green hall raised in part of the garden, concealed by porches of green; a sky clear and serene—all contributed to render this garden a most romantic and delightful recess. A hall, after the Italian manner, takes up the middle space. It is built upon a plan of seventy-five feet in length and forty-five feet in breadth. It is surrounded with an insulated colonnade, detached from the main building. The Doric order, which is most used in this building, is nowhere neglected.

"At the furthest extremity of the hall, and opposite the principal entrance, are the arms of France upon a globe suspended in the midst of a glory, whose rays break upon the square of the ceiling. At the other extremity the arms of the United States (whose escutcheons are charged with thirteen pieces argent and gules, having upon the top thirteen stars upon an azure ground) are supported by the American bald eagle, having in his right talons an olive branch, and thirteen arrows in his left; in his bill a legend with these words: *E Pluribus Unum*. America is personified by two young savages, who serve as supporters—the one stayed by a staff which bears the cap of liberty, the second surrounded with the natural productions of this country in form of an article of exchange for the riches of Europe. About the middle of the hall are several figures supported by the columns. The cyphers of the Queen of France, crowned with and encircled by garlands by a Cupid, are supported by Hymen, the rays from whose flambeaux shine upon them. The group look toward the cyphers of the Dauphin, likewise crowned with garlands by a genius, and supported by Mercury, who covers him with his wand. The galleries formed by the columns are ornamented with pilasters and panels of a color different from that of the body of the building. The ceiling is flat and set off with sophites. From the midst of that of the architrave, and between each column, hangs a branched candlestick. The rest of the ceiling is enriched with a wide frame, within which light clouds are painted, and also are hung crowns. At the four extremities of the two grand galleries are four figures, resembling white marble, placed in niches, and representing Diana at the instant of discharging her javelin; Flora adorned with garlands; Hebe holding the cup of Jupiter; Mars leaning upon his armor, where is engraved the cypher of his excellency, Gen. Washington. The galleries upon the right side of the entrance have at each of their extremities a sideboard raised pyramically, covered with refreshments, flowers, and lights. Betwixt these two sideboards and toward the middle of the hall is the orchestra, under which is a close room. The two spaces between that remained on each side are set off with four doors that give entrance into two saloons which open into one behind the orchestra. From the saloon is a passage into the dining-hall, ninety feet long by forty broad, having seven tables proportioned in size to the number of the guests. This hall as well as the saloon was lighted by glass branches; the space between the tables, their situation, that of the serving sideboard, the number of avenues that facilitated the coming in and going out, infinitely increased the splendor of the sight and the magnificence of the attendance. This whole building is covered on the outside with a roof after the Italian mode, supported by pilasters, forming three porticoes at the two ends, and four on the side opposite to the fire-works and the illumination.

"This splendid building, which was finished in less than six weeks, was the work of Monsieur L'Enfant, a French officer in the service of the United States.

its source and inspiration in the revolt of the American colonies, which his father had fostered and made successful. The powerful king and queen, whose virtues were extolled that day in terms of warmest adulation, were fated soon to mount the scaffold, and the child whose coming into the world was thus honored with all the pomp of ceremonial and the enthusiastic acknowledgments of a grateful people was destined to be ushered out of it so mysteriously that history even yet is uncertain as to his fate.

The Fourth of July, 1782, was observed with ringing of bells, firing of salutes, and other demonstrations, and an official visit on the part of M. de Luzerne to Congress in order to present his congratulations. The king of France's birthday falling on Sunday this year, the celebration took place on the following day. The State flag was hoisted at Market Street wharf, an entertainment was given by M. de Luzerne, the officers of the city militia dined at Byrne's tavern, and Charles Wilson Peale exhibited at his house at Third and Lombard Streets the transparencies he had shown in honor of the victory at Yorktown, together with portraits of the king and queen of France and the Marquis Lafayette, and a picture typical of *dependence* on the mother-country as contrasted with independence,—much to the favor of the latter as a matter of course.

The naval operations of vessels sailing out of Philadelphia were marked by one glorious victory and a number of serious disasters during 1782. The Delaware was infested with refugee boats which preyed on Philadelphia commerce and made many prizes. Of these the "Trimmer," an open whale-boat belonging to New York, was one of the most destructive. Being of light draught she was able when pursued to retreat into shoal water and thus escape from the American cruisers. Many captures of Philadelphia

"A detachment of French troops mounted guard within the garden, and several companies of militia were posted in the different avenues, to prevent the excessive crowding of horses and carriages. No accident happened, although more than fifteen thousand persons were present.

"The presence of His Excellency, the President, and all the members of Congress, of their excellencies the Governors of Pennsylvania, of Jersey, and Delaware, and the principal military and civil officers of those States, gave as much solemnity to the entertainment as the dress and beauty of the ladies added to its charms. Their excellencies Gen. Washington and Le Comte de Rochambeau, who had arrived in town the day before, increased the general satisfaction, and seemed to bring the laurels of Yorktown to the cradle of the Dauphin.

"An Indian chief, devoted to France and the United States, had also arrived in Philadelphia to attend the entertainment. He was apparelled and adorned in the fashion of his country, and did not fail to express in the three languages—which he spoke well—the sincere part he and his countrymen take in the event that was then celebrated.

"The entertainment began with a concert, succeeded by fire-works of superior and unrivaled excellence and a brilliant ball. At one in the morning supper was served up, followed by a continuation of the ball, and joy did not cease to sparkle in the eyes of every one present. The fire-works were exhibited for the benefit of the people who were invited to the festival on the large lot on the south side of Chestnut Street, opposite the minister's residence. There was no entry to the garden or exit therefrom except by the Sixth Street gate. The carriages arrived only by Chestnut Street, and turned up Sixth Street into Market."

* * * * *

merchantmen were also made by British privateers and men-of-war which were cruising about the Delaware Bay.¹ Among the most troublesome of the enemy's vessels was the "General Monk," formerly the American privateer "General Washington," which had been captured by the British and refitted as a vessel of the royal navy. Such were the losses inflicted on American commerce by the "Monk," that at a meeting of Whigs at Crawford and Donaldson's insurance office on Market Street, it was determined to fit out a vessel to take the offensive against her. Funds were soon obtained, partly from the Bank of North America, and partly from private individuals, and a vessel was purchased which was named the "Hyder Ally," in honor of Great Britain's famous antagonist in India. Capt. Joshua Barney was chosen as her commander, and the crew, which numbered one hundred and ten men, was made up of volunteers chiefly from the regular service. The vessel, mounting sixteen six-pounders, went down the river disguised as a merchantman. The object of the expedition was to convoy a fleet of vessels to the capes, protecting them on the way down from the refugee boats; but Barney had instructions not on any account to put to sea. While the convoy were lying in Cape May road waiting for a fair wind to take them out, two ships and a brig were discovered standing for them. A large cruiser of the enemy soon after made its appearance. Capt. Barney signalled the convoy to return to the bay, but in attempting to do so the brig "Charming Sally" ran aground and was captured.

The "General Greene," an American privateer, also ran aground and was taken. The cruiser "General Monk," which had effected these captures, now pushed on to engage the "Hyder Ally." By skillful manœuvring, Barney succeeded in closing with his enemy, who was greatly superior in force, so that the "Monk's" jib-boom caught in the fore-rigging of the "Hyder Ally," and remained entangled there, thus enabling the American vessel to rake her adversary fore and aft. The British commander had expected to deliver a broadside, which, with his greatly superior weight of metal, would have made short

work of Barney's vessel; but as it happened, the two crews fought on much more nearly equal terms. Twenty broadsides were fired by the "Hyder Ally" in twenty-six minutes, and in less than half an hour the British vessel struck her colors. Capt. Barney still had the frigate to deal with, the brig having passed on, and, without ascertaining the name of the vessel he had captured, placed a prize-crew on board, ordering the lieutenant in command to make all sail up the bay after the convoy, while he covered the rear. In order to mislead the frigate, which was the "Quebec," he hoisted the British flag on his own vessel as though she had been captured. The frigate continued the chase up the bay for some distance, but at length gave it up, and coming to anchor signalled the "Hyder Ally" under the impression that she was in British hands. Capt. Barney was now at leisure to ascertain the name and character of his prize, and to his surprise and delight discovered that she was the "General Monk," mounting twenty nine-pounders, nearly double his own weight of metal, and carrying one hundred and thirty-six men under command of Capt. Rogers, of the royal navy. The frigate was the "Quebec," thirty-two guns. The brig was the "Fair American," once of Philadelphia. The ship was the "Eldridge," once a Philadelphia privateer, but now sailing under British colors. The "General Monk" lost twenty killed and had thirty-three wounded. Among the former were the first lieutenant, purser, surgeon, boatswain, and gunner. Among the latter were Captain Rogers and every officer on board except one midshipman. The "Hyder Ally" had four men killed and eleven wounded. That Barney should have effected this capture within sight of three strong vessels of the enemy, was justly regarded as most remarkable, and the achievement was hailed in Philadelphia with great rejoicing.²

Much of the credit was due to a detachment of Bucks County riflemen, who served as marines on the "Hyder Ally," and whose accurate aim brought down many officers and men, all of whom were found to have been shot in the head or breast, so cool and deadly was the fire. The "General Monk" was purchased by the State of Pennsylvania, and the original name, "General Washington," resumed. After taking the "General Monk" into port, Capt. Barney again sailed for the bay to get the convoy to sea, and while engaged on this duty captured a refugee boat, the "Hook 'em Snivey." After this cruise Capt. Barney took command of the "General Monk," now the "General Washington," and sailed on a spe-

¹ Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, of New York, published in March the following list of privateers or letters-of-marque belonging to Philadelphia which had been captured in eight months by one vessel, the frigate "Medea," Capt. Duncan. The number of merchant-vessels taken during the same time was very great. The privateers named below are not recorded as having taken any valuable prizes, and several of them had doubtless been captured before a single gun was fired:

Ship "Morning Star," 18 guns, 7 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.
Schooner "Eagle," 8 guns, 24 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.
Sloop "Phoenix," 16 guns, 77 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.
Ship "Rover," 20 guns, 80 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.
"King Bird," 10 guns, 30 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.
Schooner "Neptune," 6 guns, 20 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.
Brig "Marianne," 12 guns, 48 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.
Brig "Favorite," 14 guns, 83 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.
Brig "Black Princess," 26 guns, 179 men; a privateer of Philadelphia.

² A song "On Capt. Barney's Victory over the Ship 'General Monk,' April 26, 1782," was written and sung through the streets of Philadelphia, and the Legislature passed a vote of thanks to Capt. Barney, and presented him with a sword which cost seventy-five pounds specie. It was a small sword, with mountings of chased gold. The guard on one side had a representation of the "Hyder Ally," and on the other the "General Monk," the sails of each ship set as in action, the latter in the act of striking her flag. The hulls, sails, masts, spars, and rigging were beautifully delineated in carved open work.

cial errand for Havana. On the way out he captured a brigantine from Jamaica laden with rum, and recaptured a schooner laden with naval stores. In an action near Turk's Island with a privateer the "Washington" had her main and mizzen-masts disabled, which enabled the enemy to escape. At Havana the "Washington" was laden with specie, and convoyed to the Delaware by a French man-of-war of sixty guns. On her way up the bay she recaptured three prizes from refugee boats, which escaped her. After her arrival at Philadelphia she was sold, and for some years sailed as the packet "Washington," under Capt. Barney. The "Hyder Ally" continued in the State service, under command of Capt. Jonathan Starr, who was succeeded by Capt. John Kemp, and took a few prizes. The "Holker," Capt. Keane, captured the privateer "Recovery," of New York, Capt. Downie, and several commercial vessels, and, after being refitted, was placed under Capt. Quillen, who cruised in West India waters. In December he captured a fine ship from Liverpool, which he took into Martinique.

After undergoing some months of imprisonment in New York, Capt. Stephen Decatur assumed command of the letter-of-marque ship "Rising Sun," and on his return from Tenerife, captured a large and valuable brig, which he brought into Philadelphia. The "St. James," a Philadelphia letter-of-marque, captured a ship, a cutter, and the "Lion," a double-deck ship, mounting forty-two guns and carrying two hundred men. The "Lion," which was captured after a severe engagement, in which the "St. James" was assisted by the privateers "Washington" and "Queen of France," had a cargo worth £8000. The "Commerce," Capt. Thomas Truxton, encountered a brig and schooner in West Indian waters, and after inflicting severe injury on both vessels, was compelled by the appearance of a British brig and frigate to draw off and make her escape. The letter-of-marque "Coghill," Capt. Tinker, captured one vessel. During the latter part of the summer and fall a large British fleet hovered off the capes and inflicted great damage. The French frigate "L'Aigle" and the brig "Sophie" were captured by the British, but the frigate "La Gloire," which was in their company, escaped, to the great chagrin of the British on account of having on board a number of French noblemen on their way to join the French army. Among them were Baron De Viomenil, Duc De Lauzun, Marquis De Laval, Marquis De Champanche, Vicomte De Fleury, Vicomte De Melfort, Comte De Bazouin, Comte De Rue, Comte De Laugeron, Comte Leque, Prince De Broglio De Lichtorne, Chevalier De Lameth, Vicomte De Vaudrieul, Baron De Montesquieu, and Vicomte Paleske.

The schooner "Harlequin," Capt. John Earle, on her way up the river from Havana, in September, was attacked by three refugee boats and captured. After she had struck the refugees murdered Bennett, the

mate, and wounded the captain, Earle, and a passenger named Paschel. In consequence of this disaster a light-draught schooner, well armed, was placed under command of Capt. John Snyder, and sent down the river against the refugee boats. The privateers "General Green," "Stark," and "Diana" were captured by British cruisers and taken into New York. The most important prize made by the enemy this year, however, was the "South Carolina," a frigate belonging to that State, but which had been fitted out and manned at Philadelphia. The "South Carolina," formerly "L'Indien," had been built by the American Commissioners at Amsterdam, and presented to the king of France, who loaned her to the Duke of Luxembourg. From the latter Commodore Gillon, of the South Carolina navy, hired her for three years, the State to insure her and sail her at its own expense, rendering one-fourth of the prize money as compensation for her use. She was a frigate in construction, carrying twenty-eight Swedish thirty-sixes on her gun-deck and twelve Swedish twelves on her quarter-deck and forecastle.

In 1781, under Gillon, she made many prizes, which were sent into Spanish ports, and in the latter part of 1782 came to Philadelphia, where the command was assumed by John Joyner. An advertisement for a crew, which Joyner published and which appeared in *Rivington's Royal Gazette*, attracted the attention of the British naval officers at New York, and the "Diomedé," of forty-four guns, the "Astrea," thirty-two, and the "Quebec," thirty-two, were dispatched to the capes of the Delaware to watch for her. In December the "South Carolina" went down the bay, and, without any suspicion of the trap that had been prepared for her, put to sea. Outside the capes she soon fell in with the British vessels, and after a running fight of eighteen hours was compelled to surrender. The loss of the "South Carolina," the largest vessel and the heaviest in metal that it had yet possessed, was a severe blow to the American navy, and excited general indignation from the fact that it was ascribed to the bad management of Capt. Joyner.

Considerable opposition to the management of the new Bank of North America was developed during the winter and spring of 1782, owing to the choice of Thomas Willing as president. Willing had been named as president under the ordinance passed on the 31st of December, 1781, which also designated those who should act as directors. In March the Assembly took up a bill to grant a charter on behalf of the State, and a clause was suggested continuing Willing as president and Thomas Fitzsimons and others as directors until new ones were chosen. Objection was made to Willing on the ground that his conduct had been lukewarm during the war, but the clause was adopted by a vote of thirty-eight to sixteen. Notwithstanding this opposition the bill passed finally on the 1st of April by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-

four. Another financial movement of the year in which the people of Philadelphia were largely interested was the attempt to obtain from Congress some provision for the payment of interest on loan certificates. On the 5th of July a meeting of holders of these certificates at the State-House, at which Blair McClenechan presided, and Dr. Benjamin Rush acted as secretary, appointed Blair McClenechan, Charles Pettit, Thomas Fitzsimons, Dr. John Ewing, and Benjamin Rush a committee to address Congress on the subject.

Petitions for the separation of the city and county, and for the removal of the seat of government from Philadelphia (the first attempt to change the location of the capital), were presented to the Assembly during 1782, but failed to obtain a favorable recognition. Another measure of general interest locally was an act in relation to the regulation of party walls, passed in April, which contained a provision that the city commissioners should within three months remove all the trees growing in the streets, lanes, and alleys of the city. The reasons assigned for the passage of this curious law were that the trees obstructed the highways, disordered the water-courses and footways, and broke up the pavements. Protests poured in upon the Assembly, which in September repealed that section of the act.

Notwithstanding the measures which had been adopted for its suppression, the illicit trade with the British in New York still continued to be carried on during 1782. "Wagons were used with false bottoms and sides, each of which had capacity to stow away as much as eight hundred pounds of goods. Many articles were packed in water-tight kegs, which were inclosed in barrels, the latter being filled up with cider outside of the kegs. It was estimated that as much as one thousand pounds a week went to New York in this traffic. To prevent the trade as far as possible, a law was passed in September 'for the more effectual suppression of intercourse and commerce with the enemies of America.' By this law British goods were declared contraband and liable to forfeiture, while the importer was punishable with three months' imprisonment."¹

The feeling in Philadelphia in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war and against any terms of compromise with England continued unabated. In May the Council, in view of a possible treaty with Great Britain, adopted resolutions to the effect that any propositions that might be made by the British government tending in any manner to violate the treaty existing between the United States and France should be treated "with every mark of indignity and contempt." In the Assembly, which met in special session in August, a resolution opposing a peace with England without the concurrence of France, a reunion with Great Britain on any terms, or a revival of the rights of the proprietary family came before the Assembly. It was supposed that the House was divided as to the last proposition (that offering a revival of the proprietary rights), which had been rejected in committee by a vote of seven to five, but when the news reached the public there was such a strong demonstration in favor of the resolution in its entirety that the Assembly passed it without opposition.

Owing to complaints from Pennsylvanians confined on the prison-ship "Jersey" at New York, to the effect that they were cruelly treated by the British, and were in want of clothing, blankets, and food, the Supreme Executive Council appointed Ezekiel Robbins agent at New York, and forwarded three hundred bushels of potatoes and fifty barrels of flour for the relief of the prisoners. The condition of the latter was found to be dreadful, and their ranks were being rapidly decimated by cruelty, starvation, and disease.² At the election held in November of this year for president of the Executive Council, John Dickinson was elected over Gen. James Potter by a vote of forty-one to twenty-two. For vice-president James Ewing had thirty-nine votes and Gen. Potter thirty-four. The political contests of the year were unusually bitter and vituperative. The *Freeman's Journal*, Oswald's *Independent Gazetteer*, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and the *Pennsylvania Packet* were all active and virulent in the warfare, and many prominent

kill, Northern Liberties, sold to Maj. James Farr for £500 Pennsylvania currency.

Joseph Galloway, 105 acres of meadow, part of Hog Island, in the river Delaware; sold to Samuel Caldwell for £175,000 Continental money; ground-rent, 7½ bushels of wheat.

John Parrock, tract of ground, Northern Liberties, 3 acres 66 perches, sold to James Caldwell for £11,901; ground-rent, 5½ bushels of wheat. John Robeson, tract and plantation, Whitpain township, 75 acres; sold to Edmund Miln for £1715; ground-rent, 21½ bushels of wheat.

John Potts, lot in Pottstown, Douglass township, 60 feet by 300; sold to Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair for £2700 Continental money.

² "The prison-ships are perfect slaughter-houses," wrote Robbins to the Council, Feb. 20, 1783. "Since the commencement of this year near three hundred men are on the dead list. They bury sometimes from six to eight a day. It is impossible for any, unless a spectator, to form an idea of their distressed and horrid situation. Samuel Shoemaker, Esq., formerly of your place, has exerted himself for their relief by frequent applications to the admiral, by which means numbers have been liberated and sent home, so at the present there don't remain of Pennsylvania prisoners to exceed fifty. I am in hopes their continuation on board the prison-ships will not be of long duration."

¹ Thompson Westcott adds that during 1782 the following estates, forfeited for treason, were sold:

John Parrock, east side of Water Street, north of Sasafra, 20 feet to the river Delaware, valued at £500; sold to Capt. David Zeigler for £1515 Pennsylvania currency; ground-rent, 45½ bushels of wheat.

Richard Yorke and Jonathan Adams (or wife), house and lot, Sasafra Street, between Third and Fourth, 36 feet by 140, subject to ground-rent of £4 18s. 6d., valued at £700; assigned to the University of Pennsylvania.

Daniel Jeanes, one-third of field of eighteen acres, and one-third of forty acres in the manor of Moreland; sold to Benjamin Harbeson for £8500 Continental money.

Matthias Aspen, house and lot and stores, Water Street, between Market and Mulberry, extending from the Delaware River, valued at £1400; assigned to the University of Pennsylvania.

Joshua Knight, lot of ground, Abington, 10½ acres; sold to William Dean for £11,600 Continental money; ground-rent, 5½ bushels of wheat.

Samuel Shoemaker, house and plantation on the banks of the Schuyl-

people were involved in controversies more or less disgraceful to nearly all concerned. Gen. Mifflin was accused of having made a nabob's fortune as quartermaster-general, but his reputation was so complete that his assailants were silenced. Gen. Joseph Reed was also the object of bitter attacks. Among the charges against him was one preferred by Col. Thomas Proctor, the well-known artillery officer, to the effect that Reed had requested protection for himself and family and property from Count Donop, in command of the advance-guard of Hessians at Burlington, in December, 1776. Gen. John Cadwalader was drawn into the controversy in opposition to Reed, and a correspondence, marked by extreme acrimony, be-

tween Cadwalader and Reed grew out of the affair, which finally degenerated into a war of pamphlets. Reed continued to be the object of attacks until his death. John Dickinson was another of the public men of the day against whom the batteries of detraction were turned. He was charged with hav-



COL. ELEAZER OSWALD.

ing opposed the Declaration of Independence and the constitution of the State, with having linked himself with Tories, with having deserted his battalion when it went into the field in 1776, and the American cause until the treaty with France gave a brighter aspect to affairs, and with having endeavored to prevent the passage of Continental money. Dickinson replied *seriatim* to these accusations, and the only weak part of his defense seems to have been his denial of the charge in relation to the depreciation of the currency. His statement on this point was regarded as vague and unsatisfactory.¹

¹ The author of the publication attacking Dickinson was said to be Gen. Joseph Reed. The writers of the articles in the *Freeman's Journal*, edited by Bailey, according to some, were George Osbourne, Jonathan D. Sergeant, William Clajon, Justice Bryan, and Freneau, the poet. Osbourne was an Irish lawyer, who had come to Philadelphia with a certificate of admission to practice in the King's Bench. While in the city he married an American lady, but was confounded a short time afterwards by the arrival of a first wife from Ireland. Leaving his second wife, he fled with the first, and was not heard of again in Philadelphia. In the short time he remained in the city he had contrived to obtain several lucrative positions. He was escheator-general, judge-advocate of the militia, clerk in the contested election of Philadelphia County, and solicitor in the great trial between Pennsylvania and Connecticut regarding the Wyoming lands.

Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant was dubbed "Dark Jonathan" by the writers in Oswald's *Gazetteer*, and Bryan was called "the tall-faced chronologer, otherwise Judge Grinner." These writers for Bailey's paper were collectively called "the Skunk Association" by their opponents, and Arthur Lee was described as "Peter Paragraphist for the *Freeman's Journal*, and principal scribe to the Skunk Confederation."

Two of the editors, Oswald and Bailey, became involved in a personal controversy, and a duel was at one time thought to be imminent, but was averted by the extreme sensitiveness of each as to points of punctilio.²

² Col. Eleazer Oswald was a man of great courage and perfectly fearless in the discharge of what he thought was his duty. He was born in England about 1755 of good family, being related to Richard Anson-chronicle. At the time of the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies he took an interest in the American cause, and came to the United States about 1770. He was engaged in the earliest movements of the war, and served as captain under Arnold at the capture of Ticonderoga and became his secretary. He exhibited great bravery at Quebec in 1775, where he commanded the forlorn hope after Arnold was wounded. In 1777 he was made a lieutenant in Lamb's regiment of artillery, and soon afterwards distinguished himself with Arnold at Compo. For his bravery at the battle of Monmouth he was highly commended by Gen. Knox and Lee. He was a fine artist,—"one of the best officers in the army," says Gen. Knox. Soon after the battle of Monmouth he left the service, and in January, 1779, associated himself with William Gouddard in the management of the *Maryland Journal*, the first newspaper published in Baltimore. Soon after Oswald entered into partnership with Gouddard the *Journal* incurred the displeasure of the more radical Whigs, and the friends of Washington generally, by the publication on the 6th of July, 1779, of an article entitled "Queries—Political and Military," which had been written by Gen. Charles Lee, the personal enemy of Washington, who had been suspended from his command in the army for disobedience of orders and misbehavior before the enemy.

The publication of the "Queries" naturally caused great excitement, and the reflections on General Washington particularly exasperated those who believed him to be the proper person to lead the American armies. Growing out of this difficulty a correspondence took place between Col. Oswald and Col. Samuel Smith, of Baltimore, the hero of Mud Fort; which resulted in Oswald challenging Smith to fight him a duel. The latter declined, and Oswald published the correspondence.

After the popular demonstration which destroyed Oswald's efficiency in Baltimore he removed to Philadelphia, and in April, 1782, he issued the first number of the *Independent Gazetteer*, or the *Chronicle of Freedom*, a weekly paper published on Saturdays. Oswald rendered this journal one of the most lively and attractive printed in Philadelphia. He was also at this time public printer.

The dispute between political parties and public men during 1782 ran to a height of detraction that all the invective and bitterness of preceding controversies had not exceeded. Prominent citizens were made targets for attack. The freedom used by the assailants and the method of reply and defense were marked by unequalled acerbity and virulence. Oswald's *Independent Gazetteer* was not as impartial in publishing all sides of political questions as some other papers in Philadelphia, but many articles, personal and vindictive, were introduced to the world in its columns.

In 1783 Oswald reopened the London Coffee-House in Philadelphia, so long kept by William Bradford, founder of the *Pennsylvania Journal*. While conducting the Coffee-House Oswald published once a month for John McPherson the first mercantile paper published in the United States, called the *Price Current*.

In August, 1786, Oswald commanded a volunteer company of infantry in Philadelphia, which was exercised with other companies of town militia on the commons in all the evolutions and incidents of a battle by Baron Steuben and General Du Plessis, of the French army. The baron made them an address after the parade, in which he highly complimented the efficiency of the troops, and assured them that he would immediately employ himself in forming a system of legionary arrangements for the militia of the United States. Oswald's company shortly before this, on August 1st, volunteered to march to the frontier to dispossess the British of the posts and garrisons held by them in violation of the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain.

Upon constitutional principles Oswald was an opponent of Alexander Hamilton, whom in 1789 he challenged to fight a duel. Their friends, however, adjusted the matter, and the meeting was prevented. A curious episode in Oswald's life, not made public until recently, shows him to have been the first American Fenian. He was in England in 1792, and being infected with the Gallicism then prevalent, went to France, joined the French army, became colonel, and commanded a regiment of artillery under Dumouriez in the memorable battle of Jemmapes. Then

In October, 1781, Col. Thomas Proctor, upon offering his vote at the poll in the Northern Liberties, was requested by John Cling, the inspector, to show his certificate of having taken the test. Proctor, who had served with conspicuous gallantry in the army, considered the request an insult, and assaulted Cling, who prosecuted him. During the trial in September, 1782, Proctor addressed the court, admitting what he had done and justifying it. "Thus," he added, "I chastised him according to his deserts." He was interrupted at this point by Judge McKean, who prohibited him from continuing his remarks, and said, "You gentlemen of the army hold your heads too high; but I will teach you how to behave. I will bring you down; we shall be overrun else." Proctor was fined eighty pounds, and Col. Francis Nichols, who was tried at the same term for assaulting Joseph Gardner, a member of the Council for Chester County, was fined fifty pounds. McKean's action was severely censured in Oswald's paper, the *Independent Gazetteer*, by a correspondent who signed himself "A Friend to the Army." McKean sent for Oswald, and after reprimanding him, ordered him to be taken into custody by the sheriff and bound over to answer in the sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds. Oswald described the scene in court in such insulting language that McKean sent for him a second time, and demanded the true name of "A Friend to the Army." Oswald refused to give it, whereupon he was ordered to give bail in the sum of one thousand pounds. Oswald retaliated by charging McKean in his paper with being a speculator in distressed soldiers' certificates, and republished the article signed "A Friend to the Army." The first bill of indictment against Oswald was ignored by the grand jury, and a second bill was treated in the same way. The action of the grand jury exasperated McKean, who accused them of having been led away by party considerations and tampered with by Proctor. He even went so far as to ask what the evidence was on which their findings

a crisis approaching in Ireland, the French Minister, Le Brun, sent him across the channel to that island to report its condition and pave the way for the expedition under Gen. Hoke. He had no way to get to Ireland except via Norway and Scotland, and when he did reach that distracted land the "United Irishmen" had been betrayed, and were broken up. Oswald, after applying to the French National Convention for further employment, returned to the United States, and died of yellow fever in New York on Sept. 30, 1795. His remains now lie buried in St. Paul's churchyard, in that city, and have over them a marble headstone with the words:

"E. Oswald, Colonel of Artillery in the American Army, an officer of noted integrity and usefulness, a sincere friend, and an honest man. Died September 30th, 1795. Erected by his grandson, Dr. Eleazer Balfour, of Norfolk, Va." (A square and compass.)

As will be seen, Oswald was a man of the greatest gallantry, and had fine literary tastes and attainments. Col. John Parke, the translator of Horace, addressed several of the odes to him.

After Oswald's death, his widow continued the publication of the *Gazetteer* about a year. On Aug. 17, 1796, she disposed of the proprietorship of the paper to Joseph Gales, who continued to publish it until late in 1799, when he discontinued it and removed to Raleigh, N. C., and set up a journal there.

Miss Ann L. Oswald, a daughter of Col. E. Oswald, died in Philadelphia on Feb. 4, 1881, aged ninety-one years.

were based. An altercation between the judge and grand jury in open court was the result, and sixteen of the grand jury published an appeal to the public, in which they declared that they had acted within their rights.

On the 4th of February the Supreme Court was called upon to consider the first slave case brought before it since the adoption of the law abolishing slavery. A negro, Alexis, claimed his freedom under the provisions of the act. He was not born in Pennsylvania, nor was he a resident of the State at the time of the passage of the act; but had been brought into it in the summer of 1780. After having been kept six months by a Frenchman he was sold to a Spaniard. The court decided that he was entitled to his freedom, and he was accordingly discharged.

Political controversy continued to run high during 1783, but was not marked by personal disputes to the same extent as during the previous year. James Wilson, the distinguished lawyer, was charged by a newspaper writer in January with holding the position of advocate or counselor of the French crown, and of having charge of the interests of the French government in the United States as far as they were subjects of regulation under local laws. The position was said to be worth one thousand pounds per annum, and it was argued that a pensioner of any foreign government should not be allowed to sit in Congress. The accusation was denied by another correspondent.

In March a memorial was presented to the Assembly demanding a revision of the militia law, with the view more particularly of restricting the privileges of the Tories. The Assembly refused to pass the measures asked for, but enacted a law abolishing the offices of sub-lieutenants for the city and county, and making other changes in the militia system.¹

After a long career of success, during which she had proved a serious annoyance to the commerce of the enemy, the privateer "Holker" was destined to close her career in a sudden and disastrous manner. During the early part of the year 1783 she had a severe engagement in West Indian waters with the ship "General Elliot," of fourteen guns, which surrendered after every man on board, except three, had been either killed or wounded. Within a period of twenty-one days the "Holker" also made prizes of

¹ The officers of the battalion for the city and county at this time were:

City and Liberties.—First Battalion—John Shee, lieutenant-colonel; Rees, major. Second Battalion—Read, lieutenant-colonel. Third Battalion—Eyles, lieutenant-colonel; Brown, major. Fourth Battalion—William Will, lieutenant-colonel; Ker, major. Fifth Battalion—Robert Knox, lieutenant-colonel; Casdorp, major. Sixth Battalion—Deane, lieutenant-colonel; Pancake, major. Artillery—Marsh, lieutenant-colonel; McCullough, major.

County of Philadelphia.—First Battalion—Benjamin McVeagh, lieutenant-colonel. Second Battalion—Matthew Holgate, lieutenant-colonel. Third Battalion—Michael Croll, lieutenant-colonel. Fourth Battalion—Peter Richards, lieutenant-colonel. Fifth Battalion—Matthew Jones, lieutenant-colonel. Sixth Battalion—Robert Correy, lieutenant-colonel. Seventh Battalion—George Smith, lieutenant-colonel.

the "Lion," of Anguilla, ten guns, the ship "Mary," eighteen guns, a brig from Newfoundland, and a cutter from England; and in a six weeks' cruise her captures numbered sixteen. While off Martinique, however, the "Holker" was chased by a frigate, and, in trying to escape, started some butts, filled, and sank. Capt. Quinlen and seventeen men were saved, but the rest of the crew were lost. The armed schooner "Hawk," maintained by the State of Pennsylvania and commanded by Capt. Snyder, also rendered good service by cruising in the Delaware River and Bay, and protecting American commerce from the refugee boats. In March she captured in Delaware Bay the refugee galley "Ladies' Revenge," belonging to New York. The galley, which was well armed and manned by a crew of sixty men, was under the command of Kidd, a Tory refugee from Philadelphia, who, being hard pressed by the "Hawk," ran his vessel ashore and escaped with all his crew but six.

The war was now drawing rapidly to a close. A change in the British ministry had encouraged Dr. Franklin to renew his efforts for a peaceful adjustment; and, after working with the utmost industry and skill throughout the summer and most of the autumn of 1782, he had the satisfaction of seeing his labors crowned with success. On the 30th of November a preliminary treaty was signed, but the news did not reach this country until the 12th of March, 1783, when the packet "General Washington," Capt. Joshua Barney, arrived at Philadelphia with the joyful intelligence that a treaty had been concluded, acknowledging the independence of the United States. On the 23d of March the French cutter "Triumph," commanded by Chevalier Duquesne, arrived at Philadelphia from Cadiz, bringing the news that a preliminary treaty of peace had been signed on the 20th of January, 1783. M. de Luzerne, the French minister, at once issued an official notification of the fact, directing French cruisers to cease hostilities. Intelligence of the state of affairs was also communicated to Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton as the British commander-in-chief at New York. Sir Guy replied that he had hitherto abstained from hostilities, and would continue that conduct as far as his own security would admit; but that until he received orders from England he did not feel himself justified "in recommending measures which might give facility to the fleets and armies menacing any part of the king's possessions to carry their hostilities into execution." Admiral Digby, in command of the British fleet, made a similar reply. On the 11th of April the British officers having received official notice from home that peace had been concluded, Congress issued a proclamation enjoining a cessation of hostilities. On the 16th the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania made proclamation of the fact at the court-house, where the official document was read by the sheriff in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

The State flag was hoisted, as usual on such occasions, at Market Street wharf, and the bells were rung amid general demonstrations of joy at the termination of the war. In the evening Charles Wilson Peale exhibited the patriotic transparencies which had done good service on previous occasions, and one week later Thomas Paine published "The Last 'Crisis,' No. 13," in which he declared that "The times that tried men's souls" were over.¹

On the 3d of September, 1783, a definitive treaty was signed at Versailles in which the United States were formally acknowledged to be sovereign, free, and independent, and New York, the last position held by the British on the American coast, was evacuated on the 25th of November of the same year.

The cessation of hostilities was followed by a general exchange of prisoners. Among the British in the hands of the Americans were a number of soldiers of Burgoyne's army confined at Lancaster, who, in anticipation of the declaration of peace, were transferred to Philadelphia and lodged in the Walnut Street jail. Shortly afterwards they were liberated and sent to New York. The United States then surrendered the new prison to the State of Pennsylvania, and the civil prisoners who had been confined in the old jail at Third and Market Streets were removed by the sheriff to the other building.

Commerce now began to revive and trade with New York was reopened, although that city was still occupied by the British. "A large number of vessels," says Thompson Westcott, "arrived from that place and from ports out of the United States. The first ship under the British flag that sailed into the Delaware after the proclamation was the 'Hibernia,' Capt. Roger Scallion, of Dublin, last from New York. At Gloucester Point a salute of eleven guns was fired by this vessel, and was answered with five guns by Capt. Barney, from the packet 'General Washington.' In front of the city the 'Hibernia' fired thirteen guns. Upon coming to at the wharf Capt. Scallion and his crew were very politely received. By the middle of June two hundred vessels had arrived, and as many had sailed for different parts of the United States, the West Indies, and Europe. The introduction of large quantities of British goods followed, and so plentiful was the supply that the manufacturers complained of the injury which was done them. A meeting of mechanics was held July 14th at the State-House, at which Robert Porter, the chairman, made a speech against the importation of manufactured goods, whereby our own tradesmen were deprived of the right of earning the means of supporting their families. It was resolved to petition the Assembly in relation to the cause of complaint, and the proper committees were appointed to

¹ "The Crisis, No. 1," published in December, 1776, commenced with the words, "These are times that try men's souls."

do so. The memorial was received but laid on the table, and no definite action taken upon it."¹

Considerable feeling was aroused in September by the arrival of agents for the collection of British debts, who, it was said, were preparing to bring suits against the debtors. "If they are," said a writer in one of the newspapers, "it is hoped there will be spirit enough to make them repent of their rashness. Their acts brought ruin upon us." No objection was made to the ultimate payment of the debts, but it was urged that as great destruction to American industries and trade had been wrought by the British fleets and armies, thus crippling the debtor class, a reasonable time should be allowed for the payment of obligations to British creditors. The feeling against the Tories was not immediately removed by the triumph of the American arms. On the contrary, a disposition to exult over and persecute their adversaries was exhibited by the more belligerent Whigs, to whom the provisions in the preliminary treaty giving Tories the right to go to any part of the United States and remain there for twelve months, and forbidding future confiscations or persecutions for the part they had taken in the war, were decidedly unpalatable. The militia were prompt to express their dissatisfaction. At a meeting at the State-House, held on the 29th of May, at which Lieut.-Col. John Shee presided, resolutions were adopted declaring that Tory refugees ought not to be permitted to return or remain among Americans who had remained loyal to their country; that they (the militia) were determined to use all the means in their power to prevent them from doing so, and that they would "cheerfully join with others of the community in instructions to our representatives in the Assembly." It was added that "persons harboring or entertaining those enemies of their country ought to feel the highest displeasure of the citizens of this city and liberties," and that it was the opinion of "this company" that "a town meeting be called as soon as possible to take into consideration the mode of instructing representatives, and such other measures as may appear necessary, and that a committee be appointed

to prepare for carrying this resolve into execution."

In accordance with the latter resolution a general meeting of citizens was held at the State-House on the 14th of June, with Col. Samuel Miles as chairman and Lieut.-Col. John Shee as secretary, at which resolutions similar to those adopted by the preliminary meeting were agreed to, with additions and amendments to the effect that those present pledged themselves to use all the means in their power "to expel with infamy such persons who have or hereafter shall presume to come among us, and that the names of such persons be published in the newspapers of this city by the committee appointed to carry these resolves into execution;" also, "that we consider the restoration of the estates forfeited by law as incompatible with the peace, the safety, and the dignity of this commonwealth;" and that "the dignity and interest of this State require that funds be provided for the payment and discharge of the public debt." A committee was appointed, consisting of the field-officers and captains of the militia of the city and liberties, together with certain prominent citizens, which met at the City Tavern and adopted a resolution giving ten days' notice to all persons coming within the description of the resolutions adopted by the town-meeting to quit the State, under penalty of being "dealt with in a proper manner."²

A few days afterwards Capt. Thomas Rawlings, and subsequently Capt. Joseph Crathorne and Thomas Plunket, received peremptory notice to depart in a specified time. Thomas Faro, Launcelot Faro, James Mitchell, Lawrence Fenner, and Thomas Gawney were also denounced to the committee and warned off. Earnest remonstrances were made against the arbitrary and unauthorized course of the committee, which was said to be in conflict with the treaty of peace; but no attention was paid to them, the committee probably deeming itself too strong in public indorsement and support to run much risk at the hands of the legal authorities. The latter, in fact,

² The committee to carry the determination of the city meeting into effect were the field-officers and captains of the militia, and the following citizens:

Northern Liberties.—John Rice, shipwright; John Houston, John Harrison, Zachariah Andrews.

Southwark.—Elias Boys, William Brown, Jonathan Penrose, George Ord.

Mulberry Ward.—Col. Farmer, Jacob Schriener, Capt. Heysham, Col. Bayard.

Upper Delaware.—Andrew Hodge, Jr., William Bright.

High Street.—Capt. McNaughton, Thomas Fitzgerald.

North.—Jacob Barge, Michael Shubart.

Lower Delaware.—Charles Risk, Blair McCleachan.

Chestnut.—Jedediah Snowden, William Pollard.

Middle.—Robert Smith, William Richards.

Walnut.—George Hendy, Mr. Markoe.

South.—Andrew Caldwell, Dr. H. Shiell.

Dock.—Alexander Rutherford, James Hunter, Francis Gurney, William Turnbull.

Resolutions similar to those of the city meeting were adopted by the citizens of Germantown at a meeting of which James Haslett was chairman, and Thomas Norton secretary.

¹ One of the first measures necessary to complete restoration of commerce was the removal of the obstructions or *chevaux-de-frise* in the Delaware. Thirteen of these machines, lying on the Jersey shore, were sold by order of the Supreme Executive Council. There was a passage through those still in place which was known to pilots, but not always safely navigated.

The French ship "Achilles," coming up the river in June, ran upon one of these machines, and was badly injured. Assistance was offered from Southwark, and the vessel finally brought to the wharf. The wardens of the port made representations to the Council in regard to the injurious effects of allowing these obstructions to remain longer, and were authorized to take measures to have them removed. They accordingly advertised for proposals to undertake the work, but none were received within the time specified for presenting them. A survey of the bed of the river was made. At a later time De Bruessine and Garrison made some overtures in relation to the business, proposing to remove the obstructions for four thousand pounds. This was finally agreed to, the work to be finished in nine months, but the contractors failed to comply with their undertaking.

would probably have found themselves powerless to enforce their own measures, as proved to be the case shortly after in the second revolt of the Pennsylvania Line. In June of this year a number of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Line, exasperated by the delays in settling their claims, resolved to demand a redress of grievances and a settlement of accounts. A body of them accordingly set out from Lancaster for Philadelphia to lay the matter before the authorities. No measures were taken to check their advance. A committee of Congress requested the Executive Council to call out the militia in order to prevent the progress of the rioters, but the State authorities took no action, in the belief apparently that the troops could be conciliated. Orders were issued from the War Office that the soldiers be received into the barracks and supplied with rations. On reaching the city they marched to those quarters in good order, and without creating any disturbance. Congress and the Executive Council both held their sessions in the State-House at this time. On Saturday, June 21st, Congress not being in session, having adjourned from Friday evening until Monday, a party of about thirty armed men marched from the barracks to the State-House, where the Executive Council was in session. They sent to that body a message in writing, demanding that, as their general officers had left them, they should have authority to appoint commissioned officers to command them and to redress their grievances, the said officers to have full power to adopt such measures as they might think best calculated to obtain justice for the men. If this should be denied they threatened to let the soldiers in upon the Council, who must then abide by the consequences. Only twenty minutes were given for deliberation on the subject.

The Council, not to be intimidated by threats, unanimously rejected the terms proposed. Other bodies of soldiers had in the mean time joined the mutineers, who now numbered three hundred men, under the command of sergeants and petty officers. A guard of fifteen or twenty was posted in the State-House yard opposite the southern windows of the Council chamber, and sentinels were placed at the doors. A special meeting of Congress was called, but a quorum could not be got together. One of the members made a fruitless appeal to the soldiers to moderate their demands, and returning to his associates advised them to think of eternity, as he believed that within an hour not one of their body would be left alive. It was not against Congress, however, but the Supreme Executive Council that the rage of the insurgents was directed. Congress finally adjourned to meet at Carpenters' Hall at a later hour the same day, and when it reassembled a quorum was found to be present. The members seem to have been panic-stricken; for although they had been permitted to leave the State-House without interference on the part of the mob, they adopted a resolution declaring

that they had been "grossly insulted by the disorderly and menacing appearance of a body of armed soldiers about the place of meeting," and that it was necessary that "effectual measures" should be immediately taken to support the public authority. A committee was appointed in reference to the matter, the members of which explained to the Council that "effectual measures" meant "that the militia of the State should be immediately called forth in sufficient force to reduce the soldiers to obedience, disarm them, and put them in the power of Congress."

In the mean time the soldiers had marched back to their barracks without having resorted to violence, and the city was entirely quiet. On Sunday morning the Supreme Executive Council met at the house of President Dickinson, and decided that to call the militia into service without being sure of collecting a sufficient force would only irritate the soldiers, and drive them on to the commission of excesses which might otherwise be avoided. It was not even known whether the militia would respond energetically to the call. There was also a deficiency of ammunition, the State magazine being in the hands of the mutineers. The latter, moreover, had shown a willingness to negotiate, and it was very probable that in time everything might be arranged. Delay was additionally valuable from the fact that opportunity would thus be afforded for applying to the commander-in-chief for Continental soldiers to maintain order. On the following day (Monday) the committee of Congress again met the Council. The latter reported that by inquiry among citizens they were convinced of the pacific disposition of the soldiers, that they would be satisfied with what was just and reasonable, and that the militia were not prepared for service.

On Tuesday a consultation was held with the colonels and majors of the city battalions, who, through Col. Shee, declared that it would be very imprudent to call out the militia; that the measure would prove ineffectual, and that their co-operation could not be expected until some more serious necessity for it should appear to the minds of the citizens. The soldiers, who in the mean time had remained at the barracks, appointed Capt. James Christie and five others a committee "to bring about the most speedy and ample justice." Congress, dissatisfied with the action of the Executive Council, adjourned to meet at Princeton; but no sooner had that body taken its departure than a rumor was started that the insurgents were about to make an attack upon the Bank of North America. A guard was collected, and the building put in a state of defense, but no attack from any quarter was made. In consequence of the statement that the soldiers at the barracks had acted in a disorderly manner, and the apprehension that, as their rations would be stopped on the following day, they might proceed to acts of violence, the lieutenants of the city militia were ordered to call out one hun-

dred men, the headquarters to be at Carpenters' Hall. The officers commanding regiments were also required to hold their respective forces in readiness.

On behalf of the insurgents, Capts. Christie and Symonds presented three papers to the Supreme Executive Council, containing their demands for the satisfaction of their claims; but the Council declined to receive them unless the soldiers placed themselves under the command of their officers and made full and satisfactory submission to Congress. Capts. Christie and Symonds replied "that the soldiers did not think they had offended Congress on Saturday, as their intention was to apply to Council." They added that they could not tell what the consequences of the rejection of the message from the soldiers might be, and advised the Council to prepare for their own safety and for that of the city. The militia guard was accordingly increased to five hundred men. In the mean time two of the leaders among the mutineers, Capt. Carberry and Lieut. Sullivan, had deserted their men, and a note from them urging another member of the committee to seek safety in flight fell into the hands of the Council, and was shown to the committee of sergeants. Information was received that a body of Continental troops was marching toward the city, and as the time seemed propitious for effecting some arrangement, Col. Hampton proceeded to the barracks, accompanied by citizens. After a conference with the soldiers, the latter were finally prevailed upon to leave their arms at the barracks, and to proceed to the residence of the president of the Executive Council in order to hold an interview with that official. On arriving there in a body, they were addressed by the president, who insisted that they should, as a further evidence of their submission and fidelity to the offended majesty of their country and its laws, compel the soldiers who had marched from Lancaster to lay down their arms or set out on their return under the command of their officers within twenty-four hours. After this address the men returned to their barracks, and by noon the next day the soldiers from Lancaster submitted, and soon after set out on their return. Thus by a prudent and temporizing policy a revolt was amicably settled which at one time threatened the gravest consequences, and did actually cause the removal of the seat of national government from Philadelphia. The action of Congress throughout the affair was hasty, undignified, and ill-advised. The movement was not directed against that body at all, but against the State authorities, and the flight to Princeton was simply an act of folly. But, like most acts of folly, it was persisted in with an assumption of dignity that was ridiculous in so grave a body. In August, however, the delegates from Pennsylvania represented to the Executive Council that, as Congress was about to remove from Princeton to some other point, an invitation from the Council to return to Philadelphia would probably be well received. A suitable resolution to

that effect was accordingly adopted and forwarded to Congress.

On the 29th of August the Assembly passed resolutions offering the State-House to Congress if the members would return to the city, pledging itself that "the House will take measures to enable the Executive of the State to support and protect the honor and dignity of Congress, and of those persons who compose the Executive Council." The delegates in Congress were also asked to request Congress to define the jurisdiction which it desired in the place of permanent residence of that body. An address to Congress was circulated among the citizens, and signed by a large number of persons. It represented that the citizens of Philadelphia had from the beginning of the contest distinguished themselves by every exertion which principle could inspire or fortitude support. Upon this city more than upon any other, and more than upon any other part of the country, came the first demands in times of difficulty, alarm, or danger. The signers appealed to the past to show the manner in which the citizens had responded. In conclusion they adverted to the manner in which they had met the impost and other burdens. They asked that Congress would do justice to the army and the public creditors, and promised that the American people would be willing to bear their share of the burdens. In reference to the absence of Congress from the city, so long the seat of their deliberations, promise was made that if the body would return the citizens would try to protect them. Congress replied to the address in terms expressive of pleasure and satisfaction; but, probably ashamed to return to a city from which it had fled so precipitately in the face of purely imaginary danger, that body adjourned on the 1st of November to meet at Annapolis.

Shortly after the interview between the insurgent soldiers and President Dickinson, Gen. Robert Howe marched into the city at the head of fifteen hundred Continental troops. They had been sent by Gen. Washington to quell the mutiny. Carberry and Sullivan, two of the ringleaders, escaped to British vessels, but several of their associates were arrested and tried by court-martial. Christian Naglee and John Morrison, sergeants of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, were sentenced to be shot. John Lilly, Abner Vanhorn, Thomas Flowers, and William Carman were sentenced to receive corporal punishment. Naglee and Morrison were led out to the commons, and a file of soldiers drawn up with loaded muskets, as if to shoot them. Their pardon by Congress was then announced to them, and they were released. The arrival of Gen. Howe and the presence of other distinguished officers determined the citizens of Philadelphia in July to give a dinner to the officers of the army at the State-House. Among those present were Maj.-Gens. Gates, Howe, and DuPortail, Brig.-Gen. Patterson, and a number of field-officers. Thir-

teen toasts were drank amid great enthusiasm and hearty demonstrations of good-fellowship.

Peace being now assured, the State authorities turned their attention to measures for the restoration of the trade and industries which had been interrupted by the war. Among the measures suggested by the president of the State to the Assembly in August were the establishment of a mint by the State to offset the fraudulent practices for impairing the value of the current coin; the organization of a chamber of commerce; the removal of the war obstructions in the river; the repair of the public highways; official action to ascertain what highways might be made and how far the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Schuylkill might be rendered navigable, and an act to ascertain the extent of the port of Philadelphia, to prevent insults and disturbances therein, and to define the powers of the sheriff as water bailiff. Among the matters thus urged upon the notice of the Legislature, those relating to roads, canals, and internal navigation were the only ones that received attention. A committee was appointed which, after holding conferences with the merchants of the city, reported that the most important inquiry before them was how the streams of commerce might be conducted from the river Susquehanna to the port of Philadelphia. The easiest way of accomplishing this object was by improving the navigation of the Schuylkill to Reading, and by making durable roads from thence to such parts of the Susquehanna as offered the most easy communication with the fertile lands to the west thereof. The establishment of a town or towns on the east side of the Susquehanna would, it was thought, "be attended with capital advantages to the trade of Philadelphia, as every inhabitant of such town or towns would in some degree be a factor for the Philadelphia market." The committee therefore recommended the appointment of commissioners to view the different roads leading from the Susquehanna to Reading and Philadelphia, and point out the most practicable mode of improving and repairing the same; to consider of the most probable way of opening a communication between the rivers Susquehanna and Schuylkill, and to estimate the cost; also to receive proposals from persons willing to offer lands for the building of a town on the Susquehanna. David Rittenhouse, Thomas Hutchings, and David Sellers were elected for that purpose.

Another set of commissioners—William Maclay, James Wilkinson, and William Montgomery—were appointed to examine the navigation of the Susquehanna to its sources, to ascertain where the northern boundary of the State would fall, and particularly to discover whether any part of Lake Erie was within the State of Pennsylvania. To these commissioners was also assigned the examination of the river Delaware as to its navigable advantages. During the previous year commissioners had been appointed by the States of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, to confer

together in relation to the titles of the islands in the river Delaware between the boundaries of the two States. The result was a treaty by which the islands were assigned to the States according to proximity. Of the islands within the space opposite or near the city and county of Philadelphia, Windmill Island, League Island, Mud or Fort Island, Hog Island, and Little Tinicum were annexed to the State of Pennsylvania, while Petty's Island and Red Bank Island were assigned to New Jersey. It was further agreed that the river Delaware should be a public highway, and that the two States should have concurrent jurisdiction between the shores. Vessels fastened to the shore or aground were to be considered within the jurisdiction of the State where the shore was. Every vessel riding at anchor before the town where it was last loaded or unloaded, or where it was to be loaded or unloaded, was to be considered within the jurisdiction of the State to which the town or city belonged. In capital or other offenses, trespasses, or damages on said river, jurisdiction was to be vested in the State where the offender should be first arrested or prosecuted. This treaty was negotiated on behalf of Pennsylvania by George Bryan, George Gray, and William Bingham, and on behalf of New Jersey by Abraham Clark, Joseph Cooper, and Thomas Henderson. It was ratified by the State of Pennsylvania by an act passed September 20th.

The efforts to procure a division of Philadelphia County and the reincorporation of the city were renewed before the Assembly this year. Residents of the lower part of Berks, the upper part of Chester, and the upper part of Philadelphia petitioned the Assembly to create a new county out of those districts with its seat at Pottstown, but the memorial was laid upon the table. A petition to separate the county from the city was strenuously urged on the score of the heavy taxation which the union imposed upon the county. A petition to incorporate the city led to numerous remonstrances, which were referred to a committee of members from the city. They reported emphatically in favor of the measure, and recommended that the bill for the incorporation be referred to the next Assembly.

The citizens who had exercised arbitrary powers as members of the committees of observation and safety, and of inspection for the regulation of prices, etc., now began to realize that the conclusion of peace and the restoration of constitutional government might have serious consequences for them. Without authority of law they had compelled obedience to the popular demands of the hour in relation to non-importation, the sale of articles at specified rates, and seizures of arms, salt, lead, blankets, ammunition, etc., and in many other matters had acted with no constitutional warrant whatever. Accordingly they petitioned the Assembly for the legalization of their acts, and a law was passed declaring that no person should be amenable for such acts or liable to prosecution or

suit for anything done during the Revolution while in the discharge of a public duty or by assumed powers.¹

On the 14th of October an election was held for members of the Council of Censors, whose duty it was to inspect the acts of the legislative and executive power subsequent to the adoption of the new Constitution. The contest between the candidates was very animated; and after the result was ascertained a protest was presented to the Assembly and to the Council of Censors, contesting the election on the ground of fraud. Soldiers were present in large numbers at the polls, and the judges and inspectors of election, it was claimed, were overawed. Peaceable citizens, it was added, were intimidated and not permitted to vote, and the election was declared to be in every particular fraudulent and unjust. Committees appointed by the Assembly and the Council of Censors, after investigating the charges, declared them unfounded; but the minority of the Council of Censors filed an earnest protest, and the evidence would seem to have justified the opinion that the soldiers were under direction of their officers, and compelled or persuaded to vote for certain candidates. Their presence at the polls naturally had some effect on the more timid citizens.

The popular celebrations of the year derived a special significance from the declaration of peace, and were observed with appropriate ceremonies. On Thursday, the 1st of May, the anniversary of St. Tammany, "the tutelar saint of Pennsylvania," was celebrated at the country seat of Mr. Pole, on the Schuylkill, by two hundred and fifty "constitutional Sons of St. Tammany," who were decorated with buck-tails and feathers. At noon thirteen sachems or chiefs were appointed, who selected a head chief and scribe. The ceremony of burying the hatchet, in token that the war with England had ended, was then performed, each man casting a stone upon its grave, after which the calumet or pipe of peace was smoked. The bowl of the pipe was a huge ram's horn gilded with thirteen stars, and its stem a reed six feet in length decorated with peacock feathers. In a cabin set apart for that purpose a feast was prepared for the members. At the head was a portrait of St. Tammany, above it a design of the siege of Yorktown, and in front were portraits of Washington and Rochambeau. Thirteen toasts were drunk to the accompaniment of artillery salutes and three cheers, which, when the army and Washington were named, swelled spontaneously to thirteen. At the toast to "The friends of liberty in Ireland" and "The tuning of the harp of independence," thirteen cheers were again given and the band struck up "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning." After

the drinking of toasts had ended, the chief sang the first verse of the original song for St. Tammany's day,—a composition in vogue in the social celebrations long before the Revolution,—and the remaining stanzas were sung by Mr. Leacock. Other songs in honor of the saint were sung, and the warriors, highly pleased with the gayety of the chief, bore him on their shoulders from the green into his cabin amid the shouts of all present. The colors of France and Holland and the State flag of Pennsylvania had been raised in the morning on separate staffs. These were struck after sunset by a signal from the cannon. The chief and his sachems marched into the city in Indian file, the band playing "St. Tammany's Day." They saluted the French minister and proceeded to the Coffee-House, where, after giving three cheers, they dispersed and returned to their homes.

The Fourth of July was celebrated by the ringing of bells and the display in the harbor of the flags of all nations except that of Great Britain. At the annual commencement of the University of Pennsylvania in the morning the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon George Washington. At noon artillery salutes were fired, and in the afternoon an entertainment was given by President Dickinson. In the evening there was a torchlight procession arranged by Mason & Co., upholsterers, who had finished a sofa which they considered a triumph of mechanical art. The back was embellished with portraits of Washington, Gates, and Rochambeau. It was placed in a car, decorated with knots and ribbons, and drawn by eight white horses. A band of music preceded thirteen young girls dressed in white, and a large number of boys bearing torches.

It was not until the 14th of January, 1784, that the definitive treaty of peace with England was ratified by Congress. The event was proclaimed in Philadelphia on the 22d by the sheriff at the court-house. The State flag was raised at Market Street wharf, and an artillery salute was fired. In anticipation of this formality, the Assembly had decided to erect a triumphal arch in one of the principal streets of the city, bearing allegorical figures and inscriptions, and so constructed as to be capable of being illuminated. Charles Wilson Peale was intrusted with the execution of the project, and "the upper end of High Street," then between Sixth and Seventh Streets, was selected as the location for the arch. The latter when built was fifty feet six inches wide and thirty-five feet six inches high, exclusive of a balustrade which surmounted the whole. An arch of fourteen feet in width was placed in the centre, on each side of which were smaller arches of nine feet in width. The pillars were of the Ionic order of architecture, and were adorned with spiral festoons of flowers in their natural colors. Above the centre arch was a picture of the Temple of Janus closed; on the south side of the balustrade, a bust of Louis XVI.; on the other side of the balustrade, a pyramidal cenotaph to the memory of those

¹ The Council of Censors in 1784 declared that all the acts of Assembly authorizing the seizure of the goods of citizens for the use of the army, and setting prices thereon, were inconsistent with the Bill of Rights; also, the acts against forestealing, authorizing the seizure of salt, etc. The acts regulating prices were declared to be absurd and impossible.

who had died for their country during the war; on the south side of the frieze, three lilies, the arms of France; on the left of the former, on a shield, a plow, sheaves of wheat, and a ship under sail,—the arms of Pennsylvania; on the left of the preceding, a sun, the device of France, and thirteen stars, the device of the United States; on the left of the last, two hands joined, holding branches of olive and the caduceus of commerce, the device symbolizing the concord of nations; on the south panel, a figure representing "Confederated America" leaning on a soldier, military trophies being on each side of them; on the other panel, Indians building churches in the wilderness; on the die of the south pedestal, a library, with instruments of arts and sciences; on the die of the next pedestal, a large tree, bearing thirteen principal and distinct branches laden with fruit, typifying the growth of the thirteen infant States; on the die of the pedestal upon the right hand, Cincinnati, whose features resembled those of Washington, crowned with laurel, returning to his plow; on the die of the next pedestal, a representation of militiamen exercising. All the pictures were accompanied by appropriate mottoes. The top of the balustrade was embellished with figures of the four virtues,—Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude. The arch was to be lighted with twelve hundred lamps on Thursday evening, January 22d; but after the preparations had been completed, and while thousands of spectators were awaiting the illumination, the paintings, through some accident, took fire. The structure being of framework covered with canvas, was quickly consumed. A large number of rockets which had been placed on the staging were also ignited, and, darting in every direction, created a scene of terror and confusion. Sergt. O'Neill, of the artillery, was killed, and several persons seriously injured. Subscriptions were soon obtained for rebuilding the arch, which was subsequently removed to a position in front of the State-House, where new transparencies were exhibited on the 10th of May.

Although the formal ratification of Congress had been necessary to give full effect to the treaty of peace, the war had ceased many months before, and the country was at length able to settle down to the full enjoyment of the benefits which the long and painful struggle had secured. Philadelphia had suffered cruelly from the Revolution. Her trade had been prostrated; many of her wealthy citizens had been reduced to want and others driven into exile; her industrial, educational, and social development had been interrupted and set back many years, and her future was clouded by the animosities and bitter prejudices which the war had enkindled among her people and which the cessation of hostilities left almost as active and virulent as ever. Throughout the struggle she had borne the burden and heat of the day. It was to Philadelphia, her wealth, her patriotism, her resources, that all eyes were turned during

the darkest hours of the Revolution, and though harassed by the intrigues of the Tories and the bickerings of Whigs, the patriotic men who controlled her affairs throughout that stormy period responded nobly to the demands that were made upon them. The capital of the infant nation, the great depot of supplies for the Continental army, the asylum of exiles fleeing from British oppression, the theatre of most important movements and events, she played a grand and imposing rôle in the great drama of the Revolution. For years she was the pivotal point of the struggle, the centre of greatest interest, the scene of some of the most important acts of the Continental Congresses and of deliberations on the part of diplomatic agents that involved the gravest consequences to the struggling colonies. That she played her part worthily cannot be denied, and, while mob rules sometimes violated the sanctity of her laws, she escaped with wonderfully trifling loss, through the wise and prudent course of those whom she clothed with authority, from those excesses which the violence of the times encouraged and the suffering, misery, and want, which were the most dangerous foes of order, seemed to render almost unavoidable.

CHAPTER XIX.

GROWTH OF PHILADELPHIA FROM THE DECLARATION OF PEACE, JAN. 22, 1784, TO THE PASSAGE OF THE EMBARGO LAWS OF 1794.

No longer occupied with measures for the prosecution of the war, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania was now able to direct its attention to schemes for the restoration of the impoverished trade of Philadelphia. Among the more important of these was an act to make the river Schuylkill navigable, which was passed on the 15th of March. Commissioners were chosen to superintend the work, David Rittenhouse, Lindsey Coates, Anthony Levering, and John Jones being those selected to supervise the section from tide-water below the Falls to Gulph Mill. The filling up of Dock Creek was another matter of great local interest. That stream had long been a nuisance. On each side of it the streets had been left open in the hope that a body of fresh water would be preserved, and that those who owned lands fronting on the stream would keep it in order; but it had generally filled up, and was now a source of annoyance and disease. Petitions from citizens were presented, asking that the stream be covered with a culvert, the street filled up over it, and a market-house and shambles erected in the centre. By act of March 30th, the Legislature directed that the creek be covered with a substantial arch of brick, founded on stone walls, and floored with plank or logs at least

five inches thick along the middle or near the middle of the dock, and at least nine feet high. The arch was to commence at the intersection of the sewer at Walnut Street, and to continue to the main branch of the dock adjoining the public landing. It was to be covered with earth, and the whole was to remain open forever as a public street, to be called Dock Street. The work was commenced shortly afterwards, and carried on to completion. Under authority of a supplementary law the arch was continued to the bridge at Front Street. The barracks in the Northern Liberties being no longer needed, the Supreme Executive Council determined to lay the ground off into lots, define the streets that were needed, and offer the whole property for sale. The money arising from these sales, which were authorized by an act of the Legislature, was appropriated to pay installments on the sums due the former proprietaries. The opening of roads leading into Philadelphia, and the building of an Exchange in the city, were matters which received prompt consideration. Petitions for the establishment of a State lottery to raise thirty-four thousand dollars—one-half to be applied to the making of roads from Philadelphia westward, the other half to building the proposed Exchange—were presented to the Legislature, which passed an act increasing the amount to forty-two thousand dollars, all of which was appropriated to the roads, no provision being made for the Exchange or for improving the Schuylkill. The cost of the latter,—that is, to clear the river from Bosler's mill to tide-water, was estimated by the commissioners at £8120. The commissioners to whom, at the previous session of the Assembly, had been referred the subject of improving the means of communication between the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill, and to receive proposals for laying out a town at some convenient point on the former stream, reported that an offer had been made by John Harris, of Harris' Ferry, to lay out a town of two hundred lots of a quarter of an acre each; that he would convey a lot for a court-house and jail, and give a square of four acres of ground to the State for such purposes as might be thereafter appointed by the government, and would increase the same when necessary. This proposal was accepted; and thus was the town of Harrisburg—afterward to become the capital of the State—commenced. A new county was also authorized to be laid out, of which Harris' town was to be the county-seat.

The efforts to secure the removal of the seat of State government from Philadelphia were renewed this year without effect, a resolution to make Lancaster the place for meeting at the next session being defeated by a vote of twenty-six yeas to thirty-four nays, as was also the proposition to erect a new county out of portions of Philadelphia, Berks, and Chester Counties. On the 10th of September, however, a bill was passed to erect a new county out of part of Philadelphia

County, to be called Montgomery, the county-seat to be at Stony Run, in Norriton township. Much of the Assembly's time was taken up this year in considering propositions for the abolition of the "test laws," or laws in relation to the oath of allegiance. In March a petition requesting the Legislature to abolish them was laid on the table by a vote of thirty-seven to twenty-seven. A resolution was then offered declaring that the happy time had come to heal the divisions among the people, and that unanimity and harmony could not exist at a time when one part of the people were deprived of certain benefits which others enjoyed, and that a committee ought to be appointed to revise the law and report one more adapted to the present times. This was lost by a vote of five yeas to fifty nays. On the question to postpone all further consideration of the subject of the test laws the vote was thirty to thirty, and the Speaker gave his casting vote in the affirmative. In September another resolution was offered, stating that a large number of young men had arrived at the age of eighteen years since the passage of the laws who had not taken the oaths of allegiance, and who were consequently deprived of interest in and attachment to the State. It was contended that all persons should have equal rights, and the resolution concluded with a clause directing that a committee be appointed to consider the subject, and, if necessary, to report a law admitting persons who were under the age of eighteen at the passage of the test laws "to the blessings of liberty and citizenship." This was followed by a petition from non-jurors for admission to the rights of citizenship. The resolution and petition were referred to a committee by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-two. In the course of the debate which followed, a resolution was offered to the effect that no person who voluntarily joined the British army during the war, or who had been tried or convicted of having aided or abetted the king of Great Britain, his generals, fleets, or armies, having before been a citizen of the United States, should be capable to elect or be elected into any office of profit or trust. This resolution was adopted by a vote of forty-six to four.

It was then suggested that a bill be brought in to modify the test laws so as to entitle all male white inhabitants who had not taken the oath of allegiance to take the oath according to the terms of the act of June 13, 1777, and be thereby entitled to be free citizens, providing that no person should be capable of holding office until he had taken and subscribed to the oath directed by the act of Dec. 5, 1778. On the 25th of September a vote was taken on this proposition which resulted in twenty-nine yeas and twenty-two nays. The result caused great excitement both in and out of the Assembly. On the 28th a motion was made to take up the bill entitled, "A further Supplement to the Test Laws." The vote on the motion was twenty-five to twenty-five, but the Speaker, George Gray, gave the casting vote in the affirmative.

When his decision was announced, nineteen members rose and left the Assembly without a quorum. An address to the public was issued by the seceders, who asserted that efforts had been made to press the bill through in violation of the rules and without the usual formalities. They added that those who had not participated in the toils and sufferings should not be permitted to share the benefits of the Revolution, and that if they were admitted to citizenship, "the elections might be carried in the favor of men who excrete the alliance between the United States and His Most Christian Majesty, and who still cherish the hope of a reunion with Great Britain." They also objected to the bill restoring the charter of the college as the precursor of a law to reinstate the Penn family in their hereditary rights.¹ The proposition to restore the charter of the college had come before the public in July in the shape of a memorial signed by Thomas Mifflin, John Cadwalader, Robert Morris, John Redman, Samuel Powell, James Wilson, Thomas Willing, George Clymer, Alexander Wilcocks, and the Rev. William White, which was presented to the Council of Censors. It represented that they were the trustees of the old college, academy, and charitable schools, and complained of the act of 27th of November, 1779, abolishing that corporation. The committee to which the matter was referred reported that the act of Assembly in question was a deviation from the Constitution. This view of the question was strongly antagonized on the ground that a number of the trustees of the college had not taken the test oath; that three of them had been attainted of treason, and that the succession of corporators had not been kept up. Rev. William Smith, D.D., provost of the college, addressed a letter to the Assembly, which was referred to a committee. The latter reported that the college had never forfeited its rights, nor committed any offense against the laws; that the General Assembly had no power under the Constitution to alter or dissolve a corporation for charitable or religious purposes without violating that Constitution under which the Legislature derived its own authority. They therefore reported a resolution to repeal the act of the 27th of November, 1779, which granted the property of the college to the University of Pennsylvania, and to reinstate the college in its rights. The university was by the proposed law directed to surrender the property belonging to the college to that institution; but the university, having by law been vested with many estates forfeited as the property of traitors, was authorized to carry on its business according to the judgment and skill of the trustees out of the remaining estates. A violent debate arose upon this proposition, but it

was finally carried by a vote of twenty-eight yeas to twenty-five nays, and the university and college became separate and rival institutions.

As we have seen, the measure was one of those which received the condemnation of the nineteen members of the Assembly who seceded on the 28th of September. The address issued by them was replied to by the friends of the amendment to the test laws, headed by George Gray, the Speaker of the House, in a paper censuring the seceders and declaring that legislation for the relief of non-jurors was necessary in consequence of the coming of age of many persons who were too young to subscribe to the test act of 1779. Many of those injured by the law, it was added, were people of means who had paid their full proportion of the expense of the war, either directly or indirectly, and the great majority of them had been uniformly peaceable and inoffensive during every stage of the Revolution. The provisions of the test act were quoted to show that no person who had joined the army of the British king, or who had been tried and convicted of aiding or abetting the king of Great Britain was eligible to office, and that, therefore, there could be no danger of any abuse of the privileges granted by an extension of the test act. By the law of 1779, nearly one-half the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, it was estimated, were deprived of the privileges of citizenship. The controversy over this important question entered largely into the political canvass in October, and the popular feeling on the subject was demonstrated in the election of the candidates for the Assembly in both city and county, who were opposed to the extension of the privileges asked for to the non-jurors.

Considerable feeling was also aroused by the failure of the State to make prompt and satisfactory arrangements with public creditors in reference to their claims for reimbursement. Besides their debts at home many of these creditors owed merchants of Great Britain, who were harassing them for payment. The Assembly finally took the matter into consideration, and a committee was appointed to which it was referred. According to the committee's estimate the State debt amounted to £548,279 10s. 8d. with interest, and the payment of £183,282 to the late proprietaries. It was suggested that bills of credit be issued for the amount due by the State to the Penn family, and that the remainder be raised by taxation and by imposts upon goods. The opponents of the test oaths availed themselves of the opportunity presented by the agitation of the public debt question to urge the measures proposed for the relief of non-jurors. When the tax law was before the Assembly in December, Anthony Wayne proposed to amend the test laws so as to admit all citizens of the State, upon the ground that there should be no taxation without representation. A motion to postpone the amendment was carried, and another motion to appoint a committee with instructions to bring in a bill revising the test

¹ The Penns in a memorial signed by John Penn, Sr., John Penn, Jr., and Richard Penn, through his attorney, Tench Francis, had asked that the Legislature would conform to natural equity as far as might be, and not unnecessarily deprive them of rights which had existed since the foundation of Pennsylvania.

laws was lost by a vote of eleven to forty-seven. Another matter of interest before the Assembly at this session was a proposition for the establishment of a financial institution similar to the Bank of North America. The capital stock, which was to be £230,000, divided into seven hundred shares of four hundred Spanish milled dollars each, was rapidly subscribed, and the name "Bank of Pennsylvania" was given to the institution. Edward Shippen, Archibald McCall, John Bayard, Samuel Howell, Samuel Pleasants, John Steinmetz, William Moore, Tench Coxe, George Emlen, George Meade, Jeremiah Warder, Joseph Swift, and Jacob Morgan were chosen directors, and Edward Shippen president. The application of the bank to the Assembly for a charter was resisted by the Bank of North America, but an agreement was effected between the two institutions by which the subscribers to the Bank of Pennsylvania were admitted to share in the privileges of the old institution, the Bank of North America. The application for a charter was then withdrawn, and nothing more was heard of the new project.

The Council of Censors held two sessions during 1784, the first commencing Nov. 10, 1783, and ending Jan. 21, 1784, and the second beginning June 1, 1784, and ending Sept. 24, 1784. During these sessions the Council reviewed the transactions of the Assembly and the executive branch of the government from the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and considered the workings of that instrument. The Council declared that the resolutions and laws passed in times of danger, and intended for special emergencies, contained much that was objectionable and should be condemned. The acts of Assembly for seizing goods of the inhabitants for the use of the army, and setting compulsory prices on them, were declared to be inconsistent with the Bill of Rights, and those against forestalling, against storing salt and regulating prices were declared to be impracticable and absurd.

The St. Tammany's celebration this year was held on the 1st of May at Mr. Pole's country-seat. The State flag was hoisted, with the colors of France and the Netherlands on either side, the ceremony accompanied by a salute of three guns. The usual toasts were drunk, and on their way home from the banquet the Sons of St. Tammany "saluted" Gen. Washington, who was dining with Robert Morris at the latter's country-seat, Lemon Hill, with music, cheers, and firing of cannon. The ministers of France and the Netherlands were complimented in a similar manner.¹

The Fourth of July was to have been signaled by a

balloon ascension, the aeronaut being a Mr. Carnes, of Baltimore. Carnes proposed to ascend from an inclosure in a field near the city. The price of admission was two dollars for the first place and ten shillings for the second. A subscription had already been started for raising a balloon, and persons appointed to receive subscriptions in various sections of the city.²

In order to stimulate the public curiosity and thus aid the work of raising subscriptions a letter was published from Benjamin Franklin, stating that he had seen in France the balloon in which Prof. Charles and the Robert brothers had ascended. Carnes failed to make his appearance on the Fourth of July, but on the 17th he attempted the ascent, not from the field as had been announced, but from the prison-yard. Benjamin S. Coxe was associated with him in the enterprise. The balloon or aerostat was of silk, thirty-five feet in diameter, and was inflated with heated air, the furnace weighing one hundred and fifty pounds. Carnes attempted the ascent from the prison-yard, but when the aerostat had reached a height of ten or twelve feet it struck against the wall which inclosed the yard and he was thrown out. The balloon, thus lightened, shot up with great rapidity. Thousands of persons had gathered in Potter's Field, now Washington Square, and on the appearance of the balloon floating above them at a great height a shout went up from the multitude at the novel spectacle. It soon became evident that Carnes had made a most fortunate escape, for when the balloon had traveled southward until it seemed to the spectators no larger than a barrel it was seen to be in a blaze, having caught fire from the furnace, and in a few seconds was consumed. As the great ma-

² The best evidence of the wide-spread interest taken in the project is found in the following list of persons who signified their willingness to receive the subscriptions:

In Vine Street—Jonathan B. Smith, Jacob L. Howell. *Race Street*—Rev. Casper Weiberg, Melchior Steiner, Peter Thompson. *Arch Street*—Bornod & Galliard, Charles Cist, Matthew Clarkson, Daniel Benezet, Jr., James Oellers, Isaac Wharton, Miller & Abercrombie. *Front Street*—Francis Johnston, John Vaughan, Ebenezer Hazard, George Miffin, Joseph Harrison, James Irvin, Benjamin Nones, Haym Solomon, Dr. William Smith, Col. John Bayard, Joseph Palmer. *Fourth Street*—Professors of the University, viz.: Rev. James Davidson, Rev. Robert Davidson, Rev. John Chr. Kuntze, Archibald Gamble. *Cherry Alley*—George Nicola, Joseph Cauffman. *Market Street*—Rev. Henry Helmuth, Dr. Dunlap, Henry Lund, David G. Claypole, Edward Pote, Hall & Sellers, Jonas Phillips, Robert Aitken, Eleazar Oswald. *Chestnut Street*—John Chaloner, William Webb, Roger Flahavon, Walnut Street—Peter Le Maigre, Joseph Bullock. *Spruce Street*—John Young, Abraham Shoemaker, Dr. Robert Harris, Dr. John Morgan. *Fifth Street*—John O'Connor. *Southwark*—Hon. Samuel Wharton, Rev. George Duffield, Dr. Benjamin Duffield, Thomas Cadop, Joseph Blewer, Joshua Humphreys, Richard Tittermay, William Robinson, Jr. *Pine Street*—Rev. Robert Blackwell, Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, John Phillips. *Lombard Street*—Charles W. Peale, Capt. Angus. *Penn Street*—John Swanwick, Robert Bridges. *Water Street*—Woodrop & J. Sims. *Second Street*—John Wharton, Dr. Hutchinson, Varden & Geisse, Miers Fisher, Dr. Rush, Dr. Philé, Wagner & Habacker, John Morris. *Third Street*—Dr. Robert Magaw, Benjamin Wynkoop, Samuel Caldwell, Andrew Dox, John Wilcocks, John Clifford, John Miller, Dr. John McDowell. *North-ern Liberties*—William Masters, William Coats, Benjamin Eyre.

¹ At the celebration in the following year, 1785, which was held at Beveridge's country-seat on the Schuylkill, "the compliments of Gen. Washington for the respects paid him in the previous year being communicated by the Secretary produced thirteen cheers which came from the heart." One of the features of the celebration was the raising of a new flag with a painting of St. Tammany upon it.

jority of the spectators supposed the aeronaut to be still in the balloon, not having heard of the accident in the jail-yard, they went home under the impression that they had witnessed a fearful catastrophe, and it was not until the following day that the truth became generally known.¹ Notwithstanding this disaster the projectors of the subscription balloon persevered in their efforts and issued an appeal to the citizens of Philadelphia asking for funds, in which it was stated that the machine they proposed to construct would be "every way much larger and more capable of succeeding than that from Maryland." Another interesting event of the season was the arrival of Gen. Lafayette, on the 9th of August, from New York. He was met at some distance from the town by the City Troop, together with a number of militia officers and citizens, and escorted to the London Coffee-House, amid discharges of cannon, ringing of bells, etc. On the following day he was waited on by the commissioned officers of the Pennsylvania Line, headed by Gens. Wayne, St. Clair, and Irvine, and on the day after an address was delivered to him by the President of the State, John Dickinson, the Supreme Executive Council, and the Legislature.

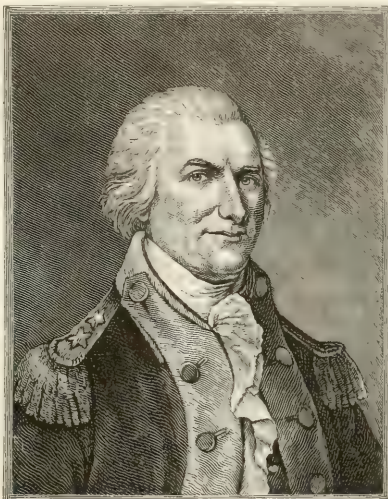
An incident of a decidedly romantic character which occurred in Philadelphia this year led to considerable diplomatic negotiation. Charles Julian De Longchamps, who had been an officer in the French cavalry service, came to Philadelphia and fell in love with a young lady, whom he married. Her guardians, who were strict members of the Society

of Friends, disapproved the match, and various means were resorted to in order to annoy the Frenchman, among them the publication in the newspapers of offensive references, disparaging his titles, and insinuating that he was of ignoble birth. In order to repel these charges he determined to have his title authenticated, and for that purpose took his documents to M. de Marbois, secretary of the French Legation, whom he requested to look over them, and if he found them genuine to certify to the fact. De Marbois declined to do so, whereupon De Longchamps left the hotel in a passion, after notifying the colonel that he would "dishonor" him. Subsequently they met in the street, and De Longchamps struck

De Marbois with a cane. A scuffle ensued, and De Longchamps was afterwards arrested by order of Congress, to which body M. de Marbois complained. De Longchamps escaped from custody, and as it was thought that the French government might regard his escape as the result of inexcusable negligence towards an ally, a reward was offered for his capture. He was soon taken and placed in close confinement. The French consul demanded possession of his person as that of a French subject, but it was decided that he could not legally be given up, and must be punished in the country where the assault was committed. Having been convicted of assault and battery, he was reprimanded by Chief Justice McKean, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment from the date of his original com-

mitment, to pay a fine of one hundred French crowns, and to give security to keep the peace for seven years in the sum of two thousand pounds.

The record of the year 1785 at Philadelphia is mainly of that uneventful character which usually accompanies the peaceful development of industries and trade. The improvement of the navigation of the Delaware was a matter of peculiar interest to the



A. J. C. Clair

¹ On the day Carnes attempted his perilous ascent, John Downie and John Martin were executed at Centre Square for street robbery. Such was the interest taken in the balloon ascension, however, that the execution attracted but little attention. During this year also the following executions took place: James Burke, an Irish servant-boy, for the murder, on the 4th of September, of his employer, Timothy McAuliffe, on Water Street below Market, hanged October 16th, at Centre Square; and at the same time and place James Crowder, convicted of burglary, and Peter Brown and George Williams, *alias* One-Armed Tom Robinson, who were convicted of highway robbery and attempt to murder Capt. Tolbert. Under the gallows One-Armed Tom Robinson, *alias* Williams, confessed that he had ravished and murdered a woman near the Gray's Ferry road some seventeen years before, for which offense an innocent man was, upon the circumstantial evidence of having

the bloody knife in his pocket, convicted and executed. While the man who afterwards suffered was drunk, Robinson had slipped the knife in his pocket, and the latter, when arrested, was unable to account for its possession. Robinson declared that he had attended the execution and saw the man suffer for a crime which he was innocent, and that at the same time he picked the pocket of a drover.

merchants at this time, and in January a memorial was presented to the Council in favor of erecting piers in the Delaware for the protection of vessels during storms. Marcus Hook was chosen as the proper location for the piers, and a contract was entered into with Thomas Davis to build four of them, but it was afterwards revoked and given to others. A small lot was also purchased at Cape May "with the view of erecting a beacon thereon;" but in 1787, the original intention not having been carried out, the Council decided that the site at Cape May was unsuitable, owing to the expense involved, and decided that it would be better to place the beacon on Crow's Shoal. The capture of an American vessel by a Barbary corsair caused a sensation among the merchants of Philadelphia, who in February requested the Executive Council to represent to Congress "the necessity of endeavoring to conciliate the States of Barbary to us by presents, as it was practiced by most of the commercial nations in Europe, or by treaties entered into with them." Congress appropriated eighty thousand dollars for the purpose of making the customary presents to the emperor of Morocco, but before they reached their destination the dey of Algiers had declared war against the United States.

The question of providing for the public debt came up again in the early part of 1785, and gave rise to an animated controversy. During the previous year it had been proposed to establish a loan office and pass a funding law. A bill was framed providing for the issue of fifty thousand pounds in paper money, which was to be a legal tender under penalty of barring from the prosecution of any suit for debt of those who refused to take it. After having been considered and generally approved, it was ordered to be transcribed and printed for the further consideration of the Assembly. But in the mean time, the landed interest having realized the burdens upon real estate which the law would impose, a strong opposition to the proposed policy began to be exhibited. While the people of the Northern Liberties in town-meeting signified their approval of the funding bill, delegates from other townships of the county of Philadelphia who met at Germantown on the 14th of February, with Capt. Lang as chairman, and Edward Fox as secretary, decided that "the imposition of a new tax on the virtuous citizens of this State, who have already paid their proportions of former taxes, while a number of individuals and almost entire counties have withheld their part of the public dues, is unjust and oppressive until suitable exertions are made to collect the same, and that the former deficiency ought to be strictly collected, nor ought defaulters to profit by default." It was also resolved that the supplementary bill for opening the land office was unjust; that the lands were placed at rates which were too cheap; that the funding bill was unjust and oppressive; that it bore too hard on landed property, instead of taxing the luxuries of life; that the abrogation of a former

law ordering interest on depreciated certificates to be paid in paper money was a breach of public faith. It was declared to be the duty of Congress to provide the means of redeeming the paper issued by the State in accordance with Congressional requisitions, and that an interference by the State was prematurely loading the government in the dark with a burden from which it could not extricate itself in open day. Joseph Ferree, Dr. Logan, Col. Solomon Bush, Dr. Enoch Edwards, and William Robinson, Jr., were appointed a committee to revise the proceedings of the convention and present them to the Assembly.

Among the resolutions was one declaring that the "imposition of a long—nay, a perpetual—tax in a government before all parties are reconciled to each other, and therefore binding on a large number of the inhabitants before they have a chance of reconciliation, is unjust, cruel, unconstitutional, and impolitic." The language of this resolution gave so much offense that another meeting was held on the 19th of February, at the house of Leonard Nice, with John Nice in the chair. At this meeting it was decided that all the proceedings of the Germantown convention should be adopted, except the resolution quoted, which was ordered to be erased on the ground that it was "an artful insinuation to convey ideas of a wish for a repeal of the test laws." At a meeting of merchants and traders, held at the City Tavern on the 23d of February, the sentiment was almost unanimous in opposition to the emission of paper money, not one-fiftieth of those present voting in favor of it. The chairman, John Maxwell Nesbitt, refused to entertain a motion in relation to the funding law as being unconnected with trade. After Mr. Nesbitt had vacated the chair, Col. Francis Gurney was chosen president of the meeting, and a petition concerning the funding law was authorized. Notwithstanding the popular opposition to the measure, however, the Assembly passed all the acts which had been originally recommended as necessary for re-establishing the public credit, and relieving the holders of State obligations. The financial distress and uncertainty felt at the time were much increased by the operations of the Bank of North America, which, during the preceding year, had pushed out its notes to a very large amount. The solvency of the bank began to be distrusted, and in order to restore the public confidence it became necessary to curtail its loans. As the demands for the redemption of its notes in specie became more urgent, the bank was forced to press its debtors for payment. Distress and ruin resulted to many, and so strong became the popular feeling against the bank that numerous petitions were presented to the Legislature demanding its abolition. On the 28th of March the committee, to whom the matter was referred, reported to the House a bill to abolish the bank and to repeal the act making the counterfeiting of notes a criminal offense. The suffering among the people at this time in consequence of the bank's operations was

very severe, and the laws authorizing imprisonment for debt were appealed to in many cases to the total ruin of families."¹ The defenders of the bank insisted that the distress had been produced by the groundless want of confidence in the institution, which had forced it to call in its loans, and that for this state of affairs the management was in no wise to blame. On the 10th of September, however, the Assembly passed the acts of repeal which annulled the State charter of April 1, 1782, in less than four years after it had been granted. But the officers of the bank, claiming the right to continue by virtue of the charter granted by Congress May 26, 1780, refused to wind up its affairs, and continued the transaction of business as before.

The foreign commerce of Philadelphia, as well as of other parts of the Union, was seriously hampered by the want of some common agreement between the States as to commercial regulations with foreign countries. Each of the thirteen States attempted to regulate its own commerce without reference to that of others, producing confusion and many annoyances to all concerned. At a meeting of Philadelphia merchants, held at the State-House on the 20th of June to hear the report of a committee "to suggest means of relief for the present state of trade and manufactures," it was declared necessary that Congress should have full power over the commerce of the United States, and that the withholding of such power would prove injurious. It was also urged that manufactures interfering with those of the United States should be discouraged, some by absolute prohibiting, others by imposts, and that the Legislature should use the best means of extending the inland navigation of the State, and of repairing and improving the public roads, in order to facilitate and increase the internal trade of the State, and to promote the easy and commodious transport of the country produce to and from the city. Jared Ingersoll, William Turnbull, Francis Gurney, William Jackson, Benjamin G. Eyre, Francis Wade, John Barker, John Barry, Jacob Morgan, Jr., Robert Smith, John M. Nesbitt, and John McCulloh were appointed a committee,—which was increased by adding to it seven mechanics, viz., James Pearson, Joseph Marsh, Anthony Cuthbert, Joseph Roney, Thomas Leiper, Thomas Proctor, and James Lang,—which was directed to prosecute the subject before Congress and the Legislature.

Under the stimulating influence of peace, manufactures had developed rapidly in Philadelphia, and both the Legislature and the public at large were appealed to for protection and encouragement. White lead, glue, pianos, boxes for wheel carriages, fire-engines, rappee snuff, horn imitations of window-glass, yellow paint, soda for manufacturing flint-glass, corduroys and fine jeans, steel made from bar-iron "as good as in England," calico prints, rum distilled

from molasses, and refined sugars, were among the products of Philadelphia industry and skill. A strong feeling had already developed in favor of the protection of home manufactures,² and although the merchants favored free trade, they signified to the Assembly their readiness to submit to any measure which was considered necessary for the public good. A law was finally enacted which was described as being intended "to encourage and protect the manufactures of the State by laying additional duties on the importation of certain manufactures that interfere with them."³

The printing interest was satisfied by the passage of a law granting copyrights to authors, which was to take effect when the other States had passed a similar law. The passage of a copyright law by Congress, however, obviated the necessity for action on the part of the other States.

The controversy over the test laws was renewed before the Assembly this year by Gen. Anthony Wayne, who introduced a resolution directing the appointment of a committee to consider the subject. His motion was agreed to, and the committee thus appointed brought in a report declaring that "the Government had an inherent and unquestionable right to exact a test of allegiance from all persons in the State," and that "it would be impolitic and dangerous to admit persons who had been inimical to the sovereignty and independence of the State to have a common participation in the government so soon after the war." This report was adopted by a vote of forty-two yeas to fifteen nays. When the new Assembly met in November, however, the agitation was renewed and the non-jurors again petitioned for the repeal of the obnoxious laws.⁴

¹ "Col. Lewis Nicola," says Thompson Westcott, "desiring to set up a line of stages to Reading, declared that he could not do so if, when the enterprise became remunerative, he would be subject to opposition, and he therefore asked a monopoly of the stage-line to that place. Even literary laborers, backed by the printers of books, desired encouragement, and asked for special protection. The tanners and curriers of the city protested by memorial against the exportation of bark to foreign countries. The rope-makers desired the imposition of special duties upon foreign cordage. The sugar-refiners asked for the placing of duties on foreign refined sugars, so that they could contend against the bounty of twenty-six shillings per hundredweight, paid on refined sugars by the British government. The cordwainers made strong complaints against the importation of ready-made boots and shoes, and they held a meeting, whereat it was resolved that they would not mend such articles, nor work for anybody that wore them."

² In this law duties were laid on clocks, playing-cards, scythes, refined sugar, beer, ale, porter, malted barley, salt and dried fish, beef, pork, soap, chocolate, candles, glue, starch, hulled barley, dried peas, manufactured tobacco, snuff, lampblack, cotton, wool, cards, manufactured leather, pasteboard, men's and women's leather shoes, silk shoes, stuff shoes, boots, saddles, wrought gold, silver, pewter, tin and lead vessels, copper, brass, bell-metal, cast-iron, steel, bar and slit iron, nails, rods, sheet-iron, ready-made clothing, castor and wool hats, beaver hats, blank-books, cordage, ropes, marble and stoneware, earthenware, books, combs, and a large number of other articles. A tax was laid on coaches and four-wheel carriages, chaises, chairs, kittereas, and curricles.

⁴ "So severely did this law operate upon certain districts," says Thompson Westcott, "that the number of freemen who were entitled to all the privileges of citizenship was not sufficient, in some sections, to administer the local government. The *freeholders* of Byberry, in November, sent a

¹ Thompson Westcott.

In the new Executive Council, of which Benjamin Franklin had been chosen president on his return from France in the previous autumn,¹ the appeals of the non-jurors received a more favorable hearing; and on the 11th of November the Council voted in favor of revising the test laws. In the Assembly the subject was again referred to a committee, which, being equally divided on the question, was discharged and a new one appointed. The latter committee having reported favorably on the measure, was ordered to bring in a bill.

A movement for the revision of the penal laws and a reformation of the system of punishments, so that the latter might be made less sanguinary and less disproportionate to the offenses committed, headed by Chief Justice McKean, Justice Bryan, and the grand jury of Philadelphia, resulted in the presentation of a memorial to the General Assembly, in September, suggesting that if robberies, burglaries, and most other nefarious violations of law—murder and treason only excepted—were punished by continual hard labor, disgracefully imposed on the persons convicted of such offenses, not only in the manner pointed out by the State Convention “for the benefit of the public and the reparation of injuries to private persons, but in the streets of cities and towns, and upon the highways of the open country, and in other public work, the method thus employed would reform the culprits, preserve life, and lessen the number of offenders.” The grand jury, in a separate memorial, represented the evil effects of the “constant influx of vagabonds from neighboring States,” and suggested that “the punishment of laboring hard, chained to barrows,” substituted in New York instead of whipping, had probably driven many of them to Philadelphia. “This punishment,” the grand jury added, “they dread more than a thousand stripes.” The grand jury also complained of the setting-up of billiard-tables and shuffle-boards, to the injury of the morals of citizens; the great increase of tippling-houses, dirty streets, the sawing of wood on the footways, and other evils caused by the want of a city corporation. The members of the Society of Friends sustained this memorial by complaints against intemperance, licentious swearing, dram-shops, and other evils.

petition to the Assembly, stating that there were only three freemen among all the freeholders in the township. They had not enough to fill the offices, in consequence of which, assessors and collectors, etc., had been sent to them from other townships, some of whom were unknown to them and rapacious, having seized their property and distressed them much. At that time both the collectors for Byberry were residents of another township.”

¹ Dr. Franklin arrived from France in September, and was received by the ringing of bells and other testimonials of joy. Addresses of congratulation were made to him by the Assembly of the State, by the officers of the University and the American Philosophical Society, by the justices of the peace of the city and county, represented by Plunkett Fleeson, by the officers of the militia, through Maj.-Gen. James Irvine, and by the Constitutional Society, of which William Adcock was president. The latter association nominated him as councillor, and he was elected in October without opposition. On the organization of the Supreme Executive Council he was chosen president of the State.

The inconveniences resulting from the city's being without a charter were strongly urged by the grand jury, and in November, on motion of Gen. Wayne, a committee was appointed to prepare a bill restoring the old charter, but nothing further was done at this time.

Among the local improvements urged upon the Assembly was the passage of a law regulating streets and numbering the houses, which was advocated in a memorial presented by John Macpherson in October. Macpherson stated that he had completed a city directory, which was then in press, but which would be of comparatively little use unless the streets were regulated and the houses numbered. He prayed, therefore, that a law might be passed authorizing the numbering of houses, and that he might be appointed to perform that duty. The petition was laid on the table. Another directory was in preparation at the time under the direction of Francis White, a broker, and both were published before the close of the year. White describes the residences of citizens by giving the streets in which they lived and generally the cross streets between which their homes were located, but Macpherson, wishing to be more exact, adopted a system of numbering of his own.²

White's Directory gives the profession or business of each person, but Macpherson's only those of the subscribers to his book. The former supplies the names of about thirty-five hundred and sixty-nine housekeepers, while Macpherson gives a list of about six thousand houses as being occupied. In the appendix to White's Directory the locations of the State offices in the city are given. David Rittenhouse, treasurer, had his office at the northwest corner of Seventh and Arch Streets. The building is still standing. The office of the attorney-general was in Third Street, between Market and Arch; the custom-house was at the corner of Black Horse Alley and Front Street; the register's office was at the corner of Front and Vine Streets; the sheriff's office was in Front Street, between Vine and Callowhill Streets; the post-office was at the corner of Front and Chestnut Streets; and the health-office was in Water Street, below Spruce. From the same source it appears that

² His system was peculiar. Instead of placing the even numbers upon one side of the street, and the odd numbers upon the other side, he started with No. 1 at a designated point, continuing the numbers in regular succession to a certain extent, which was about what he conceived was the built-up portion limit of the city. He then crossed to the other side of the street and continued on to the corner opposite the starting-point. For instance, No. 1 was on the south side of Chestnut Street, near the Delaware. The houses along the south side of Chestnut Street were numbered Nos. 1, 2, 3, and so on, in regular numerical order, up, probably, to Fifth or Sixth Street, then the western limits of the city. Mr. Macpherson then crossed over to the north side and numbered eastward, making his highest number immediately opposite No. 1. This plan of numbering was objectionable, and fortunately no subsequent attempt was made to carry out the plan. No provision was made for numbers of the houses which might be erected beyond the limits of the buildings then existing. Macpherson's Directory does not state which were the corners of the streets, nor whether the houses were on the north, south, east, or west side.

the physicians, surgeons, and dentists in the city numbered forty-two. Of all these medical men not one was located so far west as Sixth Street. The counselors-at-law only numbered thirty-four, and the ministers of the gospel were but sixteen in number. There were but two insurance companies.¹

Dock Ward was divided in February by an act of the Assembly, and a new ward, known as New Market Ward, was created, extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill and from the south side of Spruce Street to the north side of Cedar. A proposition to divide Mulberry Ward, creating another new ward to be known as Franklin, was rejected.

The only incident of the year recalling the stirring scenes of the war was the sale in August, at the Coffee-House, of the famous Continental frigate "Alliance," which performed so many brilliant exploits under the command of Paul Jones and the no less gallant Barry. She was purchased with all her tackle and apparel for nine thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds, Pennsylvania currency, by Col. Jehu Eyre, who sold her to Robert Morris. The latter repaired her, loaded her with tobacco at Norfolk, and sent her to Bordeaux, France. In the spring of 1787 she returned to Philadelphia, and in June sailed for Canton, being, it is said, the second vessel from Philadelphia to China, the first being the "Canton," Capt. Thomas Truxton. Under Capt. Reed the "Alliance" took the outside route around New Holland, or Australia, discovering several new islands. She returned to Philadelphia Sept. 17, 1788, was loaded with flour, and sailed in the spring of 1789 for Cadiz, Spain. She returned the same year, and in the spring of 1790 was sold and broken up. Her remains were run upon Petty's Island (now called Treaty Island). Truxton's voyage to China was made in the winter of 1786, and his vessel was the third that left the United States for

that destination. On the 2d of January Congress granted a "sea-letter" to Truxton, addressed in general terms to the various potentates whose domains he might wish to enter. The "Canton" returned to Philadelphia in May, 1787, after having made a successful trip.

The controversy over the operations of the Bank of North America was renewed during the winter of 1786. The stockholders, having failed to induce the Assembly to reconsider the act annulling the charter, applied for a new charter to the State of Delaware, which granted one. The efforts to obtain a charter from the State of Pennsylvania also were renewed, and a committee of the Assembly reported in favor of restoring its former privileges to the bank. The report, however, was rejected by a vote of twenty-seven to forty-one. Robert Morris then proposed the appointment of a committee to prepare a bill suspending the operations of the acts repealing the charter for a certain number of years, but his motion was lost by a vote of twenty-eight to thirty-six. At the session of the Assembly in October, new petitions for a charter were presented, and the matter was referred to a special committee, which reported a bill chartering the bank for fourteen years, with a capital of two million dollars. A clause was inserted making embezzlement by the officers punishable with death, but at the following session in March, the death penalty was stricken out, and the offense made punishable as grand larceny.

The bill as amended was finally passed on the 17th of March, 1787, by a vote of thirty-five to thirty-one.

Another effort was also made this year to ameliorate the test laws. In March an act was brought before the Assembly for securing to the commonwealth the fidelity and allegiance of the subjects thereof, and providing for the admission of certain persons to the rights and privileges of citizenship. One of the clauses of this act provided that a person who had not yet taken the oath of allegiance might do so before any justice of the county in which he resided. The terms of the oath required that the affiant should renounce fidelity to King George III., of Great Britain, and bear true allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania; furthermore, that the affiant would not thereafter do anything injurious to freedom; and that he had not, since the independence of the United States, voluntarily injured, abetted, aided, or assisted the king of Great Britain, his generals, fleets, or armies, while employed against the United States. A motion made by Robert Morris to strike out the words describing the oath as one of "abjuration" was lost, as was also another motion made by Morris to strike out the declaration that the person taking the oath had never assisted the king, or his generals, fleets, and armies. On the 5th of March the bill was passed by a vote of forty-five to twenty-three.

In addition to the usual popular celebrations—St. Tammany's Day and the Fourth of July—the birth-

¹ From the following list of names of streets, alleys, etc., as given in Macpherson's Directory, it will be seen that there have been marked changes in the street nomenclature of Philadelphia:

Long Lane, Peters' Alley, Fleet Street, Shindle's Alley, William's Alley, East George Street, Miss Moore's Alley, Ground Street, Charlotte Street, Tallman's Alley, Walsh's Court, Bailey's Alley, Rasure's Alley, Palmer's Bow, Clymer's Alley, Whalebone Alley, Harper's Alley, Taper's Alley, Fourteen Chimneys, Knowles' Court, Hart's Alley, Emlen's Alley, South Church Alley, River Side, Pancake Alley, Syke's Alley, Cobler's Alley, Society Alley, Moll Fuller's Alley, Wharton's Alley, Armitt's Alley, Cox's Alley, Goforth Alley, Bowen's Alley, Ash's Alley, Discharge Alley, Rudolph's Alley, Sewel's Alley, Hiltzheimer's Alley, Irwin's Alley, School-house Alley, Harris Alley, Lesche's Alley, Burchill's Alley, Hill's Alley, Story Street, Neeman's Alley, Kexley's Alley, Powell's Alley, Holmes' Alley, Stanton Court, Barrett's Alley, Elder Street, De Haven's Alley, Millis Alley, Maiden's Row, Mallison's Alley, Bringhurst's Alley, Cauffman's Alley.

"Long Lane," according to Thompson Westcott, "is now Buttonwood Street; Goforth Alley has become Exchange Street; Moll Fuller's Alley is now Cox's Alley; Rudolph's Alley is now Decatur Street; Ground Street is Crown Street; Society Alley has since become a portion of Penn Street; Story Street was that part of the present New Street which is between Second and Third Streets; Whalebone Alley is a portion of Hudson's Alley, south of Chestnut Street. The 'Fourteen Chimneys' was a locality well known in its time, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, opposite Franklin Square. The same houses are now on the east side of Sansfraz Alley, above Race Street."

days of Washington and Franklin were this year made the occasion of formal demonstrations. Franklin's birthday was observed by the printers of the city as that of "the defender of the liberty of the press" by a dinner at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, and Washington's birthday was celebrated, by a dinner also, by "the Adopted Sons of Pennsylvania," an association mainly composed of Irishmen. The Sons of St. Tammany, on the 11th of April, received at their wigwam on the Schuylkill Cornplanter, *alias* Captain O'Beel, a sachem of the Seneca Indians, and five other chiefs, who had arrived in Philadelphia on their way to New York in order to lay certain matters before Congress. About three o'clock in the afternoon the Tammany sachems waited on Cornplanter and his companions at the Indian Queen Tavern, and attended the chiefs separately to a rendezvous near the wigwam. Three others of the Indians were escorted by a company of militia. On the arrival of the sachems cannon were fired and flags hoisted. Cornplanter then made a speech, in which he expressed himself in strong terms of amity and friendship for the whites; and after a salute of thirteen guns and three cheers from the company, which numbered about two thousand persons, a circle was formed about the "council fire" and the pipe of peace was smoked. A libation of wine was poured out in honor of St. Tammany, after which Cornplanter and the other Indians performed a war-dance, followed by a peace-dance, in which the St. Tammany sachems and militia officers participated. One of the sachems then replied to Cornplanter's speech in fitting terms, a salute was fired, the colors struck, and the Indians were escorted back to town. On the 1st of May St. Tammany's day was celebrated after the usual forms at the wigwam. Charles Biddle, vice-president of the State, was elected chief sachem and hailed as Tammany.¹ A portrait of Cornplanter was presented by Miss Eliza Phile to the sachem Iontouque (Jonathan Bayard Smith), and an ode was recited by Brother Pichard. On the way back to the city the society stopped at the residence of Franklin to pay its respects to the venerable statesman.

The bitter feeling between Whig and Tory was kindled this year by a difficulty among the members of the Scots' Presbyterian Church, which, on account of the principles involved, attracted general attention. In 1750, on the prayer of the Rev. Mr. Craighead, the Synod of Edinburgh took the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania under its jurisdiction. In 1764 a number of persons in Philadelphia built a small frame building for purposes of public worship, which, in 1786, was occupied by the Rev. Mr. Telfer and his

congregation. The Scots' Presbyterian Church, on Spruce Street, above Third, was built previously. Some of the members of these congregations disapproved of the subjection to which they were now liable to a foreign jurisdiction, and they sought from the Legislature a law annulling that portion of the trust upon which the church property was held which made the congregations subordinate to the Synod of Edinburgh. The Rev. Mr. Marshall and a number of the Scots' congregation resisted, and the matter was warmly discussed before the Assembly. A bill was introduced entitled, "An act to discharge and annul the declaration of trust relating to the Scots' Presbyterian Church in the city of Philadelphia as far as said instrument incumbers the same church with subjection to a foreign jurisdiction." The petitions on both sides were numerous, and discussion on the subject was general in the community. The Rev. Mr. Marshall and the resisters were men of influence, and their opposition to the measure delayed its success for several months. Finally, in September, the act was passed by forty-two yeas to fourteen nays, and thus the bond of union between the church in Philadelphia and Scotland was severed. The law was received with much discontent by the Rev. Mr. Marshall and his party, and at the meeting of the new Assembly in November they petitioned unsuccessfully for a repeal of the act and a renewal of their subjection to the mother church.

The military spirit developed by the war was also still active, and in August the entire force of the city, consisting of five light infantry companies under Capts. Semple, Sproat, Hagner, and Oswald, two companies of artillery, commanded by Capts. Connolly and Leonard, and the City Troop, Capt. Miles, were exercised on the commons by Baron Steuben and Gen. Du Plessis.²

² One of these companies (Oswald's) volunteered to march to the frontier to dispossess the British of the posts and garrisons held by them. Their spirited offer was made in the following form:

"To the Honorable the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania: Honored Sirs,—Congress, we are well assured, has lately received an official declaration from the Court of London 'that they will not relinquish the posts and garrisons on our frontiers.' This additional violation of the solemn and sacred treaty of peace on the part of Great Britain, we take the liberty to observe, is generally viewed and considered as a declaration of war, as it manifests a disposition for hostility and reprisal. But as the situation of the public finances does not admit the raising of a regular army, Congress, we understand, have it in contemplation to call on the several States for a portion of militia to dispossess the British troops of those fortresses. Under this idea several volunteers from New Jersey and New York have already tendered their services to Congress; and, as members of the light infantry company belonging to the Second Battalion of Pennsylvania Militia, who wish not to be excelled or outdone in point of zeal and activity in promoting the interest and welfare of our country at large, we take this early opportunity to entreat that your honorable body will be pleased to consider us as the first on the list of volunteers from Pennsylvania whenever Congress shall think proper to adopt so necessary a measure.

"With every sentiment of respect, we remain, honored sir, your most obedient and very humble servants,

"Elezzer Oswald, captain; Samuel Hanes, lieutenant; Peter Wiltberger, ensign; Robert Parry, Robert Crosier, Jacob Mayer, Jr., Thomas Reynold, William Caure, William Edwards, John N. Hagenau,

¹ The other sachems were Jonathan Bayard Smith (Iontouque), Alexander Boyd (Tataloucksey), Thomas Nevill (Hoowamante), Frederick Phile (Pchemelind), Daniel Heister (Towarraho), William Costes (Deunquatt), Joseph Dean (Shuetongo), William Thorpe (Sinougher), Emanuel Eyre (Tediessung), Zachariah Endress (Shanboukin), Thomas Proctor, (Kayashuta), and Elias Boys (Hyngapushes).

In November the militia were exercised by Col. Mentges, inspector-general. At this time the troop of horse was commanded by Lieut. Dunlap, the artillery by Capts. Spencer and Lang, and the infantry by Capts. Semple, Oswald, Hagner, Sproat, Bower, and Robinson.¹

The organization of the "Society of the Lately Adopted Sons of Pennsylvania" led to an acrimonious controversy during this year, which resulted finally in a duel between the two leading journalists of Philadelphia,—Matthew Carey and Eleazar Oswald. The latter denounced the society in unmeasured terms, declaring that it was viewed with suspicion by citizens "who could not but be jealous of their birthrights on this occasion, and who look with abhorrence on such new-fangled schemes which can only hatch the cockatrice eggs of sedition." "Such Arabs and vipers of the organizations of society, such baboons of ingratitude and objects of Pennsylvania detestation, should be treated by every American with the infamy which they deserve." Party feeling ran high in Pennsylvania about this time, the opposing factions being known as Constitutionalists and Republicans. The former supported the Constitution then existing, which conferred the legislative powers upon a single

body—the House of Assembly—and lodged the executive authority in a president and Council. The Republicans, on the other hand, wished to amend the Constitution so as to divide the legislative power between a Senate and House of Representatives. "The Lately Adopted Sons of Pennsylvania" adhered to the views of the Constitutional party, and as they numbered among them some persons of influence and writers of ability and zeal, they naturally became obnoxious to the Republican element. Oswald, as we have seen, was especially fierce in his denunciation of the society, and Carey, having replied with publications of a personal nature, was challenged by Oswald. The duel was fought on the 18th of January, 1786, opposite the city, in New Jersey. Oswald's second was Capt. Rice, Carey's was M. Marmie, a French merchant. Carey was shot through the thigh and partially crippled for life.

The growth of the city rendered a division of Mulberry Ward necessary in 1786, and an act was accordingly passed on the 8th of April making Sassafras Street the division line. The upper portion, extending from Vine Street and from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, was called North Mulberry Ward, and the lower part, between Mulberry and Sassafras, of the same width, was designated as South Mulberry Ward. Considerable opposition to the proposed extension of the markets on High Street was developed, but the Assembly nevertheless passed an act on the 23d of March empowering the wardens to extend the market-house from Third to Fourth Street, "and to extend it from time to time, as occasion required, from street to street, westward." On the 8th of April the Assembly passed an act directing the sale of State property situated in the city, and authorizing the Supreme Executive Council to reserve several lots for a burial-ground for strangers. During this year's sessions of the Assembly petitions for rechartering the city were presented; but a bill for the incorporation, laid before the House in March, was taken up on the 22d of September, and lost on the vote upon the first section. Among the other measures before the Assembly, the most important was an act to amend the penal laws, which abolished the death-penalty in a number of cases, and which was passed by the House. The act declared that capital punishment for burglary, robbery, sodomy, etc., should no longer be inflicted, and substituted imprisonment for a period not longer than ten years. It also provided that convicts should be employed in public work, such as repairing the streets, etc., and in pursuance of this law the year 1787 was ushered in with the spectacle, a novel one in Philadelphia, of prisoners at work on the public thoroughfares. In January, Chief Justice McKean addressed a communication to the street commissioners in which he called their attention to the provisions of the act requiring them to employ the convicts in this manner. The commissioners deeming themselves not competent at that time to fix the mode or price

Francis Wade, Jr., J. Levy, Samuel Wiggleworth, John Morgan, John Fairbairn, Robert Aitken, Jr., Francis Ingraham, Jacob Wiltberger, Charles William Lecke, Samuel Foiwell, Sept. Claypoole, B. F. Bache, Abraham Singer, James Rees, Joseph Melbeck, Thomas Seddon, J. Whitehead, Peter Benson, John Darragh, William Murray, Joseph Anthony, John Lawrence, Jacob Wikoff, William Cavenaugh, John Tillinghast.

"PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 1, 1786."

"After the Revolution," says Watson, "the most famous company was the 'Bucktail Company,' which was commanded originally by Capt. Sproat, who was viewed at the time by the ladies and others who spoke of him as a model, in his day, of smartness and military elegance on parade. The uniform consisted of a short dark-blue cloth coat, lapped with red, and turned up with red at the skirts, white dimity vest and breeches (tights), white cotton stockings, black knee-bands, short gaiters, sharp-pointed, long-quartered shoes, and buckles. The captain and every member of the company wore a long cue, or club of powdered hair, pendent behind. The head was surmounted by a felt hat or cap, the front presenting a flat surface, being turned up smartly, in an oval shape, above the crown, and ornamented by way of plume or pompon with a tail (bucktail) separated from the dried, undressed hide of the forest buck or deer. The other flank company was of artillery, commanded by Capt. Jeremiah Fisher. He and some of his company had served during the war, having fought in famous battles under the gallant Col. Proctor. The artillery uniform consisted of a long dark-blue coat, lapped with gilt buttons down the front, and turned up with red at the skirts, and reaching almost to the heels, yellow vest and breeches, stiffened wide ruffles, white cotton stockings, and black leggings, buttoned down the side, sharp-toed shoes, and large buckles almost covering the toes. In conformity with the universal fashion at the time, they all wore long hair, powdered, clubbed or cued, and dangling below the shoulder-blade. They also wore the large 'artillery cocked hat,' square to the front, in marching, with a long black feather waving aloft at every step. Martial music in those days was wholly confined to *drum and fife*,—a band, so called, was then wholly unknown. The whole war of the Revolution was led on by

"The spirit-stirring fife
And soul-inspiring drum."

The cavalry only had the use of the horn or bugle. Such a bugle, used by Gideon, of Philadelphia, as trumpeter to Washington's life-guard, is still preserved in Philadelphia."

of compensation for the work, decided to employ the convicts for one month, at the expiration of which, it was thought, some definite conclusion might be reached as to the rate of wages and the propriety of longer employing them. The experiment proved successful, and it was decided that the price of their labor should be 1s. 9d. per day. Thirty men were employed. The prisoners, who were popularly known as "wheelbarrow-men," were dressed in a peculiar style, and were constantly guarded by keepers while at work. Individuals who were regarded as dangerous were required to labor with a chain ten or twelve feet long and a heavy iron ball attached to the ankle. Those who were thus weighted down were employed at sweeping and scraping, while those who were free wheeled the barrows. After they had swept or scraped a space around them as far as the ball and chain would permit, the manacled prisoners would pick up the balls and carry them to fresh spots, where they would go to work as before. The more malicious of them would often throw down the balls in such a manner as to injure passers-by. In some instances persons were severely hurt in this way. Most of the convicts were professional thieves, and adroit street robberies were frequently perpetrated by them. Besides cleaning the streets, they were employed at digging ditches, excavating cellars, grading, filling up ponds, etc.

The act of Assembly declared that the services which the convicts might be compelled to perform were repairing and cleansing the streets of the city and suburbs, making and repairing the highways of the county, digging and quarrying stone, sawing firewood, and digging, removing, and leveling earth; but the harder kinds of labor were so obnoxious to the convicts that one of them, Jacob Dryer, convicted of burglary, sooner than undergo them refused to avail himself of the privileges of the act, and declared his preference for hanging. The Supreme Executive Council pardoned him upon certain conditions, but having violated them he was sentenced to be hung. The Council, however, pardoned him a second time.¹

The sufferings of persons confined in prisons attracted the attention of benevolent Philadelphians during this year, and an organization known as "The Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons" was formed in May, to take the place of the disbanded "Philadelphia Society for Assisting Distressed Prisoners," established in 1776. Right Rev. William White, D.D., was elected president, Henry Helmuth and Richard Wells vice-presidents, John Swanwick and John Morris secretaries, and Thomas Rogers

treasurer. The society aimed to furnish relief in money and provisions to suffering prisoners, to obtain the release of persons improperly confined, to procure legislative improvement in the penal laws, and to make complaints to the proper officers of offenses against the law in the management of the jail, especially in the sale of spirituous liquors. Important reforms in prison management were soon brought about through the efforts of the society. Spirituous liquors were prohibited, regulations were enforced securing the separation of the sexes and putting an end to immoralities which had prevailed, cleanliness in the cells was secured, arrangements were made by which prisoners were employed at useful labor, receiving a certain compensation, and the cells for refractory prisoners were elevated above ground. The society also secured the passage of an act of Assembly in 1790 providing for inspectors of the prison. Prior to this the sheriff was invested with sole authority, and many abuses were practiced with impunity by the keepers, who were responsible to him alone.

The Legislature named as inspectors a number of the members of the society. Daniel Thomas, Charles Shoemaker, Thomas Paul, James Bayland, James Sharswood, John Connelly, Alexander Henry, Robert Wharton, Joseph Snowden, Caleb Lownes, James Cooper, and Richard Wistar seem to have been the first inspectors appointed, and under their direction important reforms were introduced. Comfortable food and clothing were provided, and jail-fees, "garnish," and the sale of liquor were abolished. Prisoners who had been convicted were not allowed to associate with those who remained untried. Religious instruction was provided, and many clergymen labored under the auspices of the society. The pillory and whipping-post were abolished, and the solitary system of confinement was introduced. The Philadelphia Society, in fact, was the pioneer in America in the great work of prison reform.²

² The society's efforts naturally met with a determined resistance from those who were interested in maintaining the old order of things. "To visit the prison at all in those days," says the author of a series of papers entitled "Reminiscences of the Old Walnut Street Prison," "required the exercise of a degree of moral courage not ordinarily met with; for, in addition to its grim and forbidding appearance, 'its gloomy front and portal gaping wide,' reports were rife of the desperate, abandoned, dangerous dwellers within, calculated to alarm the fears of even reflecting people. These reports were countenanced and encouraged by the keeper, who resisted the advent of the society with all the art and ingenuity he was master of. He represented to the public that the admission of these gentlemen was not only 'fraught with peril to themselves, but it would involve the risk of escape of all the criminals, and the consequent pillage and murder of all the citizens.' The sheriff, however, constrained him to admit them, and the perils proved to be an *ignis-fatuus* from the corrupt maches of his own fears of detection and exposure. Defeated in his representations to the public, and compelled to comply, however reluctantly, with the order of the sheriff, yet bent upon preventing the introduction of sharp eyes on his misdeeds, he got up a theatrical exhibition to deter Bishop White and Dr. Rogers from speaking to the prisoners, and to give color to his idea of the danger they would incur.

"Arriving at an appointed time at the prison, these reverend gentlemen, after being urgently solicited to leave their watches and other val-

¹ Several riots occurred among the convicts owing to the enforcement of the hard-labor law. On the 19th of March, 1787, the prisoners of the Walnut Street jail attempted to execute a plan for a general escape. It was necessary to call in an armed force, which killed one of the prisoners and wounded another before the disturbance could be quelled. Another riot took place among the wheelbarrow-men in July, in the course of which one of them was seriously wounded.

The last execution in Philadelphia under the old code took place on the 12th of May, 1787.¹ The mitigation of penalties which the new code provided was not followed at first by very encouraging results. Highway robberies were of frequent occurrence,² and the citizens were compelled at last, with the approval of the Supreme Executive Council, to organize themselves into patrols for the protection of property and persons passing through the streets at night.

Besides the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, two other important associations were organized in Philadelphia during the year 1787,—“The Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts,”³ and “The Society for Political Inquiries, for Mutual Improvement in Knowledge, of Government, and for the Advancement of Political Science.” The Society for Political Inquiries, etc., was composed of fifty resident members, meeting every fortnight except during the summer months for the discussion of governmental and economic questions. Benjamin Franklin was elected

president, and George Clymer and William Bingham vice-presidents. In the following year the society offered prizes—plates of gold of the value of ten guineas each—for essays on the two subjects, “What is the best system of taxation for constitutional revenue in a commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing country?” and “How far may the interposition of government be advantageously directed to the regulation of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce?” The “Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in Bondage,” which had been organized in 1774, was reorganized on the 23d of April, 1787, with Benjamin Franklin as president; James Pemberton and Jonathan Penrose, vice-presidents; Benjamin Rush and Tench Coxe, secretaries; and James Starr, treasurer. The labors of the society were productive of good results. In 1793 it was stated that its zeal and activity had given rise to many similar societies in other States, had been “instrumental in suggesting to the Legislature most of those improvements in the laws which relate to the complete abolition of slavery which have been enacted since the memorable law of March 1, 1780,” and had been “the happy means of procuring the emancipation of several thousand blacks who were detained in bondage contrary to the laws of the State.”

Among other questions which agitated the public mind of Philadelphia during 1787 were a movement in favor of free education, which resulted in the establishment of a school in the Northern Liberties in October, the renewal of the project for the removal of the State capital from Philadelphia,⁴ and the revival of the agitation on the subject of the test laws. The action of the Assembly had failed to satisfy the opponents of the laws, and in February a remonstrance from citizens of Chester County was laid before that body protesting against that portion of the act of 1786 which required abjuration and a declaration that the affiant had not joined, aided, or abetted the British government, etc. The committee to whom the petition was referred reported in favor of a general repeal of the law, on the ground that “to the security of a government so well established as our own the security of an oath cannot be wanted in the form prescribed by existing laws,” and recommended the substitution for the oath of a general declaration of attachment. Accordingly an act “to alter the test allegiance to this commonwealth required by the act of March 4, 1786,” was passed by the Assembly; but notwithstanding its liberal provisions the Quakers generally omitted or refused to make the necessary qualification. In July, Judge McKean fined two Quakers who had been summoned to serve on the grand jury, but who were found not to have qualified,

tables on the outside (which they declined doing), were ushered through the two barred gates with great simulation of caution and ceremony, and placed upon the platform of the steps leading from the back door into the yard. A cannon, apparently loaded,—for a man with a lighted linstock stood by its breech,—was pointed down the path in the faces of an array of all the motley of the establishment. This part of the drama had very nearly proved a failure. The play was likely to fail, for the army of actors did not respond. There had been no rehearsal; the prompter had his hands full elsewhere, and the *dramatis personæ* were at fault. The curious look of surprise and inquiry among the culprits betrayed that this belligerent demonstration was an unaccustomed feature in prison discipline, and the quiet, sober, and respectful attention with which they seemed to listen to the address evinced that they understood the clap-trapery of the keeper, and were not willing by their manner to second his efforts. The ‘keeper’s battery’ was a standing joke for the prison for all time. . . .

“The labors of the Prison Society were manifold and various. While administering to individual comfort in person, their efforts were directed to the fountain-head in procuring the modification of laws and introducing a less sanguinary code than that we inherited from our forefathers. They also took measures for improving the police of the prison, representing to the Legislature the evils that existed,—debtors becoming criminal by their intercourse with convicts; children initiated into debauchery and wickedness by being permitted to be in confinement with their parents; girls and young women, put in through the caprice of their masters or mistresses, associating with women already abandoned; and apprentices and servants mingling with all sorts of vice and infamy.”

¹ The culprit, Robert Elliott, had been convicted of burglary before the passage of the act.

² “On Tuesday night,” says a city newspaper of June 25th, “between twelve and one o’clock, as William Hamilton, Esq., and Miss Hamilton, his niece, were returning from the city to Bush Hill, they were attacked in the neighborhood of Twelfth and Market Streets by six or eight foot-pads, who formed a line across the road and called violently to the postillions to stop. This not being complied with, one of the villains fired a pistol, and another a blunderbuss. One of the postillions being stunned by a ball, which struck his cap, for a moment occasioned the stopping of the carriage, and the whole band immediately closed round to seize their prey. Mr. Hamilton, putting his head out of one of the windows, called loudly for the postillions to drive on, and ordered his servants, two of whom just then came up at full gallop, to fire on the rascals, who immediately ran off with the utmost precipitation through a corn-field, which greatly favored their retreat. The servants, being soon after joined by others from Bush Hill, well armed, made diligent search after the villains until daylight, but without success.”

³ See chapter on the Manufactures of Philadelphia.

⁴ A proposition to make Harrisburg the capital of the State, offered in the Assembly by Mr. Findley in March, was adopted by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-nine, but the bill was shortly after reconsidered and laid upon the table.

for having failed to subscribe to the declaration, which failure he construed as a willful refusal to serve on the jury. One of the Quakers so fined, Norris Jones, refused to pay and was sent to jail. Judge McKean's course was attacked in the newspapers as being arbitrary and tyrannical, and the incident seems to have caused considerable feeling.

Southwark having now become sufficiently populous to require the laying out of streets, etc., the Assembly, on the 29th of September, passed an act in which it was declared that the district had "no regulation for its streets and alleys," which were "irregularly placed," and that there was danger "that in time it would become a heap of confused buildings, without order or design." It was added that there was no road to the south but what was "circuitous and inconvenient." Francis Gurney, Richard Wells, Presley Blackiston, Thomas Shields, and Gunning Bedford were appointed commissioners to regulate the avenues and to lay out new streets at right angles with each other. They were specially directed to lay out a street "from George Gray's ferry, to run in a right line parallel with South Street, as the ground will permit, into some central part of Southwark." The latter improvement was objected to by residents of Moyamensing, who remonstrated to the Assembly.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts that were made to revive the trade and industries of Philadelphia, the exhaustion caused by the Revolution was still too great to be overcome, and business continued stagnant. The depression was increased in July by a sudden and unaccountable panic in relation to paper money. During its existence the currency was generally discredited, for what reason nobody seemed to know; poor people who could not hold it for better times suffered heavily, and sheriff's sales were frequent. On the 1st of March the inhabitants of Germantown held a meeting, at which those present pledged themselves to discourage litigation in all cases of dispute between themselves and others, and to endeavor to have them settled by arbitration, in order that "in this time of general distress" they might present "a shield against the rapacity of the law, which in the increase of costs and delay of justice in our courts has become such an enormous and oppressive evil." The meeting further resolved to study the Constitution to prevent any violation of it "by our servants who may be intrusted with the different offices of government," and to exert their influence in favor of domestic manufactures and against the importation of foreign goods.¹

The delegates to the convention to frame the Federal Constitution began to arrive in Philadelphia in May. On Friday, the 18th, Gen. Washington was

escorted into town by the City Troop, and on Sunday, the 27th, he attended divine service at St. Joseph's Catholic Chapel, in Willing's Alley. In June the city military companies were reviewed on the commons by Gen. Washington, the Speaker of the Assembly, and the members of the Federal Convention. Shortly after this, Washington visited Moore Hall, in Chester County, and his old quarters at Valley Forge.

Delegates representing twelve States assembled at the State-House in the latter part of May and elected Washington president, and William Jackson secretary. The convention remained in session until the 18th of September, when the draft of the Constitution was prepared and submitted for the ratification of the individual States. When the matter came up in the Assembly of Pennsylvania a motion was made to authorize the calling of a State Convention to decide whether the Constitution should be adopted by Pennsylvania. It being evident that there was a majority in favor of the motion, sixteen members united in a determination to withdraw from the body, if necessary, in order to defeat it. The House adjourned until the afternoon, and on reassembling was found to be without a quorum. On the following morning a number of citizens, whose leader is said to have been Commodore John Barry, forcibly entered the lodgings of James McCalmont, a member from Franklin County, and Jacob Miley, a member from Dauphin County, who were among the seceders, and whom they dragged to the State-House and thrust into the chamber where the Assembly was in session without a quorum. McCalmont attempted to secure permission from the House to withdraw, but both he and Miley were forced to remain. A quorum was thus secured, and the resolutions providing for the State Convention were adopted. The announcement of their passage was hailed with three cheers and the ringing of Christ Church bells. Great bitterness of feeling was engendered by the violent course of the Assembly, and an address was issued by the seceding members, in which they protested against the action of the Federal Convention and of the Assembly, and asserted that the Pennsylvania delegates—Jared Ingersoll, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Mifflin, Thomas Fitzsimons, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris—were all from Philadelphia, that they did not, therefore, represent the landed interests of the State, and that they had exceeded their authority. It was contended, on the other hand, that these reasons were merely after-thoughts, that only one candidate outside of Philadelphia (William Findley) had been named as a delegate, and he had received only two votes, that no objection had been made at the time against the delegates chosen, and that the assertion that they had exceeded their authority was unfounded.

On the 6th of November was held the election for delegates to the State Convention, and the brief can-

¹ An association against smuggling was entered into by the merchants and traders of the city in September. They determined that they would not "employ any master, mate, or pilot engaged in contraband trade, or aiding or abetting others in such collusive employment."

vass preceding it was hotly contested.¹ The delegates to the State Convention elected for the city were George Latimer, Benjamin Rush, Hilary Baker, Thomas McKean, and James Wilson. They were the candidates of the Republicans; and Latimer, the highest on the return, received one thousand two hundred and fifteen votes. The Constitutionists had upon their ticket the names of Benjamin Franklin, David Rittenhouse, Charles Pettit, John Steinmetz, and James Irvine. Franklin had two hundred and thirty-five votes, and Irvine, the lowest on the return, one hundred and thirty-two votes. In the county the delegates elected to the State Convention were George Gray, John Hunn, William Macpherson, Enoch Edwards, and Samuel Ashmead.

On the 21st of November the convention met, and organized by the election of Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, of Montgomery County, president; James Campbell was subsequently chosen secretary. On the 12th of December the question as to whether the Constitution should be adopted was finally put to a vote. The result was forty-six yeas and twenty-three nays. On the following day the members of the convention and of the Supreme Executive Council, with officers of the State and city, and others, went in procession from the State-House to the old courthouse, corner of Second and Market Streets, where the ratification of the instrument was formally proclaimed. A salute of twelve guns was fired, and bells were rung. The convention then returned to the State-House, where two copies of the ratification of the Constitution were signed. At three o'clock the convention met again, and, with members of the Supreme Executive Council and Congress, went to dinner at Eppey's tavern. "The remainder of the day was spent in mutual congratulations upon the happy prospect of enjoying once more order, justice, and good government in the United States."

Efforts were made to induce the new Federal government to establish the capital in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia and Bucks County united in an overture of ten miles square for that purpose. An offer was made in the name of the State to Congress of a district of land ten miles square for the seat of government of the United States, in which exclusive jurisdiction would be ceded to the Federal government, with the consent of the inhabitants. From this offer was excepted the city of Philadelphia, the district of Southwark, and one mile of the Northern Liberties, north of Vine Street, from the river Schuylkill to the southern side of the main branch of Cohocksink Creek, and thence down the creek to the Dela-

ware River. Meanwhile, and until Congress should make their election of a district, the use of the public buildings at Philadelphia was offered to the Federal authorities.

The progress in the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the other States was watched in Pennsylvania, especially in Philadelphia, with absorbing interest. As State after State signified its acquiescence, the exultation of the Federalists, as the advocates of the instrument were called, and the disappointment of the Anti-Federalists were exhibited with increasing bitterness. At a meeting of Federalists at Eppey's tavern, in June, it was decided that as soon as the ninth State signified its acceptance of the Constitution a public rejoicing should be held in Philadelphia. On the 21st of June, New Hampshire, the ninth State, ratified the instrument, and it was thereupon determined by the citizens of Philadelphia to celebrate the formation of the new Union on the Fourth of July. Before that date Virginia had also ratified the Constitution. The following official report of the ceremonies, made by the chairman of the committee of arrangements, gives a detailed description of the pageant:

GRAND FEDERAL PROCESSION, PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4, 1788.

On Friday, the 4th instant, the citizens of Philadelphia celebrated the Declaration of Independence made by the thirteen United States of America on the Fourth of July, 1776, and the establishment of the Constitution or frame of government proposed by the late General Convention, and now solemnly adopted and ratified by ten of those States.

The rising sun was saluted with a full peal from Christ Church steeple and a discharge of cannon from the ship "Rising Sun," commanded by Capt. Philip Brown, anchored off Market Street, and superbly decorated with the flags of various nations. Ten vessels, in honor of the ten States of the Union, were dressed and arranged through the whole length of the harbor, each bearing a broad white flag at the mast-head, inscribed with the names of the States, respectively, in broad gold letters, in the following order: New Hampshire, opposite to the Northern Liberties; Massachusetts, to Vine Street; Connecticut, to Race Street; New Jersey, to Arch Street; Pennsylvania, to Market Street; Delaware, to Chestnut Street; Maryland, to Walnut Street; Virginia, to Spruce Street; South Carolina, to Pine Street; and Georgia, to South Street. The ships at the wharves were also dressed on the occasion, and as a brisk south wind prevailed through the whole day, the flags and pendants were kept in full display, and exhibited a most pleasing and animating prospect.

According to orders issued the day before, the several parts which were to compose the grand procession began to assemble at eight o'clock in the morning at the intersection of South and Third Streets.

Nine gentlemen, distinguished by white plumes in their hats, and furnished with speaking trumpets, were superintendents of the procession, viz.: Gen. Mifflin, Gen. Stewart, Col. Proctor, Col. Gurney, Col. Will, Col. Marsh, Maj. Moore, Maj. Lenox, and Mr. Peter Brown.

The different companies of military, trades, and professions had previously met at different places in the city of their own appointment, where they were separately formed by their officers and conductors, and marched in order, with their respective flags, devices, and machines, to the place of general rendezvous. As these companies arrived in succession, the superintendents disposed of them in the neighboring streets in such manner as that they might easily fall into the stations they were to occupy in forming the general procession as they should be successively called upon. By this means the most perfect order and regularity was effectually preserved.

After a strict review of the streets of the city, it had been determined that the line of march should be as follows: To commence at the intersection of South and Third Streets; thence along Third Street to Callowhill Street; thence up Callowhill Street to Fourth Street; thence along Fourth Street to Market Street; and thence to Union Green, in

¹ On the night of the 6th a mob attacked the house of Maj. Boyd, in which John Baird, Abraham Smith, and John Smilie, members of the Executive Council, and James McLane, James McClelland, William Findley, and John Piper, members of the Assembly and of the Anti-Constitution party, were sleeping. Stones were thrown, and the occupants of the house otherwise disturbed. A reward was offered for the discovery of the offenders, but without any result.

front of Bush Hill, William Hamilton, Esq., having kindly offered the spacious lawn before his house at Bush Hill for the purposes of the day.

The street commissioners had the evening before gone through the line of march, directed the pavements to be swept, the trees to be lopped, and all obstacles to be removed.

About half after nine o'clock the grand procession began to move, of which the following is as correct a detail as could be procured:

I. Twelve axemen, dressed in white frocks, with black girdles round their waists, and ornamented caps, headed by Maj. Philip Pancake.

II. The First City Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Capt. Miles.

III. *Independence*.—John Nixon, Esq., on horseback, bearing the staff and cap of Liberty. Under the cap a silk flag with the words, "Fourth of July, 1776," in large gold letters.

IV. Four pieces of artillery, with a detachment from the train, commanded by Capts. Morrell and Fisher.

V. *French Alliance*.—Thomas Fitzsimons, Esq., on horseback, carrying a flag of white silk, having three *fleur-de-lis* and thirteen stars in union over the words, "Sixth of February, 1778," in gold letters. The horse he rode belonged formerly to Count Rochambeau.

VI. Corps of light infantry, commanded by Capt. A. G. Claypoole, with the standard of the First Regiment.

VII. *Defensive Treaty of Peace*.—George Clymer, Esq., on horseback, carrying a staff adorned with olive and laurel. The words "Third of September, 1783," in gold letters, pendant from the staff.

VIII. Col. John Shee, on horseback, carrying a flag, blue field, with a laurel and an olive wreath over the words "Washington, the friend of his country," in silver letters, the staff adorned with olive and laurel.

IX. The City Troop of Light Dragoons, Capt. William Bingham, commanded by Maj. W. Jackson.

X. Richard Bache, Esq., on horseback, as a herald, attended by a trumpet, proclaiming a new era. The words "New Era," in gold letters, pendant from the herald's staff, and the following lines:

"Peace o'er our land her olive wand extends,
And white-robed Innocence from heaven descends;
The crimes and frauds of Anarchy shall fail;
Returning Justice lifts again her scale."

XI. *Convention of the States*.—The Hon. Peter Muhlenberg, Esq., on horseback, with a blue flag; the words "Seventeenth of September, 1787," in silver letters.

XII. A band of music performing a grand march, composed by Mr. Alexander Reinagle for the occasion.

XIII. *The Constitution*.—The Hon. Chief Justice McKean, the Hon. Judge Atlee, the Hon. Judge Rush (in their robes of office), in a lofty, ornamented car, in the form of a large eagle, drawn by six horses, bearing the Constitution, framed and fixed on a staff, crowned with the cap of Liberty, the words "The People," in gold letters, on the staff, immediately under the Constitution.

XIV. Corps of Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. Heysbam, with the standard of the Third Regiment.

XV. Ten gentlemen, representing the States that have ratified the Federal Constitution, each bearing a flag with the name of the State he represents, in gold letters, and walking arm in arm, emblematical of the Union, viz.:

1. Duncan Ingraham, Esq., New Hampshire.
2. Jonathan Williams, Jr., Esq., Massachusetts.
3. Jared Iugersoll, Esq., Connecticut.
4. Samuel Stockton, Esq., New Jersey.
5. James Wilson, Esq., Pennsylvania.
6. Col. Thomas Robinson, Delaware.
7. Hon. J. E. Howard, Esq., Maryland.
8. Col. Feibiger, Virginia.
9. W. Ward Burrows, Esq., South Carolina.
10. George Meade, Esq., Georgia.

XVI. Col. William Williams, on horseback, in armor, bearing on his left arm a shield emblazoned with the arms of the United States.

XVII. The Montgomery Troop of Light Horse, commanded by Capt. James Morris, Esq.

XVIII. The consuls and representatives of foreign States in alliance with America, in an ornamented car drawn by four horses.

- Capt. Thomas Bell, with the flag of the United States of America.
Barbe de Marbois, Esq., vice-consul of France.
J. H. C. Heineken, Esq., consul of the United Netherlands.
Charles Hellstedt, Esq., consul-general of Sweden.
Charles W. Lecke, Esq., carrying the flag of Prussia.
Thomas Barclay, Esq., carrying the flag of Morocco.

XIX. The Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Esq., Judge of Admiralty, wearing in his hat a gold anchor, pendant on a green ribbon, preceded by the register's clerk carrying a green bag filled with rolls of parchment, and having the word "Admiralty" in large letters on the front of the bag.

James Read, Esq., register, wearing a silver pen in his hat.

Clement Biddle, Esq., marshal, carrying a silver oar adorned with green ribands.

XX. The wardens of the port and tonnage officer.

XXI. Collector of the customs and naval officer.

XXII. Peter Baynton, Esq., as a citizen, and Col. Isaac Melchor as an Indian chief, in a carriage, smoking the calumet of peace together,—the sachem magnificently dressed according to the Indian custom.

XXIII. The Berks County troop, consisting of thirty dragoons, commanded by Capt. Philip Strubing.

XXIV. The New Roof, or grand Federal Edifice, on a carriage drawn by ten white horses; the dome supported by thirteen Corinthian columns, supported on pedestals proper to that order; the frieze decorated with thirteen stars; ten of the columns complete and three left unfinished. On the pedestals of the columns were inscribed, in ornamented ciphers, the initials of the thirteen American States. On the top of the dome a handsome cupola, surmounted by a figure of Plenty, bearing cornucopias and other emblems of her character. Round the pedestal of the edifice were these words: "In union the fabric stands firm."

This elegant building was begun and finished in the short space of four days by Mr. William Williams & Co.

The grand edifice was followed by architects and house-carpenters; in number, four hundred and fifty, carrying insignia of the trade, and preceded by Messrs. Benjamin Loxley, Gunning, Bedford, Thomas Nevel, Levi Budd, Joseph Ogilby, and William Roberts, displaying designs in architecture, etc. Mr. George Ingalls bore the house-carpenters' standard,—the company's arms properly emblazoned on a white field. Motto, "Justice and benevolence."

To this corps the saw-makers and file-cutters attached themselves, headed by Messrs. John Harper and William Cook, and carrying a flag with a hand- and saw-mill-saw, gilt, on a pink field.

On the floor of the Grand Edifice were placed ten chairs for the accommodation of ten gentlemen, viz.: Messrs. Hilary Baker, George Latimer, John Wharton, John Nesbitt, Samuel Morris, John Brown, Tench Francis, Joseph Anthony, John Chaloner, and Benjamin Fuller. These gentlemen sat as representatives of the citizens at large, to whom the Federal Constitution was committed previous to the ratification. When the Grand Edifice arrived safe at Union Green, these gentlemen gave up their seats to the representatives of the States enumerated above in Article XV., who entered the temple and hung their flags on the Corinthian columns to which they respectively belonged. In the evening the Grand Edifice, with the ten States, *now in union*, was brought back in great triumph and with loud huzzas to the State-House, in Chestnut Street, where it now stands.

XXV. The Pennsylvania Society of Cincinnati and militia officers.

XXVI. Corps of light infantry, commanded by Capt. Rose, with the standard of the Fifth Regiment.

XXVII. The Agricultural Society, headed by their president, Samuel Powell, Esq. A flag, borne by Maj. Samuel Hodgdon, on a buff-colored ground in an oval compartment. Industry represented by a plowman, driving a plow drawn by oxen, followed at a small distance by the Goddess of Plenty bearing a cornucopia in her left and a sickle in her right hand. In the background a view of an American farm. Motto, "Venerate the plow."

XXVIII. Farmers, headed by Richard Peters, Richard Willing, Samuel Meredith, Isaac Warner, George Gray, William Peltz, — Burkhardt, and Charles Willing. Two plows, the one drawn by four oxen, and directed by Richard Willing, Esq., in a farmer's dress, Mr. Charles Willing in the character of a plow-boy driving the oxen; the other, drawn by two horses, and directed by Mr. — Burkhardt, followed by a sower sowing seed, farmers, millers, etc.

XXIX. The Manufacturing Society, with the spinning- and carding-machines, looms, etc.

Mr. Gallaudet bearing a flag, the device of which was a bee-hive, with bees issuing from it, standing in the beams of a rising sun; the field of the flag blue, and the motto, "In its rays we shall feel new vigor," written in golden characters.

Robert Hare, Esq.

Managers of the society.

Subscribers to the society.

Committee for managing the manufacturing fund.

Subscribers to the manufacturing fund.

The carriage of the manufacturers is in length thirty feet, in breadth thirteen feet, and the same height, neatly covered with white cotton of their manufacture, and drawn by ten large bay horses. On this carriage was placed the carding-machine, worked by two persons, and carling cotton at the rate of fifty pounds weight per day; next a spinning-machine of eighty spindles, worked by a woman (a native of and instructed in this city), drawing cotton suitable for fine jeans or federal rib. On the right of the stage was next placed a lace loom, a workman weaving a rich scarlet and white livery lace; on the left a man weaving jean on a large loom with a fly-shuttle. Behind the looms was fixed the apparatus of Mr. Hewson, printing muslins of an elegant chintz pattern, and Mr. Lang designing and cutting prints for shawls. On the right was seated Mrs. Hewson and her four daughters penciling a piece of very neat sprigged chintz of Mr. Hewson's printing, all dressed in cottons of their own manufacture. On the back part of the carriage, on a lofty staff, was displayed the calico painters' flag—in the centre thirteen stars in a blue field, and thirteen red stripes in a white field. Round the edges of the flag were printed thirty-seven different prints of various colors—one of them a very elegant bed-furniture chintz of six colors—as specimens of printing done at Philadelphia. Motto, "May the Union Government protect the manufactures of America."

Then followed the weavers' flag,—a rampant lion in a green field, holding a shuttle in his dexter paw. Motto, "May Government protect us." Behind the flag walked the weavers of the factory, accompanied by other citizens of the same trade, in number about one hundred.

The cotton-card makers annexed themselves to this society.

XXX. Corps of light infantry, commanded by Capt. Robinson, with the standard of the Sixth Regiment.

XXXI. The Marine Society, Capt. William Greenaway, carrying a globe, supported by Capt. Heysham and Albersson, with spyglasses in their hands.

Ten captains, five abreast, with quadrants, representing the ten States that have joined the Union, viz., John Woods, John Ashmead, William Miller, Samuel Howell, John Souder, Robert Bethel, William Allen, William Tanner, Leeson Simons, and George Atkinson.

Members of the society, six abreast, with trumpets, spyglasses, charts, and sundry other implements of their profession, wearing badges in their hats representing a ship,—eighty-nine in number.

XXXII. The Federal Ship "Union," mounting twenty guns, commanded by John Green, Esq.; Capt. S. Smith, W. Belchar, and Mr. Mercer, lieutenants; four young boys in uniform, as midshipmen. The crew, including officers, consisted of twenty-five men. The ship "Union" is thirty-three feet in length; her width and depth in due proportion. Her bottom is the barge of the ship "Alliance," and the same barge which formerly belonged to the "Serapis," and was taken in the memorable engagement of Capt. Paul Jones of the "Bon Homme Richard" with the "Serapis."

The "Union" is a masterpiece of elegant workmanship, perfectly proportioned and complete throughout, decorated with emblematic carving, and finished even to a stroke of the painter's brush. And what is truly astonishing, she was begun and completed in less than four days, viz., begun at eleven o'clock on Monday morning, the 30th of June, and on the field of rendezvous on Thursday evening following, fully prepared to join in the grand procession. The workmanship and appearance of this beautiful object commanded universal admiration and applause, and did high honor to the artists of Philadelphia who were concerned in her construction.¹

The ship was followed by

The *Pilots of the Port*, with their boat, named "The Federal Pilots," under the command of Isaac Roach, who sheered alongside the ship "Union" at the place appointed, and put Mr. Michael Dawson on board as pilot; then took his station with his boat in the procession, and on her arrival attended and took the pilot off again.

Boat-Builders.—A frame, representing a boat-builder's shop, eighteen feet long, eight wide, and thirteen high, mounted on a carriage.

The whole machine was contrived with great skill, and drawn by four bright bay horses belonging to and under the conduct of Mr. Jacob Toy, of the Northern Liberties, followed by forty boat-builders, headed by Messrs. Bowyer Brooks and Warwick Hale.

Sail-Makers.—A flag, carried by Capt. Joseph Rice, representing the inside view of a sail-loft, with masters and men at work; on the top thirteen stars; in the fly five vessels. Motto, "May commerce flourish and industry be rewarded." Followed by a number of masters, journeymen, and apprentices.

Ship-Carpenters, headed by Messrs. Francis Grice and John Norris, with the draft of a ship on the stocks, and cases of instruments in their hands; a flag, bearing a ship on the stocks, carried by Manuel Eyles, Esq., supported by Messrs. Harrison, Rice, Brewster, and Humphreys. Followed by mast-makers, calkers, and workmen, to the amount of three hundred and thirty, all wearing a badge in their hats, representing a ship on the stocks, and a green sprig of white-oak.

Ship-Joiners.—Nicholas Young, conductor—his son carrying a cedar staff before him; Robert McMillen, master workman; William McMillen and Samuel Ormea, carrying the company's arms on a flag, viz., A binnacle and binnacle; crooked planes and other tools of that profession proper; thirteen stars and thirteen stars—ten in full splendor. Motto, "By these we support our families." Followed by twenty-five of the trade wearing cedar branches in their hats.

Rope-Makers and Ship-Chandlers.—The flag, carried in front by Richard Tittermary, representing a rope-yard, with ten men spinning and three standing idle with their hemp around their waists—emblematical of the present situation of the thirteen States,—with a motto, "May commerce flourish." Next in front, as leaders, were John Tittermary, Sr., and George Goodwin, being the oldest belonging to the calling.

Merchants and Traders.—Their standard was the flag of a merchant ship of the United States; in the Union were ten illuminated stars, and three traced round in silver but not yet illuminated; on one side of the flag a ship—the "Pennsylvania"—with an inscription, "Fourth of July, 1783;" on the reverse of the flag a globe, over which was inscribed, in a scroll, "Par tout le monde." The staff on which the flag was displayed terminated in a silver cone, on which was a ring suspending a mariner's compass. The standard was borne by Mr. Jonathan Nesbitt, preceding the merchants and traders.

Thomas Willing, E-q., attended by their committee, Messrs. Charles Pettit, John Wilcocks, John Ross, and Trench Cox.

The body of the merchants and traders.

Next followed the clerks and apprentices of the merchants and traders, preceded by Mr. Saintonge, bearing a large ledger.

Corps of light infantry, commanded by Capt. Sproat, with the standard of the Fourth Regiment.

Trades and Professions.—The order of the several trades, except housecarpenters and those concerned in the construction and fitting out a ship, was determined by lot.

XXXIII. *Cordwainers*.—A carriage drawn by four horses, representing a cordwainer's shop, in which were six men actually at work; the shop hung round with shoes, boots, etc.

Mr. Alexander Rutherford, conductor.

Mr. Elisha Gordon and Mr. Martin Bish, assistants; followed by a committee of nine, three abreast.

Mr. James Roney, Jr., standard bearer. The standard—the cordwainers' arms—on a crimson field; above the arms Crispin holding a laurel branch in his right hand and a scroll of parchment in his left.

Three hundred cordwainers following, six abreast, each wearing a white leather apron, embellished with the company's arms, richly painted.

XXXIV. *Coach-Painters*.—With a flag, ornamented with the insignia of the art, carried by Mr. —, followed by ten of the profession carrying palette and pencils in their hands.

XXXV. *Cabinet and Chair-Makers*.—Mr. Jonathan Gottleow, carrying the scale and dividers; Mr. Jedediah Snowden, with the rules of architecture; four of the oldest masters; Mr. James Lee, attended by three masters bearing the standard, or cabinet-makers' arms, elegantly painted and gilt on a blue field, ornamented with thirteen stars, ten of which were gilt, the other three unfinished; below the arms two hands united. Motto, "By unity we support society."

The masters, six abreast, wearing linen aprons, and bucks' tails in their hats.

The workshop, seventeen feet long by nine feet eight inches wide, and fourteen feet high, on a carriage drawn by four horses; at each end of the shop ten stars; two signs, inscribed, "Federal cabinet and chair-shop," one on each side; Mr. John Brown, with journeymen and apprentices, at work in the shop.

XXXVI. *Brick-Makers*.—Carrying a large flag of green silk, on which was represented a brick-yard, hands at work, a kiln burning; at a little distance a Federal city building. Motto, "It was found hard in Egypt, but this project makes it easy."

Ten master brickmakers, headed by Mr. David Rose, Sr., and followed by one hundred workmen in frocks and trousers, with tools, etc.

XXXVII. *House, Ship, and Sign-Painters*.—Arms, three shields argent on a field azure; crest, a hand holding a brush proper. Motto, "Virtue alone is true nobility."

¹ After the procession this little ship was placed in the State-House yard, from whence it was subsequently removed to Gray's Ferry.

The stage, fourteen feet long by seven; on it a mill for manufacturing colors; a glazing-table, with a stone for grinding paint; stage furnished with pots, sashes, tools, etc.; the business on the stage conducted by Messrs. Stride, Wells, Cowen, Dewetter, and McElwee. Flag, borne by Mr. Fausburg, as oldest painter, supported by Messrs. Fling and Fullerton; the rest of the company marching six abreast, with gilded brushes, diamonds, gold hammers, glazing-knives, etc. Sixty-eight in procession.

XXVIII. Porters.—Led by John Lawrence and George Green; on each side a porter, dressed with a silk sash, leading a horse and dray; the horse richly decorated with blue, white, and red ribbons; on the dray five barrels of superfine flour, the words "Federal flour" painted on the heads of the barrels, followed by John Jacobs and forty porters; a light blue silk standard, borne by David Sparks, on which were exhibited ten stripes and thirteen stars, three of them clouded, the rest in full splendor. Also a horse and dray, with four barrels on the dray and a porter loading a fifth. Motto, "May industry ever be encouraged."

The standard, followed by a number of men, and the rear closed by Andrew Dryer and Joseph Greswold.

The five barrels of Federal flour were taken, after the procession, and delivered to the overseers for the use of the poor.

XXXIX. Clock and Watch-Makers.—The company's arms neatly painted on a silk flag. Motto, "Time rules all things." Headed by Mr. John Wood, and followed by twenty-three members of the company.

XL. Fringe and Ribbon Weavers.—Mr. John Williams, bearing a blue staff, capped with a gilt ball; across the staff ten wires, to which were suspended implements and a great variety of specimens of the art.

XXI. Bricklayers.—Headed by Messrs. Nicholas Hicks, William Johnson, and Jacob Graf, with their aprons on and trowels in their hands; a flag, with the following device: The bricklayers' arms; the Federal city rising out of a forest; workmen building it, and the sun illuminating it. Motto, "Both buildings and rulers are the works of our hands."

The flag, carried by Messrs. Charles Souder, William Mash, and Joseph Wilds, with their aprons, and supported by Messrs. John Robbins, Peter Woglum, Thomas Mitchell, John Boyd, Burton Wallace, Michael Groves, John Souder, Edward McKaigen, Alexander McKinley, ten master bricklayers, with their aprons on and their trowels and plumb-rules in their hands, followed by fifty-five masters and journeymen in their aprons, and carrying trowels in their hands.

XXII. Tailors.—Preceded by Messrs. Barker, Stille, Martin, and Tatem, carrying a white flag with the company's arms in gold supported by two camels. Motto, "By union our strength increases." Followed by two hundred and fifty of the trade.

XXIII. Instrument-Makers, Turners, Windsor Chair and Spinning-wheel Makers.—Conducted by Captain John Cornish, Mr. John Stow bearing the standard,—the turner's arms, with the addition of a spinning-wheel on one side and a Windsor chair on the other. Motto, "By faith we obtain."

Messrs. George Stow and Michael Fox, carrying columns representing the several branches of turning; Messrs. Anthony and Mason, with a group of musical instruments, followed by sixty persons dressed in green aprons.

XXIV. Carvers and Gilders.—The carvers and gilders exhibited an ornamental car on a Federal plan, being thirteen feet by ten on the floor, on which were erected thirteen pilasters richly ornamented with carved work,—the heads of ten gilt, and labeled with the names of the several States, arranged as they came into the Federal Union, the remaining three left partly finished; about three feet above the floor a level rail united to the pilasters, denoting the equality of the subjects.

Before the car walked the artists of the several branches, preceded by Mr. Cutbush, ship-carver, and Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Jutzeg, house, furniture, and coach-carvers, with young artists going before, decorated with blue ribbons round their necks, to which were suspended medallions, blue ground, with ten burnished gold stars,—one bearing a figure of Ceres, representing agriculture; another Fame blowing her trumpet, announcing to the world the Federal Union; the middle one carrying a Corinthian column complete, expressive of the domestic branches of carving. In the car were a number of artists at work, superintended by Mr. Rush, ship-carver.

XXV. Coopers.—Led on by Mr. Daniel Dolby; an elegant flag, bearing the coopers' arms, embellished with thirteen stars. Motto, "May commerce flourish. Love as brethren."

Supported by Messrs. W. King, R. Babe, and John Louch; followed by one hundred and fifty coopers in white leather aprons, and wearing badges in their hats representing the tools of the trade.

XXVI. Plane-Makers.—Mr. William Martin in front, bearing the

standard—white field, a smoothing-plane on the top; device—a pair of spring dividers, three planes, a brace, a square, and gauge; followed by eight plane-makers. Motto, "Truth."

XXVII. Whip and Cane Manufacturers.—A machine on a carriage; a boy on it at work plaiting a whip; followed by Mr. John McAllister and his journeymen, carrying several articles of the trade; on the top of the machine a flag, with this motto: "Let us encourage our own manufactures."

XXVIII. Blacksmiths, Whitesmiths, and Nailers.—A machine drawn by nine horses, representing the Federal blacksmiths', whitesmiths', and nailers' manufactory—being a frame of ten by fifteen feet and nine feet and nine feet high, with a real chimney, extending three feet above the roof, and furnished for use; in front of the building three master blacksmiths—Messrs. Nathaniel Brown, Nicholas Hess, and William Perkins—supporting the standard, elegantly ornamented with the smiths' arms. Motto, "By hammer in hand all arts do stand."

The manufactory was in full employ during the procession. Mr. John Mingle and his assistant, Christian Keyser, blacksmith, completed a set of plow irons out of old swords, worked a sword into a sickle, turned several horse-shoes, and performed several jobs on demand.

Mr. John Goodman, Jr., whitesmith, finished a complete pair of plyers, a knife, and some machinery, with other work, on demand.

Messrs. Andrew Fessinger and Benjamin Brummel forged, finished, and sold a considerable number of spikes, nails, and broad tacks.

The whole was under the conduct of Messrs. Godfrey Gebbler, David Henderson, George Goddard, Jacob Esler, Lewis Prah, and Jacob Eckfeld, and followed by two hundred brother blacksmiths, whitesmiths, and nailers.

XXIX. Coach-Makers.—Preceded by Mr. John Bringhurst in a phaeton drawn by two horses, and bearing a draft of a coach on a white silk flag.

L. Potters.—A flag, on which was neatly painted a kiln burning, and several men at work in the different branches of the business. Motto, "The potter hath power over his clay." A four-wheeled carriage, drawn by two horses, on which was a potter's wheel and men at work; a number of cups, bowls, mugs, etc., were made during the procession. The carriage was followed by twenty potters, headed by Messrs. Christian Piercy and Michael Gilbert, wearing linen aprons of American manufacture.

LI. Hatters.—Led by Mr. Andrew Tybout.

The standard, borne by Mr. John Gordon, viz.: On a white field a hat in hand, on each side a tassel band; the crest, a beaver; motto, on a crimson garter, in gold letters, "With the industry of the beaver we support our rights"; followed by one hundred and twenty-four hatters.

LII. Wheelwrights.—A stage drawn by two horses, with five men working upon it, making a plow and a speed for a wagon wheel; the standard a blue flag; motto, "The united wheelwrights"; followed by twenty-two of the trade, headed by Messrs. Conrad Rohman and Nicholas Reb.

LIII. Tinsplate Workers.—Preceded by Joseph Fineaur and Martin Riser, carrying by turns a flag bearing the arms of the company properly emblazoned; followed by ten workmen in green aprons.

LIV. Skinners, Breeches-Makers, and Glovers.—Headed by Messrs. John Lisle and George Cooper,—one carrying in his hand a beaming-knife and the other a paring-knife; the standard, borne by Mr. Shreiner, viz.: on one side a deer, and below it a glove; on the other a golden fleece, and below a pair of breeches; motto, "May our manufacture be equal in its consumption to its usefulness"; followed by fifty-eight of the trade in buckskin breeches and gloves, and wearing bucks' tails in their hats.

To these Mr. Joseph Rogers, parchment and glue manufacturer, attached himself.

LV. Tallow Chandlers.—Mr. Richard Porter, master; two standards,—first, the company's arms on a blue field, trimmed with white; three doves with olive-branches; over the arms an angel bearing St. John the Baptist's head; on each side two blazing lamps; motto, "Let your light so shine." Second standard, a representation of a chandelier of thirteen branches, a lighted candle in each, and thirteen silver stars in a half circle; inscription, "The stars of America a light to the world"; motto at the bottom of the chandelier, "United in one."

The uniform blue, and white cockades; blue aprons, bound with white, and a dove painted in the middle of each; a white rod, surmounted by an olive-branch, in each person's hand,—twenty in number.

LVI. Victualers.—A flag, with this inscription: "The death of anarchy and confusion shall feed the poor and hungry"; two oxen preceding two stately oxen, weighing three thousand pounds; ten boys dressed in white—five on the right and five on the left of the oxen, carrying small flags with the names of the States that have ratified the Federal Constitution; two cleaver men; a band of music.

Conductors, Messrs. Philip Hall, George Woelper, Philip Odenheimer, and Conrad Hoff; followed by eighty-six muster victualers, all dressed in white; the oxen to be killed, the hides and tallow to be sold for bread and given, with the meat, to the poor.

LVII. Printers, Bookbinders, and Stationers.—A stage nine feet square, drawn by four horses; upon the stage the Federal printing press complete; cases, and other implements necessary to the business, by ten printing offices united; on the stage men at work in the different branches of the profession; Mr. Durant, in the character of Mercury, in a white dress, ornamented with red ribbons, having real wings affixed to his head and feet and a garland of blue and red flowers round his temples. During the procession the pressmen were at work, and struck off many copies of the following ode, composed for the occasion by F. Hopkinson, Esq.:

THE ODE.

Oh! for a muse of fire to mount the skies,
And to a listening world proclaim:
Behold! behold an empire rise!
An era now, Time, as he flies,
Hath entered in the book of Fame.
On Alleghany's towering head
Echo shall stand—the tidings spread—
And o'er the lakes and misty floods around
An era new resound.

See where Columbia sits alone,
And from her star-bespangled throne
Beholds the gay procession move along,
And hears the trumpet and the choral song!
She hears her sons rejoice,
Looks into future times, and sees
The numerous blessings Heaven decrees,
And with her plaudit joins the general voice.

"Tis done! 'tis done! My sons," she cries,
"In war are valiant, and in council wise.
Wisdom and valor shall my rights defend,
And o'er my vast domain those rights extend.
Science shall flourish; Genius stretch her wing;
In native strains Columbia muses sing;
Wealth crown the arts, and Justice clean her scales;
Commerce her ponderous anchor weigh,
Wide spread her sails,
And in far distant seas her flag display.

"My sons for freedom fought, nor fought in vain,
But found a naked goddess was their gain;
Good government alone can show the maid
In robes of social happiness arrayed."

Hail to this festival!—all hail the day!
Columbia's standard on her roof display!
And let the people's motto ever be,
"United thus, and, thus united, free!"

This ode, together with one in the German language, fitted to the purpose, and printed by Mr. Stetner, were thrown amongst the people as the procession moved along.

Mr. William Sellers, Sr., bearing the standard of the united professions, viz.: Azure, on a chevron argent, an American bald eagle volant, between two reams of paper proper—between three Bibles closed proper—in chief, perched on the point of the chevron, a dove with an olive-branch, of the second. Supporters, two Fames, blowing their trumpets, clothed with sky-blue flowing robes, spangled with stars argent. Crest, a Bible displayed proper, on a wreath azure and argent. Under the escutcheon two pens placed saltirewise proper. Motto, "We protect and are supported by Liberty." After the standard, masters of the combined professions, followed by journeymen and apprentices, each carrying a scroll tied with blue silk binding, exhibiting the word "Typographer," illuminated by ten stars in union,—fifty in the train.

LVIII. Saddlers.—A saddler's shop, dressed with saddlery and a variety of ready-made work, elegant American plated furniture, etc., drawn by two fine horses. In the shop Mr. Stephen Burrows and a number of hands were at work, one of whom (having the different parts in readiness) completed a neat saddle during the procession.

The standard carried by Messrs. Jehoshaphat Polk and John Young was of green silk, with the company's arms elegantly painted and gilt. Motto, "Our trust is in God." The company was headed by Messrs.

John Stephens and John Marr. Mr. William Haley, silver-plater, joined himself to this corps, carrying a Federal bit of his own workmanship.

LIX. Stone-cutters.—Three apprentices before with tools, and two with the orders of the operative lodge, one with the standard, in masons' order, the rest followed with pieces of polished marble. Twenty in number.

LX. Bread and Biscuit Bakers.—A standard bearing the bread-bakers' arms, properly emblazoned. Motto, "May our country never want bread." Headed by Mr. George Mayer.

Biscuit-bakers' standard, a white flag with the representation of a bake-house and several hands working in the different branches of the business. Motto, "May the Federal Government revive our trade."

Messrs. Thomas Hopkins and Matthias Landenberger in front of twelve masters. Messrs. John Peters, Sr., and William Eckart closed the rear, each master carrying a small peel. The number of bakers in procession, one hundred and thirty.

LXI. Gunsmiths.—A stage erected upon a four-wheel carriage, drawn by four horses, being in length fourteen feet, and in breadth eight feet, with a motto in large letters on each side, "Federal Armory," with a number of hands thereon at work, employed in different branches of the trade, conducted by two senior masters, viz.: John Nicholson and Joseph Perkins, Abraham Morrow, bearing a standard at the head of the company, in rear of the carriage, the standard decorated with sundry devices, representing the arms belonging to the trade.

LXII. Coppersmiths.—A car, fourteen by seven feet, drawn by four horses, with three hands at work at stills and tea-kettles, under the direction of Mr. Benjamin Harbeson.

LXIII. Goldsmiths, Silvercrafts, and Jewelers.—William Ball, Esq., senior member, with an urn.

Standard-bearers, Messrs. Joseph Gee and John Germaine, carrying a silk flag with the silversmiths' arms on one side of it. Motto, "Justitia Virtutum Regina." And on the reverse the Genius of America, holding in her hand a silver urn, with the following motto: "The purity, brightness, and solidity of this metal is emblematical of that liberty which we expect from the new Constitution," her head surrounded by thirteen stars, ten of them very brilliant, representing the States which have ratified, two of them, less bright, representing New York and North Carolina, whose ratifications are shortly expected.

LXIV. Distillers.—On a standard of light-blue silk a still, worm-tub, and other implements of the business, neatly painted. The standard borne by Mr. Michael Shubert, and followed by twelve distillers.

LXV. Tobaccoists, headed by Mr. John Riley. The standard of white silk, a tobacco-plant with thirteen leaves (ten in perfection, three leaves not finished), a hog'shead of tobacco on one side of the plant, a roll of plug tobacco, bottle and bladder of snuff. Over the plant, on the other side, are thirteen stars, ten silvered and shining bright, the other three not finished. Carried by Mr. Thomas Leiper. Motto, "Success to the tobacco-plant." Each member with a green apron and blue strings, a plume of the different kinds of tobacco-leaves in his hat, and different tools of his profession in his hands. Conductors, Messrs. Hamilton, Few, Stimble, and Murphy. Seventy in number.

LXVI. Brass Founders.—Mr. Daniel King, in a car drawn by four gray horses, with emblematical colors, and a furnace in blast during the whole procession. The motto of the colors, "In vain the earth her treasure hides." The whole was executed by Mr. King, at his own expense.

LXVII. Stocking Manufacturers.—Headed by Mr. George Freytag, thirty in number; their colors white, with a pair of blue stockings across, a cap above, finger-mitt below, encircled with a gilded heart, a gilded crown with ten horns or points; on each a blue star. Above all, motto, "The union of the American stocking manufacturers."

LXVIII. Tanners and Curriers.—Tanners twenty-five in number, led by Mr. George Leib, carry the flag with the company's arms. Motto, "God be with us." Curriers, led by Mr. George Oakley, carrying the flag with the company's arms. Motto, "Spes nostra Deus," followed by thirty-four of the trade, each carrying a currying-knife, and wearing a blue apron and jean coat of our new manufactory.

LXIX. Upholsters.—Headed by Messrs. John Mason and John Davis. In front a cushion, with its drapery, on which fluttered a dove with an olive-branch in its mouth, and on its head a double scroll. Motto, "Be Liberty thine," followed by a cabriolet sofa decorated.

LXX. Sugar Refiners.—Conducted by the Hon. Christopher Kucher, Capt. Jacob Lawerswyler, Messrs. Benjamin Paunington, John Morgan, David Miercken, Adam Cornman, and Henry Kucher, wearing black cockades, blue sashes, and white aprons with a blue standard, arms on a gold field, the Cap of Liberty on a staff between two leaves of sugar. Motto, "Double refined," in a blue field, thirteen stars; crest, a lighted

candle in a candlestick, on the foot the word "Proof," beneath "American manufactures," ornamented with sugar-canes; followed by thirty-six with white aprons, on which were painted sugar loaves, marked ten, and bearing the various implements of the business.

LXXI. *Brewers*.—Ten in number, headed by Reuben Haines, with ten ears of barley in their hats, and sashes of hop-vines, carrying malt-shovels and mashing-coars; one dray loaded with malt and hops, and one loaded with two hog-heads and a butt, marked "beer, ale, porter," with the following inscription: "Proper drink for Americans." A standard carried by Luke Morris, decorated with the brewers' arms. Motto, "Home brew'd is best."

LXXII. *Peruke-Makers and Barber Surgeons*.—Preceded by Messrs. Perrie and Trautwine, full dressed.

LXXIII. *Engravers*.—Their armorial insignias (occasionally devised) were: Or on a chevron, engrailed gules (between a parallel ruler sabre, barred and studded of the first, and two gravers salter-ways azure, handled at the third); three plates; the crest, a copper-plate on a sand-bag proper, inscribed underneath, in large capitals, "Engravers."

LXXIV. *Plasterers*.

LXXV. *Brush-Makers*.—A white flag, with a wild boar, and a bundle of bristles over him, the motto, "Federal brush manufactory." The flag carried by Mr. Roger Flahaven, Jr.

LXXVI. *Stay-Makers*.—Represented by Mr. Francis Serre, with his first journeyman carrying an elegant pair of ladies' stays.

LXXVII. Corps of light infantry, commanded by Captain Rees, with the standard of the Second Regiment.

LXXVIII. The civil and military officers of Congress in the city.

LXXIX. The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

LXXX. The justices of the common pleas and the magistrates.

LXXXI. Sheriff and coroner, on horseback.

LXXXII. Board of city wardens.

City treasurer, and secretary to the board.

Clerks of the markets, with standard, weights, and measures.

Constable of the watch, with his two assistants, bearing their staves.

Musicians.

Twenty watchmen, with their flames decorated, and their proper dress.

Twenty silent watchmen, with their staves.

Watchman, calling the hour,—"Ten o'clock, and a glorious starlight morning!"

The hour and stars alluded to the ten States who have adopted the Constitution.

LXXXIII. The street commissioners.

LXXXIV. The gentlemen of the bar, headed by the Hon. Edward Shippen, Esq., president of the Common Pleas, and William Bradford, Esq., Attorney-General, followed by the students of law.

LXXXV. The clergy of the different Christian denominations, with the rabbi of the Jews, walking arm in arm.

LXXXVI. The College of Physicians, headed by their president, Dr. John Redman, and followed by the students in physic.

LXXXVII. Students of the University, headed by the vice-provost, and of the Episcopal Academy, and most of the schools in the city, preceded by their respective principals, professors, masters, and tutors, a small flag borne before them inscribed with these words: "The rising generation."

LXXXVIII. The county troop of light-horse, commanded by Maj. W. MacPherson, brought up the rear of the whole.

Maj. Fullerton attended the right wing, and Col. Mentges the left wing of the line.

Messrs. Stoneburner, Hiltzheimer, and Jonathan Penrose furnished and superintended the horses for the carriages.

This grand procession began to move from the place of rendezvous about half-past nine (as was before mentioned), and the front arrived at Union Green, in front of Bush Hill, about half-past twelve. The length of the line was about one mile and a half, the distance marched through about three miles. As the procession came into Fourth Street, Capt. David Zeigler and Lieut. John Armstrong had drawn up their company of Continental troops, and saluted the procession as it passed, according to military rule.

A very large circular range of tables, covered with canvas awnings, and plentifully spread with a cold collation, had been prepared the day before by the committee of provisions. In the centre of this spacious circle the Grand Edifice was placed, and the ship "Union" moored. The flags of the consuls and other standards were planted round the Edifice.

As soon as the rear of the line had arrived, James Wilson, Esq., addressed the people from the Federal Edifice in an eloquent oration.

The several light companies were then drawn off by Capt. Heysham to an eminence nearly opposite, where they fired a *feu de joie* of three rounds, also three volleys, followed by three cheers, to testify their satisfaction on this joyful occasion.

After the oration the company went to dinner. No spirit nor wines of any kind were introduced. American porter, beer, and cider were the only liquors. With these were drunk the following toasts, announced by the trumpet, and answered by a discharge of artillery, a round of ten to each toast, and these were in like manner answered by a discharge from the ship "Rising Sun," at her moorings.

TOASTS.

1. The people of the United States.
2. Honor and immortality to the members of the late Federal Convention.
3. Gen. Washington.
4. The King of France.
5. The United Netherlands.
6. The foreign Powers in alliance with the United States.
7. The agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the United States.
8. The heroes who have fallen in defense of our liberties.
9. May reason, and not the sword, hereafter decide all national disputes.
10. The whole family of mankind.

It is impossible to be precise in numbers on such an occasion, but averaging several opinions, there were about five thousand in line of procession, and about seventeen thousand on Union Green. The green was entirely cleared by six o'clock in the evening, and the Edifice, ship, and several machines being withdrawn, the citizens *sobriety* retired to their respective homes. The weather was remarkably favorable for the season,—cloudy, without rain, and a brisk wind from the south during the whole day. At night the ship "Rising Sun" was handsomely illuminated in honor of this great festival.

As the system of government (now fully ratified) has been the occasion of much present joy, so may it prove a source of future blessing to our country, and the glory of our rising empire.

Published by order.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
Chairman of the Committee of Arrangement.

July 8, 1788.

The opposition to the Constitution did not cease with its adoption. A few of the leading men in the Anti-Federal party met in convention at Harrisburg in September, with Blair McClenachan as chairman and John A. Hanna secretary, and adopted resolutions declaring it expedient to acquiesce in the ratification of the instrument, but urging that revision was necessary. The convention then nominated a general ticket for Congress, headed by Blair McClenachan and Charles Pettit. The action of the Harrisburg convention was severely criticised by those friendly to the Constitution, and the nominees for Congress were opposed on the ground that they were Anti-Federalists, and that the power to enforce the new Federal system ought not to be committed to its avowed opponents. It was determined to call a new convention at Lancaster, and a town-meeting was held at the State-House on the 25th of October, with Col. Miles in the chair, at which the names of Thomas Fitzsimons, George Clymer, Henry Hill, Hilary Baker, William Bingham, and John M. Nesbitt were agreed upon as those of six gentlemen suitable to represent the city and county of Philadelphia, from whom the choice of two was made. Walter Stewart, Thomas Mifflin, Philip Wager, James Wilson, Samuel Howell, Sr., and Thomas McKean were suggested as suitable for electors of President and Vice-President. The Lancaster conference selected Fitz-

simons and Clymer for the Congressional ticket, and James Wilson as the representative of Philadelphia on the electoral ticket. At the election of members of Congress, in November, in the city and county, Fitzsimons had 2478 votes, Clymer 2468, McClenachan 575, and Pettit 687. In the State six of the nominees on the Federal ticket were elected, and two (David Muhlenberg, of Montgomery, and Daniel Heister, of Berks), who, although Federalists, had, with two others of the same politics, been placed as a matter of policy on the opposition ticket.

The feeling in opposition to slavery continued to grow in Philadelphia, and in 1788 the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery was under full headway and doing effective work. The condition of American citizens captured by the Algerine pirates appealed most forcibly to the society, which appointed a committee to collect information in relation to the captives and to suggest some means of relieving them. About the same time the Society of Friends complained to the Legislature that the law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania had been evaded by various persons, who had shipped their slaves to West India islands and sold them. An investigation was ordered by the Assembly, and the committee to whom the matter was referred reported that vessels had been fitted out at Philadelphia "provided with handcuffs and military implements, in order to stir up the princes of Africa to wage war against each other, and for the support and encouragement of an unrighteous traffic in human flesh." The act against slavery was declared to be defective, in that it did not prohibit the owners of slaves from selling them from their wives, husbands, parents, or children into distant parts or foreign countries, and there was no punishment for stealing slaves, and no security that those negroes who would become free at twenty-eight years of age might not be sent away from the State before that time and sold. A new bill, covering these defects, was accordingly prepared, and passed by the Assembly on the 29th of March. This act also contained the important provision that slaves brought into Pennsylvania by citizens of the State should at once become free, and that those brought by citizens of other States, with the intention of becoming permanent residents, should also be free.

Gen. Washington's birthday was *officially* celebrated in Philadelphia for the first time in 1788 by salutes of artillery, the powder used on this occasion being paid for by the Supreme Executive Council.

Owing to the escape in October of thirty-three prisoners from Walnut Street jail, most of whom evaded recapture, and nearly all of whom were daring criminals, there was an unusual number of highway robberies and burglaries during the remainder of the year. The marauders finally became so bold that it was found necessary to employ Col. Shee's light infantry battalion as a night patrol for several weeks. The criminal record for the year 1788 was also marked

by the execution on the 24th of September, on the commons near the city, of Levi and Abraham Doane, members of a noted family of Tories which lived in Bucks County, and was the terror of that section of the State. They were charged with a long catalogue of crimes,—murder, rape, arson, highway robbery, and other offenses. On the 8th of April, 1783, the Legislature passed an act setting a price upon their heads. Joseph Doane, the younger, was shot and killed in Bucks County in 1783. Moses was captured and executed in the same year, and the hanging of Levi and Abraham at Philadelphia left but two brothers, against whom the sentence of outlawry had been pronounced, Mahlon and Eleazar.

In order to provide more effectually for the regulation of the port of Philadelphia, the Assembly, on the 4th of October, passed an act directing the Supreme Executive Council to appoint seven wardens of the port. These officers, who were required to meet every month, had power to license three classes of pilots. The first class was to be composed of those who had served four years' apprenticeship. The second class were apprentices of three years, and the third class of two years of service. Power to make a code or regulations for the pilots was given to the board of wardens. It was provided that tonnage fees should be paid by ship-builders, one-fourth of which were to be applied to "The Society for the Relief of Widows of Decayed Pilots." The board also had authority to regulate the building and extension of wharves, to regulate fees for wharfage, to regulate the anchorage of vessels, to have jurisdiction in matters of collision, and to have general authority over all questions connected with the interests of the port. The original members of the board were Joseph Dean, Nathaniel Falconer, Samuel Caldwell, Joseph Irvine, Elias Boys, Robert Buisley, and Francis Gurney.

Southwark again received the attention of the Assembly this year, and an act was passed authorizing the election of regulators and supervisors. To the latter was given authority to dig wells and establish pumps for public use, and to regulate, pitch, pave, light, and provide for watching the streets. William Leonard, Silas Engle, and William Williams were elected regulators, and Samuel Church, William McMullen, and John Cornish supervisors.

The first election for President of the United States was held in Philadelphia in January, 1789. In Philadelphia the Federal ticket for electors, headed by James Wilson, was successful, as was the case throughout the State. The birthday of Washington, who was chosen the first President of the new republic, was celebrated with more than ordinary *éclat*. Bells were rung and a salute of thirteen guns was fired by Capt. Fisher's company of artillery, which also paraded. After the parade the company had a dinner, at which thirteen toasts were drank. On the 4th of March, Fisher's company paraded again in honor of the inauguration of the new government. President

Washington set out from Mount Vernon for New York, where Congress was in session, in April, after having been officially notified of his election. Elaborate preparations were made for his reception in Philadelphia. On the 20th of April, Hon. Thomas Mifflin, President of the State, Richard Peters, Speaker of the Assembly, and the city troops of horse, commanded by Capts. Miles and Bingham, received the President at the boundary line of the State of Delaware. After a military salute he was escorted to Chester, where breakfast was prepared. Washington would have avoided these testimonials if he could have done so, but finding it impossible to do so he yielded to the necessity, and ordering his traveling carriage to the rear of the line of procession, mounted a charger which was in readiness. Other detachments of troops joined the cavalcade, together with many citizens, so that when the company reached Gray's Ferry the number attending it was quite large. At this point every preparation had been made which it was thought would render the passage of the floating bridge at this place striking to the eye and gratifying to Washington. The bridge was spanned at the eastern and western ends with large arches formed of laurel. Upon each side of the bridge laurel shrubbery was thickly set in hedge-like order, so that the passage over the water seemed like a journey along a green lane. On the north side of the bridge were ranged eleven flags inscribed with the names of the eleven States which had at that time ratified the Constitution. At the southwest corner of the bridge was placed a large white flag bearing as a device a rising sun more than half above the horizon; motto, "The Rising Empire." On the northwest corner a blue flag, which had been hoisted in the East Indies by Capt. Bell as a Pennsylvania State ensign, bore the inscription, "The New Era." In the centre of the bridge, on the south side, the American flag fluttered in the breeze. At the northeast corner a high pole bore a striped liberty cap ornamented with stars, beneath which a blue flag bore as a device a rattlesnake, with the motto, "Don't tread on me!" At the northeast corner a white flag, displaying emblems of trade and commerce, bore the motto, "May commerce flourish." In the river were boats gayly adorned with ensigns, among which was what was then a novelty, an American jack which bore eleven stars. Upon the ferry-house a large signal flag served to warn the thousands of persons who were assembled upon the commons near the city of the approach of the distinguished guest. The procession came down the hill at Gray's Ferry in due order, and just as the carriage of the President was under the western arch a laurel wreath, which had been suspended in its centre, was lowered by a child clad in white and girdled and adorned with laurel. The emblem rested on Washington's brow, and as it did so the assemblage burst forth into a mighty shout. The procession then passed on to the city, and on the commons

was received by the infantry battalion, commanded by Capt. James Rees, and the artillery, Capt. Jeremiah Fisher, the whole being subject to the orders of Maj. Fullerton. After the line had passed the citizens fell in rank by rank, swelling the attendance, before the head of the procession reached the city, to a great number. Gen. Washington was conducted to the City Tavern, in Second Street, above Walnut, where a banquet had been prepared by the citizens. Fourteen regular toasts were drunk, among which were: "His Most Christian Majesty, our great and good ally," "His Catholic Majesty," "The United Netherlands," and "May those who have opposed the new Constitution be converts by the experience of its happy effects." Previous to the departure of Washington addresses were delivered to him by the President and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and Common Council of the city, the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the trustees and the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and the State Society of the Cincinnati. To these compliments appropriate replies were made. The next day Gen. Washington set out for Trenton in his traveling carriage, having, on account of inclement weather, declined the escort of the First City Troop. A week afterward the President's wife arrived in Philadelphia upon her way to New York, where she intended to join her husband. She was received near Darby by a number of ladies and gentlemen. A collation was served at Gray's Ferry, and the visitor was escorted to the residence of Robert Morris by Mile's and Bingham's troops of light-horse, amid the ringing of bells and the discharge of salvos of artillery. On the following Monday she was similarly complimented upon her departure for New York, and was escorted upon her way for a considerable distance.

The Federal officers for Philadelphia appointed by the new administration were Sharpe Delaney, collector of the port; Frederick Phile, naval officer; William Macpherson, surveyor. The custom-house was at the corner of Walnut and Second Streets. Robert Patton was postmaster, and the post-office was at No. 36 South Front Street. The judge of the District Court was Francis Hopkinson; the district attorney, William Lewis; and the marshal, Clement Biddle.

The arguments which had been successfully urged against the adoption of a new State Constitution and the reincorporation of the city had now become obsolete, and both those important measures were successfully consummated during the year. On the 24th of March the Assembly adopted resolutions recommending that delegates be chosen at the usual time for the election of State officers to a convention which should be charged with forming a new Constitution for the State. The Supreme Executive Council was requested to promulgate the action of the Assembly, but refused to comply with the request. An organization known as the Republican Society, and composed of such

reputable citizens as Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, John Cadwalader, John Nixon, Thomas Fitzsimons, Thomas Mifflin, Francis Hopkinson, Robert Morris, George Ross, and about seventy others, strenuously urged the proposed revision of the Constitution of 1776. The Assembly proceeded cautiously; the Supreme Council, on the other hand, resisted the tendency towards reform. In September the Assembly adopted resolutions in favor of calling the convention, and at the general election in October delegates were chosen. James Wilson and Hilary Baker were elected from the city; Thomas Mifflin, George Gray, William Robinson, Jr., Robert Hare, and Enoch Edwards from the county of Philadelphia. The convention met on the fourth Tuesday of November, and elected Thomas Mifflin president, but it was not until Sept. 2, 1790, that the Constitution framed by it was adopted. In the new form of government a number of radical departures were made from the old system. The Supreme Executive Council was abolished and a Senate created. The chief executive was to be known as Governor instead of President. The Council of Censors was dispensed with, and in all important matters the new Constitution conformed to the system adopted for administering the general government.

There was now but little opposition to the reincorporation of Philadelphia, experience having fully demonstrated the necessity for a strong municipal government. On the 11th of March, 1789, "An Act to incorporate the city of Philadelphia" was finally passed. In the preamble it was declared that "the administration of government within the city of Philadelphia is, in its present form, inadequate to the suppression of vice and immorality, to the advancement of the public health and order, and to the promotion of trade, industry, and happiness;" and that "in order to provide against the evils occasioned thereby it is necessary to invest the inhabitants thereof with more speedy, vigorous, and effective powers of government than are at present established." Accordingly the inhabitants of the city within the boundaries between Vine and Cedar Streets, and from Delaware to Schuylkill, were constituted a corporation and body politic in fact and in law by the name and style of "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Philadelphia." The freeholders were directed to elect, on the first Tuesday in April ensuing, and every seven years thereafter, fifteen persons to serve as aldermen for seven years. The common councilmen, thirty in number, were to be chosen for three years, and were all to be elected at the same time. The mayor was to be elected by the fifteen aldermen from among their own number, and to hold his office for one year. The recorder was chosen by the mayor and aldermen from among the freemen of the city, and held his office for seven years. The mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common councilmen constituted the law-making power when

assembled in Common Council. To the mayor, recorder, and aldermen were granted the powers of justices of the peace. The mayor, recorder, and aldermen, or any four of them, whereof the mayor or recorder was always to be one, had authority conferred upon them to inquire of, hear, try, and determine, according to the laws and constitutions of the commonwealth, all larcenies, forgeries, perjuries, assaults and batteries, riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies, and all other offenses committed in the city usually cognizable in any county Court of Quarter Sessions. To this tribunal was given the title of "The Mayor's Court for the City of Philadelphia," holding four terms yearly. Writ of error laid from the Mayor's Court to the Supreme Court, and the mayor and recorder might issue writs of *habeas corpus* for the arrest of offenders who had escaped or removed into any county of the commonwealth. There was also established a tribunal called "The Aldermen's Court," to be composed of three aldermen designated by the mayor and recorder during four terms in the year. This court had power to try and determine in a summary way all matters usually cognizable before justices of the peace, where the debt or demand amounted to forty shillings, and did not exceed ten pounds. The mayor and aldermen were also each given, individually, authority to determine summarily debts under forty shillings, in the same manner as justices of the peace, and the office of justice of the peace for the city was abolished. The Mayor's Court superseded "the City Court," and became the custodian of the records of the latter. The offices of wardens of the city and street commissioners were abolished. The new corporation had authority to license brokers, and to appoint one or more clerks of the market, to have assize of bread, wine, beer, wood, and other things within the city. All the property, real and personal, and the rights and franchises of the late corporation known as "The Mayor and Commonalty of the City of Philadelphia" were transferred to the new corporation.

The act was soon found to be defective in that it left the authority of taxation for municipal purposes in the position it occupied under former laws, and as the power was difficult of execution in that way, a supplement to the charter was passed on the 2d of April, 1790, by which the Common Council was given power to raise and levy taxes "upon the persons of single men, and upon the estates, real and personal, of the inhabitants, for the purposes of lighting, watching, watering, pitching, paving, and cleansing the streets, lanes, and alleys of the city;" also was granted full power to regulate the rates and prices to be demanded and received by wagoners, carters, draymen, porters, wood-sawyers, and chimney-sweepers.¹ In April fifteen aldermen and thirty common

¹ Some of the inhabitants of the Northern Liberties, residing below Pegg's Run and east of Sixth Street, were anxious to become residents

councilmen were elected by the citizens in accordance with the terms of the charter. The aldermen thus chosen were Samuel Miles, Hilary Baker, Samuel Powell, William Colliday, Joseph Swift, John Barclay, Francis Hopkinson, Matthew Clarkson, Gunning Bedford, John Baker, Reynold Keen, John Nixon, Joseph Ball, George Roberts, John M. Nesbitt. The common councilmen were Benjamin Chew, James Pemberton, George Latimer, Miers Fisher, John Wood, David Evans, John Craig, James Whiteall, John Morton, John Wharton, George Mead, John D. Coxe, Andrew Tybout, William Wells, Thomas Bartow, Henry Drinker, Nathaniel Falconer, Jacob Shriner, Edward Pennington, Frederick Kuhl, Isaac Morton, Thomas Morris, Jared Ingersoll, William Van Phul, John Kaighn, Israel Wheeler, John Stille, Robert Smith, John Dunlap, and William Hall.

The aldermen elected Samuel Powell mayor, and Alexander Wilcocks recorder. A new coat of arms was chosen for the city. The ship and balance were taken from the old seal of the city, and the plow from the arms of the Commonwealth. To support these, two female figures were adopted. The one emblematic of plenty is in possession of the cornucopia, from which the fruity treasures are lavishly strewn; the other, which perhaps personifies the city, holds in one hand a ground plan of a town, upon which is laid out streets and squares. The crest is a bare arm holding scales.

Comparatively little was done by the aldermen and Common Council during the first year of the new corporation. In May they resolved to carry out the provisions of the act of Assembly authorizing a lottery to raise money for building a city hall, and appointed managers to conduct it. Four-fifths of the proceeds was to go to the city and one-fifth to Dickinson College at Carlisle. A new ordinance was also passed extending the market in High (now Market) Street to Fourth Street, and providing rules for conducting it. Wednesdays and Saturdays were fixed as market days. Besides the principal streets, Front, Second, Third, and Fourth, from Mulberry to Chestnut Streets, and Strawberry Alley, Elbow Lane, Letitia Court, and Church Alley were appropriated for market purposes. Chains were ordered to be put across the streets during market hours to prevent the intrusion of horses and carriages. Besides the accommodations for venders of meats, vegetables, and farm produce, stands were provided in the market streets for porters, drays, venders of fresh fish, manufacturers of baskets and cedarware, venders of hosiery and "home-made articles," and of roots, vegetables, and garden seeds. The Second Street market was to be held on Tuesdays and Fridays, the regulations being similar to those of the large one on High Street.

of the new city, and petitioned the Assembly for that purpose. Remonstrances were received against the measure from other inhabitants of the Northern Liberties, and nothing was therefore done in the business.

After many years of comparatively fruitless agitation, the opponents of the test laws succeeded at last in 1789 in securing their repeal. The committee to whom the subject was referred in the Assembly reported that, however proper and salutary they may have been during the war, it appeared to them that in times of peace and well-established government they were "not only useless, but highly pernicious by disqualifying a large body of the people from exercising many necessary offices, and throwing the whole burden thereof on others, and also by alienating the affections of tender though perhaps mistaken minds from a government which, by its invidious distinctions, they are led to consider as hostile to their peace and happiness." In accordance with the recommendation of the committee a bill was passed repealing all laws requiring any oath or affirmation of allegiance from the inhabitants of the State. Disfranchised persons were restored to citizenship, and foreigners alone were required to take an oath of allegiance before exercising the privileges of a citizen. The action of the Assembly in depriving the old college of its charter on account of the Tory proclivities of some of the trustees and officers was also annulled. On the 6th of March an act was passed repealing that part of the act creating the University of Pennsylvania which deprived the college of its franchises and conferred them upon the university. The latter, which continued as a separate institution, was compelled to give up the college building, on Fourth Street below Arch, and other real estate belonging to the old institution. Philosophical Hall, on Fifth Street, was secured by the university, which, while its new quarters were being fitted up, occupied the lodge room in Lodge Alley. It soon became evident that the two institutions could not be sustained in a flourishing condition, and a proposition for union having been made by the university, which was accepted by the college, the two corporations applied to the Legislature for an act of consolidation, which was granted on the 30th of September, 1791, uniting the institutions under the name of the University of Pennsylvania.

The evil consequences of the provisions in the penal laws compelling the employment of convicts in the streets had now become so apparent that the citizens began to urge upon the Assembly the advisability of repealing them. The opposition was strengthened by incidents that occurred during the year 1789. On Sunday, January 11th, a number of "wheelbarrow men," confined in the jail, endeavored to escape by digging away the foundations. Discovered in the act, they were fired upon by the guard, and two or three of them fatally wounded. In March the jailer, Reynolds, and a turnkey were seized by twenty-two convicts, who robbed them of their watches, money, and hats, and the keys of the prison, and thrust them into a dungeon. They then attempted to escape, and six of them got out before the true

state of affairs was discovered by the other keepers. One of the convicts, William Cole, after his escape committed two burglaries and three highway robberies, and having been captured and convicted under the new penal law, which prescribed death as the penalty for a second felony, was hanged on the 29th of July on the common. On the 18th of September five wheelbarrow men, who had been at work in the vicinity of Centre Square, having discovered that two brothers named McFarland, who were drovers, living on the south side of Market Street above Thirteenth, had a considerable sum of money in their possession, formed a plot to rob them. That night they escaped from the jail, and, accompanied by the wife of one of their number, a man named Logan, proceeded to the house in which the McFarlands lived. Their demand for admission was refused by the two brothers, who made an ineffectual resistance. Having forced their way in, the convicts killed one of the McFarlands, but in the *mêlée* the light they had brought with them was extinguished, and the other brother escaped. They then plundered the house, obtaining about two thousand dollars, after which they left. All of them were subsequently arrested, and the five men—Cronan, Burns, Bennett, Logan, and Ferguson—were hanged at Centre Square. The woman, who had been condemned to death with the others, was either pardoned or had her sentence commuted. This fearful crime, together with the disturbances which had preceded it, led to the abandonment of the practice of employing convicts in the streets.

As early as February a petition had been presented to the Assembly in which the system was characterized as pernicious, and the request was made that the statute be repealed or that the practical operation of the law be rendered less dangerous to the lives and properties of citizens. In March a committee of the Assembly reported against "the present plan of employing felon convicts as being highly pernicious to society," and recommended that the necessary alterations should be made in the Walnut Street prison, in order that felons convicted of offenses not capital might be employed. It was also suggested that the workhouse on Prune Street, or so much of it as was necessary, with the benefit of the east yard, should be used as the jail for the confinement of debtors and persons charged with or convicted of misdemeanors, in order that their morals might not be corrupted by a communication with felons. In accordance with these recommendations an act to amend the act for the amendment of the penal laws was passed, as was one to prevent the importation of convicts into the State, which rendered any person convicted of the latter offense liable to an imprisonment for three months and a fine of fifty pounds. The penal laws were amended still further in the following year. On the 13th of March the Assembly passed an act providing that prisoners condemned to labor should be confined in Walnut Street prison in solitary cells or apartments

under the inspection of keepers by day and watchmen at night. The construction of additional cells was authorized, and it was provided that female convicts should be kept separate from the males. The workhouse building was set apart for debtors. One of the clauses provided that convicts who, after having escaped or been pardoned, committed offenses which would have rendered them liable to capital punishment before the passage of the law, should be liable to the same punishment as if the act had never been passed.

On the evening of Saturday, April 17, 1790, occurred the death of Benjamin Franklin, who, after serving as president of the Supreme Executive Council from Oct. 18, 1785, to Oct. 14, 1788, had been living in comparative retirement. During his long residence abroad as the diplomatic agent of the revolted colonies he had been kept too busy to give much attention to matters at home, but immediately after his return to Philadelphia, as we have seen, he was elected chief executive of the State. It was with a glad and grateful heart that he settled down to the enjoyment of that repose which he had coveted so long. In a letter to a friend he wrote, "I am now in the bosom of my family, and find four new little prattlers who cling about the knees of their grandpapa, and afford me great pleasure. I am surrounded by my friends and have an affectionate, good daughter and son-in-law to take care of me. I have got into my niche, a very good house which I built twenty-four years ago, and out of which I have been kept ever since by foreign employments." But his public career was not yet ended. As president of the Executive Council and member of the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, he was called upon to discharge many important and arduous duties, and it was not until 1788, when he was over eighty years of age, that he was able to enjoy to their full extent the comforts of his quiet home in Philadelphia. But never satisfied unless he was at work, Franklin utilized his leisure by employing his tongue and pen in behalf of various projects for the public good; and, reverting to the occupation of his younger days, had a small printing-press set up in his room, with which he amused himself. Here at last, at the age of more than eighty-four years, he quietly expired. "For my personal ease," he had written to Washington in the previous year, "I should have died two years ago, but though those two years have been spent in excruciating pain I am glad to have lived them, since I can look upon our present situation."

On Wednesday, April 21st, the remains of the philosopher and statesman were interred in Christ Church burying-ground, at the corner of Fifth and Arch Streets. The funeral procession attracted an immense concourse of spectators, estimated to have numbered more than twenty thousand, and during its progress through the streets bells were tolled and minute-guns fired. It was headed by the clergy of the city, in-

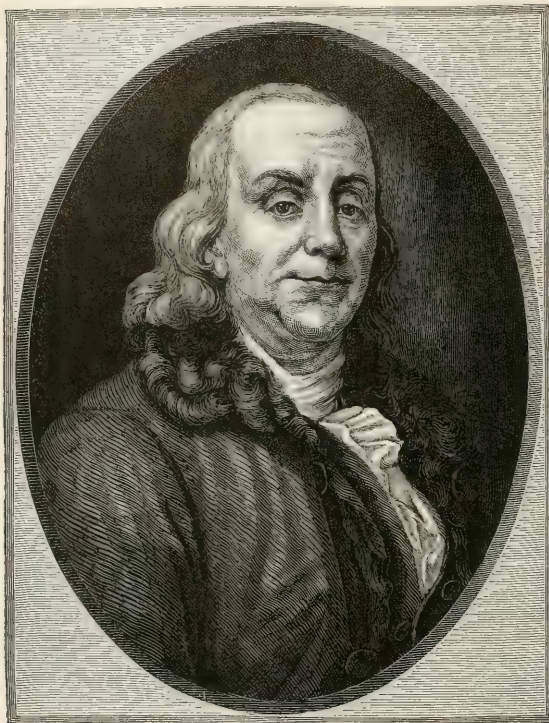
cluding the reader of the Hebrew congregation, and comprised the Supreme Executive Council, the General Assembly of the State, the judges of the Supreme Court, members of the bar, the corporation of the city, the printers of the city with their journeymen

Rittenhouse. Franklin's body was deposited beside that of his wife, near the northern wall of the burying-ground. A plain slab with the simple inscription, "Benjamin and Deborah Franklin, 1790," was placed to mark his grave. Distinguished honors were paid to

his memory by important bodies. In Congress, Madison offered a resolution, which was adopted, declaring that "Benjamin Franklin was a citizen whose native genius was not more an ornament to human nature than his various exertions of it have been precious to science, to freedom, and to his country." The members also resolved to wear mourning for one month. Similar resolutions were adopted by the Supreme Executive Council and the American Philosophical Society; the latter organization deciding that one of its members should be appointed "to prepare and pronounce an oration commemorative of the character and virtues of our late worthy president, Dr. Benjamin Franklin." In France the news of Franklin's death elicited the most extraordinary demonstrations of respect. Mirabeau announced the fact to the National Assembly in a eulogium, in which he described Franklin as "the sage whom two worlds claim, the man whom the history of empires and the history of science alike contend for." At Mirabeau's suggestion, seconded by Rochefoucauld and Lafayette, the Assembly decided to go into mourning for three days. Funeral honors were paid at the Halle au Bled by order of the Commune of Paris. The building was hung with black, a sarcophagus was erected, and from a pulpit constructed for the occasion the Abbé Fauchet delivered an oration, of which twenty-six copies were sent to the United States. At the Café Princepe many "friends of liberty" assembled, and after they had erected a mausoleum in honor of Franklin, one of their number pronounced a

tribute to his memory. A society of printers met in the Hall of the Cordeliers, and gathered around a bust of Franklin, elevated on a pedestal and wearing a civic crown. A printing-press was near, and while an apprentice was pronouncing a eulogy, the composers and others were printing and distributing copies to the persons present.

Franklin bequeathed £1000, or \$4444.44, to the city



B. Franklin

and apprentices, the Philosophical Society, the College of Physicians, the faculty and students of the College of Philadelphia, and various other societies, besides a large number of citizens. The pall-bearers were Hon. Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania, Chief Justice McKean, Thomas Willing, president of the Bank of North America, Samuel Powell, mayor of Philadelphia, William Bingham, and David

of Philadelphia, for the purpose of extending aid in the shape of loans "to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the city, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required by their indentures." Bond was to be given with two sureties for the return of the money borrowed, and no sum greater than sixty pounds was to be loaned to any one person; the loan to be repaid in sums of one-tenth per annum with interest, the money when returned to be lent out to fresh borrowers.

"I have considered," said Franklin, in his will, "that among artisans good apprentices are most likely to make good citizens, and having myself been bred to a manual art (printing) in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune and of all my utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men that may be serviceable to their country."

He calculated that at the expiration of one hundred years this fund, if carefully managed, would amount to £131,000 sterling, or \$581,640, of which he recommended that £100,000 be applied to bringing the waters of Wissahickon Creek into Philadelphia and for the improvement of the navigation of the Schuylkill River. The balance, £31,000, was to be loaned out as before for another century, at the end of which he supposed it would amount to £4,061,000, or more than \$17,000,000, which, according to his directions, was to be divided between the city of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania. Owing to failures to repay the amounts borrowed and the worthlessness of sureties, the fund has not realized the expectations of Franklin, and at the expiration of the first hundred years will fall far short of the sum he anticipated.¹

The republication of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," the greatest literary enterprise that had yet been undertaken in Philadelphia, was commenced in the year of Franklin's death,

by Thomas Dobson, "at the Stone-house," in Second Street above Chestnut. The work with the supplement, twenty-one volumes, was completed in 1803. When the first half-volume was printed, in 1790, there were but two hundred and forty-six subscribers, and only two or three engravers could be procured. Of the first volume one thousand copies were printed, and these having been exhausted when the eighth volume was published, a new edition of the first volume was rendered necessary.

In undertaking a work of such magnitude in a country impoverished by war, and whose educated class was comparatively small, Dobson exhibited a spirit and courage worthy of the highest praise. He was not alone, however, in this respect. During the same year John Churchman, who had invented "variation charts or maps of



GRAVE OF BENJAMIN AND DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

all the northern hemispheres to show the variations of the magnetic needle," petitioned the Assembly for as-

¹ Franklin's home and occupations just before his death are thus described by Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Hamilton Church, Essex Co., Mass., who visited him about that time:

"Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street. His house stands up a courtyard, at some distance from the street. We (Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, and Dr. Cutler) found him sitting upon a grass-plot, under a very large mulberry-tree, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. There was no curiosity in Philadelphia which I felt so anxious to see as this great man, who has been the wonder of Europe, as well as

the pride of America. But a man who stood high in the literary world, and who had spent so many years in the courts of kings, particularly in the refined court of France, I conceived would not be of very easy access, and must certainly have much of the air of grandeur and majesty about him. Common folks must expect only to gaze at him at a distance, and answer such questions as he might please to ask. In short, when I entered his house I felt as if I was going to be introduced into the presence of an European monarch. But how were my ideas changed when I saw a short, fat, trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress, bald

sistance, and a committee reported in favor of subscribing for a number of copies,—an incident showing that the enterprise of publishers was not lacking in substantial recognition. The State and municipal authori-

ties, in fact, and the public at large, were now fully alive to the importance of extending all possible encouragement to efforts for the establishment of new industries and the development of old ones, nor was aught neglected that might contribute to the growth of commerce, manufactures, the arts and sciences, and the material prosperity of the city generally. Among the most important measures in this direction, of course, were those for improving the navigation of the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna, for constructing and improving roads, and for the encouragement of manufactures. In March, 1789, the Assembly passed an act appropriating £10,000 annually for a fund for claims and improvements, opening roads, improving navigation, and encouraging domestic manufactures, and on the 28th of September of the same year an act for the improvement of roads

mate, and short white locks, sitting, without his hat, under the tree, and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy at seeing me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance open, frank, and pleasing.

* * * * *

"After it was dark we went into the house, and the doctor invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high. The walls are covered with book-shelves filled with books. Besides, there are four alcoves, extending two-thirds of the length of the chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest, and by far the best, private library in America. He showed a glass machine for exhibiting the circulation of the blood in the arteries and veins of the human body. . . . Another great curiosity was a rolling-press, for taking copies of letters or any other writing. A sheet of paper is completely copied in two minutes. . . . He also showed me his long artificial arm and hand, for taking down and putting up books on high shelves; and his great arm-chair, with rockers, and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself and keeps off the flies, while he sits reading, with only a small motion of the foot. He showed me many other curiosities and inventions, all his own, but of lesser note. . . . The doctor seemed extremely fond of dwelling on philosophical subjects, particularly natural history, while the other gentlemen were swallowed up with politics. . . . Notwithstanding his age (eighty-four), his manners are perfectly easy, and everything about him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom and happiness. He has an incessant vein of humor, accompanied with an uncommon vivacity, which seems as natural and involuntary as his breathing."

The late Robert Carr, of Philadelphia, in a letter to J. A. McAllister, May 25, 1864, also relates some interesting reminiscences of the latter years of Franklin's life in Philadelphia. As a school-boy Mr. Carr had been the playmate of Franklin's two youngest grandsons. "The doctor's mansion-house," he writes, "was in the centre of a lot of ground, midway between Third and Fourth Streets, about one hundred feet wide, and extending from Market to Chestnut Street. A court or alley, ten feet wide, called Franklin Court, extended from Market Street to the rear of the house, which was built with the front towards Chestnut Street; but some time after it was erected it was discovered that the title to the front of the lot on Chestnut Street was defective, and the doctor, rather than engage in a litigation or pay an exorbitant price demanded by the claimant of the lot, abandoned it, and used the Market Street avenue. (This fact I heard Mr. B. F. Bachs, his grandson, relate to Mr. Volney, the traveler, who inquired why the doctor had built his house fronting the south, to which he had no outlet.)

"The mansion-house was a plain brick building, three stories high, about forty feet front and thirty feet deep, with an entry through the centre. There was a large parlor on the east side of the entry and two rooms on the west side, with a door between them. The kitchen was in the basement, with an ice-house under it. The doctor's office or study was the northwest room on the first floor, and there was a coal-grate, in which he burned Virginia or English coal. Below this room, on the hearth, there was a small iron plate, or trap-door, about five or six inches square, with a hinge and a small ring to raise it by. When this door or valve was raised, a current of air from the cellar rushed up through the grate to enkindle the fire.

"The doctor's bed-chamber was the southwest room on the second floor. There were two cords, like bell-pulls, at the head of his bed. One was a bell-pull, and the other, when pulled, raised an iron bolt about an inch square and nine or ten inches long, which dropped through staples at the top of the door when shut, and until this bolt was raised the door could not be opened. The house was built before the Revolution, but after the war he made an addition to the east end, about eighteen feet wide and thirty feet long. The lower room of this addition was a large reception-room, in which the Philosophical Society met for several years. The second floor was his library, and the third floor lodging-rooms. His son-in-law, Col. Richard Bachs, and family resided in the same house with the doctor.

"The doors of the chambers, and nearly all the doors about the house, were lined or edged with green baize, to prevent noise when shutting, and several of them had springs behind them to close them.

ties, in fact, and the public at large, were now fully alive to the importance of extending all possible encouragement to efforts for the establishment of new industries and the development of old ones, nor was aught neglected that might contribute to the growth of commerce, manufactures, the arts and sciences, and the material prosperity of the city generally. Among the most important measures in this direction, of course, were those for improving the navigation of the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna, for constructing and improving roads, and for the encouragement of manufactures. In March, 1789, the Assembly passed an act appropriating £10,000 annually for a fund for claims and improvements, opening roads, improving navigation, and encouraging domestic manufactures, and on the 28th of September of the same year an act for the improvement of roads

"On the south side of the house there was a grass lot about one hundred feet square, containing a few fine plum-trees, and surrounded on three sides by a brick wall. From the south wall to Chestnut Street there was afterwards a tan-yard and currier's shop. On the north side of the house there was a lot of the same size, extending to the printing-office, which was two stories high, built on each side, and over the court or carriage-way, opening on Market Street. This office he had built on his return from France for his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bachs, with whom I served my apprenticeship. The western room on the lower floor was a type-foundry, the opposite room on the east side of the court was a book-binding. The printing-office was on the second floor, and was furnished with every variety of large fonts of type, from nonpareil to the largest sizes then used for posting bills. The doctor brought them from Paris when he returned in 1785.

"After the doctor's death, in April, 1790, there were a great many articles that had belonged to him stored in the loft over the office, among others a beautiful and valuable orrery (which, I believe, was sent to the Philosophical Society), a great variety of electrical apparatus, and a sedan-chair, in which I have often seen him carried by two men to and from the State-House, when he was president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. This sedan-chair was sent to the Pennsylvania Hospital, where it remained a great many years in the garret; but, on inquiring about it lately, I ascertained that it had been broken up and burned.

"During the latter years of the doctor's life he was afflicted with the gout and stone. For the latter his friends wished him to submit to an operation; but he said that at his age it was not worth while to undergo the pain. Although he suffered much from his affliction, he was remarkably patient and mild. When able to be out of bed, he passed nearly all of his time in his office, reading and writing, and in conversation with his friends; and when the boys were playing and very noisy in the lot front of the office, he would open the window and call to them, 'Boys, can't you play without making so much noise? I am reading, and it disturbs me very much.' I have heard the servants in his family say that he never used a hasty or angry word to any one.

"On one occasion, when his servant was absent, he called me into his office to carry a letter to the post-office. While waiting for it, there was a candle burning on the table with which he had been melting sealing-wax. He told me to put it out and set it away. I took up the candlestick and blew the candle out, when he said, 'Stop, my boy, I will show you the right way to put out a candle. Light it again.' Accordingly, I lighted the candle, and the doctor, taking it out of the candlestick, turned the blazing end down until the tallow had nearly extinguished it, when he quickly turned it up and blew it out. 'Now,' said he, 'it can be lighted again very readily, and the grease will not run down the candle.'

"The doctor was remarkable for always having some kind word of advice or encouragement for those around him. You may recollect the anecdote which has been published of his conversation with the man who was brushing his shoes. 'John,' said the doctor, 'I was once as poor a man as you; but I was industrious, and saved my earnings, and now I have enough to enable me to live in comfort in my old age.' 'Ah! but doctor,' replied John, 'if every one was as saving and as rich as you, who would black your shoes?' "

and navigation. Under the latter act commissioners to view the navigable waters of the State were appointed—Timothy Matlack, Reading Howell, and William Dean—to examine the river Delaware; Benjamin Rittenhouse and John Adlum to inspect the condition of the Schuylkill, and Bartram Galbraith, Samuel Boyd, and Thomas Hulings to view the river Susquehanna. The Schuylkill was examined from "the great falls," five miles above the city, to the town of Hamburg, twenty-three miles above Reading, also the Tulpehocken and the ground between the head-waters of that stream and the Quittapahilla, which communicates with the Susquehanna. The commissioners to view the Susquehanna examined it from Wright's Ferry to its confluence with the Juniata, and the latter from the mouth to Piper's Run.

In his message of Feb. 9, 1790, the President of the State referred these matters to the special consideration of the Assembly, which appointed a committee on the subject. They reported that the surveys had apparently been conducted with great care, and that those rivers might be made navigable with as little difficulty and expense as any in the United States. The committee were of opinion, however, that it was expedient to ascertain the most practicable means of communication between the eastern and western limits of the State, and to determine how the waters of the rivers mentioned could be connected with those of the Allegheny, Lake Ontario, and Lake Erie, and in cases where portage by land would be necessary, to examine the face of the country and report the most suitable place for landings and roads. It was also proposed that commissioners be appointed to examine the land between Quittapahilla and Swatara Creeks; thence by the latter to the Susquehanna, examining from the mouth of the Juniata to Sunbury; thence up the West Branch to the Sinnamahoning Creek; and up the latter to Canoe place, or any other place that would connect with a practicable branch of the Allegheny River, the Consua, or Toby's Creek, or any other discharging in the Allegheny near French Creek. The latter was to be examined up to Lebeuf, and the portage to Presque Isle. The commissioners then, returning down the Allegheny, were to examine the latter from French Creek to the Kiskiminetas, up the latter to the Conemaugh, and up the last to its forks with Stony Creek; from the same to the nearest branches that may be improved by canal or lock navigation to the shortest portage that can be found to the Frankstown branch of the Juniata, near the mouth of Poplar Run, and down the Frankstown branch to the head of Water Street, where the commissioners last year concluded their work.

It was also recommended that commissioners be appointed to ascertain the best road and the distance from the Delaware, near the forks of the Mohawk and Pogaughton branch, to the great bend in the Susquehanna; thence down the latter to the mouth of

the Tioga; and thence to the junction of the east and west branches of the Susquehanna. On their return, the same commissioners were to be directed to examine the Lehigh from its head to the turn-hole, and to examine and explore the Tobyhanna and the Schuylkill from Hamburg to the Tamaguay, or Little Schuylkill.

The Assembly adopted the committee's recommendations, and the Council appointed Timothy Matlack, John Adlum, and Samuel Maclay to examine the waters of the Quittapahilla, Swatara, Susquehanna, Juniata, Sinnamahoning, Allegheny, etc.; and Frederick Antes, Reading Howell, and William Dean for the Lehigh and Schuylkill Rivers. It was many years, of course, before the policy of internal improvements was fully developed. The efforts in behalf of manufactures had more immediate results. The "Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Manufactures and the Useful Arts," established in 1787, with Gen. Thomas Mifflin as president, proved a most useful agent in stimulating local industries. It offered prizes for useful inventions, improvements in machinery, manufactured products, etc., and addressed itself with energy to the task of securing legislation from the Assembly for the protection of manufactures. Machines for carding and spinning cotton were imported from England by the society in March, 1788, and the manufacture of jeans, satinets, and other goods established. On the 26th of March, 1789, the Legislature, at the request of the society, passed an act to assist the cotton manufactures of Pennsylvania, appropriating one thousand pounds as a subscription to one hundred shares of the stock of the society. Another act, designed to encourage industrial enterprise, was passed by the Assembly prohibiting the exportation of manufacturing machines for two years; and a variety of special legislation was enacted in aid of inventors and experimenters. In 1789 the "Manufacturing Society" awarded a prize for painters' colors, and the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture offered premiums for improvements in farming operations. The Philadelphia County Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures, established Aug. 4, 1789, in opposition to the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, admitted none but farmers to membership, whereas the old society had many members who were residents of the city. Both societies, however, rendered valuable aid in promoting scientific agriculture, and in fostering the invention and manufacture of agricultural machines. In March, 1789, the manufacturers and mechanics of the city, Northern Liberties, and Southwark met to consider the propriety of petitioning Congress to lay such duties on foreign manufactures imported into Pennsylvania, as would give a decided preference to American mechanics. The various trades were requested to send delegates to a convention to be held during the following month, but nothing further was done in reference to the matter.

Among the Philadelphia inventors struggling about this time for recognition and aid to carry out their schemes, the most prominent, and perhaps the most unfortunate, was John Fitch, who anticipated Robert Fulton more than twenty years in the application of steam as a motive-power for boats.¹

On the 9th of July, 1790, Congress, then in session at New York, passed a bill selecting the District of Columbia as the permanent capital of the nation; but declaring that for ten years from the end of that session the seat of government should be located at Philadelphia. Under this act Congress assembled in Philadelphia in the following December, and by the close of the year the executive officers of the government had located themselves. According to Biddle's Directory, published early in 1791, President Washington resided at No. 190 High Street, below Sixth, in the mansion built by Richard Penn, and occupied during the Revolution by Gen. Howe, Benedict Arnold, and Robert Morris. Vice-President Adams lived in the Hamilton mansion at Bush Hill. The house No. 307 High Street, northwest corner of Eighth, was occupied as the office of the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson's residence was No. 274 High Street, on the south side, the fourth house west of Eighth Street.²

The Treasury Department had its office in the old Pemberton mansion, No. 100 Chestnut Street, southwest corner of Third Street. The Secretary, Alexander Hamilton, lived at 79 South Third Street,

southeast corner of Walnut, and the Auditor, Oliver Wolcott, at 121 South Third, on the east side, the third house north of Spruce. Wolcott's office was at 44 South Third Street, on the west side, below Chestnut. The Secretary of War, Gen. Henry Knox, resided at No. 120 South Second Street, below Dock. The United States Treasurer's office was at No. 71 Chestnut Street, north side, between Second and Third, and the office for settling accounts between the United States and individual States was at No. 52 North Fourth Street, above Arch. The general post-office was at No. 9 South Water Street, below Market, and the Philadelphia custom-house, Sharpe Delaney, collector, at the southeast corner of Walnut and Second Streets. For the accommodation of Congress the Supreme Executive Council surrendered to the House of Representatives the entire west wing of the State-House. This rendered necessary the removal of several State officers, for whom quarters were procured elsewhere. The rooms at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets were remodeled, and a gallery capable of accommodating three hundred persons was placed in the chamber of the House of Representatives. Work was now commenced on the city hall, at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, and the building was completed during the summer of 1791, and occupied for the first time by the Supreme Court of the United States. A movement was set on foot shortly after the establishment of the seat of government at Philadelphia for providing a permanent residence for the President of the United States. In August the Common Council appointed a committee to ascertain whether the Episcopal school—a fine building on the south side of Chestnut Street above Sixth—could be purchased. In case it was not for sale, the committee was instructed to endeavor to obtain some suitable building elsewhere. On the 31st of December, 1790, the municipal corporation presented a petition to the Legislature stating that suitable accommodations for the President of the United States and the two branches of Congress had been provided, and suggesting that the State of Pennsylvania furnish a suitable mansion for the President and repay the moneys expended by the corporation. The Legislature accordingly appropriated twenty thousand pounds for the purchase of a lot and erection of a house for the President, and £2903 14s. 6d. to the city of Philadelphia for expenses incurred in receiving Congress and providing for its accommodation. The Governor was authorized to borrow twenty thousand pounds, pledging the vendue dues of the commonwealth for the payment of principal and interest; and the act provided that the lot for the building should be situated west of Ninth Street. A lot situated on the west side of Ninth Street below Market, costing five thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds, was purchased, leaving £11,607 10s. 8d. for the building. The foundations were laid shortly afterwards for a building designed

¹ His inventions are more fully treated elsewhere in this work.

² "The building in which Jefferson lived," says Thompson Westcott, "was the very large four-story house on the south side, No. 806, which was once occupied as the Washington Museum, and afterwards as Barrett's Gymnasium.

"Jefferson occupied the whole of this house, and there he gave audience to the many citizens who had business with him. Jefferson, having been ambassador to France, had imbibed some French notions of refinement, which, it may be supposed, did not altogether agree with the simple manners of the age. Among other matters he introduced a fashion of sleeping-apartment altogether unknown to our forefathers. This was by having a recess, for a bedstead, connected with the rooms occupied for every-day business, and which recess might be so closed in daytime that its use would not be suspected. The apartment which was constructed for Jefferson's use was between the breakfast-room and the library, and offered a double convenience, according to the time the philosopher awoke. If he did not unclose his eyes until the tinkling of the bell warned him that the morning meal was ready, he could turn out at once into the breakfast-room. If, however, he awoke before the viands were upon the table he might amuse himself in the library by looking over philosophical works, and by other mental amusements. The house was built by Thomas Leiper. There were stables at the lower end of the lot, which was extremely long, running back to a small street. On the south side of the house Jefferson erected a veranda, which was very pleasant in summer-time. Being of an investigating mind, the philosopher, it is said, while living in the house, tried a philosophical experiment, which did not come up to his theories. It is said that, reasoning on the fact that plants may be preserved in hot-houses in winter merely by the warmth of the sun striking through the glass, the sage of Monticello, arguing on the supposition that men require no more caloric than plants, tried the experiment as to whether he could do without other heat in winter than that yielded by the sun's rays, which were to be admitted by properly fitting up the south veranda. Unfortunately for philosophy, practical knowledge satisfied him that men who walk about are not precisely similar to plants in pots, and the experiment was declared unsuccessful."

to be one hundred feet square, the construction of which was under the supervision of Richard Wells, Francis Gurney, and John Hiltzheimer, appointed for the purpose. The corner-stone bore the inscription, "This corner-stone of the house for the accommodation of the President of the United States was laid on the 10th of May, 1792, when the State of Pennsylvania was out of debt. Thomas Mifflin then Governor of the State." The "President's House," afterwards the property of the University of Pennsylvania, was torn down in 1829.

The convention to frame a Constitution for the government of the State completed its labors on the 2d of September, 1790. On that day the members signed the instrument, after which they went in procession from the State-House to the court-house, where the new Constitution was proclaimed. Provision had been made for the continuance in office, until the new government went into operation, of the Supreme Executive Council and other State officers, but not of the Legislature; and the latter body believing its authority had ceased, did not proceed to the transaction of business on the following day. On the 4th of September forty-six of them signed an address to the people setting forth the status of affairs. On the 7th of December the new Legislature met at the State-House. At the election for State officers under the new Constitution, Thomas Mifflin received in Philadelphia 1434 votes for Governor, and Arthur St. Clair 96 votes. In the county the vote was Mifflin, 1434; St. Clair, 18; and in the State, Mifflin, 27,118, and St. Clair, 2819. On the 21st of December the change of government was formally effected. A procession was formed at the chamber of the Supreme Executive Council, which moved to the old court-house at Second and Market Streets, where the old government yielded up its powers, and the new government was proclaimed. On the 1st of January, 1791, the City Councils, mayor, recorder, and a number of citizens waited on Governor Mifflin and tendered their congratulations.

Among the matters which had demanded the attention of the old government during the last year of its existence was one which related to the extension of the limits of Philadelphia County. A petition from inhabitants of Moreland, Abington, Cheltenham, and Springfield townships, in Montgomery County, asked the Assembly to annex those sections to Philadelphia County, but the measure was declared by a committee of the Legislature to be inexpedient. During this year (1790), also, two hundred and six inhabitants of the Northern Liberties, living between the northern boundary of the city and Pegg's Run and east of Fourth Street, failing to secure the annexation of that part of the county to Philadelphia, petitioned for authority to set up a sufficient number of lamps to light the district and for the appointment of watchmen to patrol it, the cost to be defrayed by equal taxation. Applications for grants of public lands for

the support of free schools were rejected by the Assembly of this year, on the ground that the body of land belonging to the State was too small to permit of such concessions. On the 27th of March an act was passed, supplemental to that for the incorporation of the city, extending power to the municipality to assess and levy taxes for lighting, watching, pitching, paving, watering, and cleansing the streets, and authorizing the mayor and City Councils to regulate the prices to be charged by wagoners, draymen, porters, wood-sawyers, and chimney-sweepers for their services, and to do all that the old boards of wardens and commissioners might have done. The Assembly was also called upon this year to provide a site for the powder-magazine. The Supreme Executive Council had decided that the magazine should be removed to some point outside of Philadelphia. But report was made to the Assembly that a suitable location could not be secured in the county, and it was decided to purchase a lot on the northwest corner of Walnut and Ashton Streets. The dimensions of the magazine were forty feet north and south, and sixty feet east and west. The walls were of stone, from two feet to two feet six inches in thickness, with a four and a half inch wall outside of these, which supported the roof of the house. The house was properly arched, in order to keep all secure and dry. A house for the keeper was provided at the southeast corner of Walnut and Schuylkill Front Streets. The Legislature granted the old powder-magazine to the city of Philadelphia as a house for storing oil.¹

The city was the scene of some stirring events during 1790. The removal of Congress from New York and the proclamation of the new State government have already been noted, and in addition there were the celebration of Washington's birthday, observed on the 11th of February (old style), with an artillery salute fired at noon in High Street by Captain John Connolly's company, and a parade of military, including the companies of Captains Jeremiah Fisher, William Sproat, and William Haley, and the reception of President Washington and family on their arrival from New York. The Fourth of July this year fell on Sunday, and was observed with religious ceremonies. The Society of the Cincinnati met at the State-House, and the members having formed themselves in procession, headed by Thomas Mifflin, President of the Supreme Executive Council, and Chief Justice Thomas McKean, marched to Christ Church, where Rev. Dr. William Smith preached an appropriate sermon. They were accompanied by the city corporation, officers of the militia, Captain Fisher's company of Volunteer Artillery, Captains Reese,

¹ On the 24th of October, Leshar's powder-mill, between Germantown and the Falls of Schuylkill, was blown up, a man and a boy being injured. Two days afterward a workman employed at the powder-mill of Joseph J. Miller, near Frankford, threw a snuff from a candle near some cans containing gunpowder, which caused the explosion of a ton of the material. The author of the accident was horribly mangled, and died in a few minutes. No one else was harmed.

Sproat, and Hodgdon's companies of light infantry, and a number of citizens. On Monday the citizens indulged in various recreations, among which a visit to Gray's Gardens at the ferry on the Schuylkill was especially popular. The grounds, laid out with pleasant walks and ornamented with shrubbery, offered great attractions; among which were artificial islands, waterfalls, bowers and grottoes, with illuminations and fire-works at night. The floating bridge was draped with flags, and the ship "Union," which had been a prominent feature of the Federal procession, was gayly decorated. A "Federal Temple," erected in the gardens, had for one of its ornaments a vault of twelve stones, representing the Federal Union,—the keystone now completed by the accession of Rhode Island. From a grove in the garden there came, at an appointed time, thirteen young ladies dressed as shepherdesses, and thirteen young men attired as shepherds. They proceeded to the Federal temple, where they sang an ode to Liberty, which was diversified with solos, choruses, and responses. At night an illuminated island floated on the Schuylkill. The reception of Washington and his family on the 2d of September was not marked by any incidents of special interest or by elaborate display. They were received at some distance from the city by an escort of troops, which accompanied them to the City Tavern, where an entertainment was served at the expense of the municipality. During his stay in the city, however, Washington was the recipient of many compliments, including a *fête champêtre* at Gray's Ferry, given by the citizens in honor of himself and wife. After a collation there was a concert, followed at night by an illumination of the grounds. On the following morning Washington set out for Mount Vernon.

At the beginning of the year 1791 the Bank of North America abandoned the old system of keeping its accounts in pounds, shillings, and pence, and adopted that of dollars and cents. It was suggested in the newspapers that citizens generally should follow its example, and thus was begun a gradual change which finally resulted in the universal adoption of the decimal system. About the same time was established the famous Bank of the United States. Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, had suggested the establishment of a national bank as an institution which could not fail to be of great benefit in facilitating the administration of the finances and sustaining the public credit. Congress adopted the plan proposed by him, and on the 25th of February, 1791, granted a charter incorporating the stockholders of the proposed institution, under the title of "The President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of the United States." The charter was to remain in force until the 4th of March, 1811, during which time no other bank was to be established by authority of the general government. The capital stock was limited to ten millions of dollars, in shares of four hundred dollars each, payable

one-fourth in specie and three-fourths in stocks of the United States, the government having the privilege of subscribing for stock in the bank to the amount of two millions of dollars. Philadelphia was selected as the headquarters of the bank, but the directors were authorized to establish offices or branches of discount and deposit for the transaction of banking business. Offices were accordingly established at Boston, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Norfolk, and Savannah. Books for subscriptions to the stock of the institution were opened on the 4th of July, 1791, and before night more stock had been subscribed than could be legally issued. On the following day thirty-five dollars was given for scrip upon which but twenty-five dollars had been paid, and in four days the value of the stock had doubled. By the 4th of May the increase in price was three times the sum paid. Speculation was the inevitable result, and large sums of money were realized by those who bought and sold while prices were rising. Towards the end of August the stock sold at two hundred dollars for fifty dollars paid in, but in a few days fell to one hundred and forty-five dollars, and thenceforward continued to decline until it reached its normal value. The bank commenced business in the latter part of December in Carpenters' Hall, and proved, as was anticipated, a most important auxiliary of the United States Treasury.

In the year 1791 was also commenced that system of internal improvements which was destined to bring upon the commonwealth a heavy burden of indebtedness, and to form an important factor in political affairs. The committee appointed by the Legislature, in 1790, to consider the subject of inland navigation submitted a report on the 19th of February, 1791, in which they expressed the opinion that the Delaware River could be made an important channel for the introduction of the trade and produce of New York to Philadelphia by the construction of a portage of nineteen miles and the extension of two other short portages to Lake Ontario. The cost of a safe boat and raft navigation to the northern boundary of the State was estimated at twenty-five thousand pounds. Various interesting facts were stated by the committee in regard to the connection of the Delaware and Allegheny Rivers. In 1790, it was said, one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of wheat had been brought down the Susquehanna, and passed through Middletown for Philadelphia, a large proportion of which came from the Juniata. In 1788 a considerable quantity of flour went up the Susquehanna for the settlers of Northumberland. It was estimated that if the increase should be but one-eighth annually, the total amount of wheat brought down in eight years, ending in 1800, would be two million one hundred and seventy-five thousand bushels, worth at 2s. 6d. per bushel—the price at that time, which was also the price of carriage by land—two hundred and seventy-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-

five pounds for transportation. On the 3d of April a supplementary report was made, recommending appropriations for opening rivers, and that the Governor should be instructed to invite proposals for the construction of canals and locks in and near the waters of the Tulpehocken and Quittapahilla; that a canal should be made from Frankstown to Poplar Run; that proposals should be invited for clearing the Susquehanna from Wright's Ferry to the Maryland line; and that the construction of a turnpike road from Philadelphia through Lancaster to the Susquehanna and other roads in different parts of the State should be contracted for. The committee's recommendations were adopted, and on the 6th of April a bill covering them was passed.¹

In August, Governor Mifflin informed the Legislature that he had made contracts for the improvement of the navigation of the Delaware, Schuylkill, Lehigh, and Lechawaxen, and for opening and improving roads from Wilkesbarre to the Wind Gap, and in other portions of the State. In order to facilitate these and other schemes of internal improvement, an association composed principally of citizens of Philadelphia was formed, with the title of "the Society for Promoting the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation." On the 6th of September the society memorialized the Legislature in favor of the establishment of common roads throughout the State wherever they should be deemed necessary. It also suggested the construction of a canal between the Delaware and Allegheny Rivers, and pointed out the benefits that would result if the Schuylkill were connected with the Susquehanna. In regard to the proposed canal between the Tulpehocken and Quittapahilla, for the building of which no offers had yet been made, it recommended that a company be incorporated with a large capital for the construction of the work. Accordingly, in September an act was passed "to enable the Governor to incorporate a company for opening a canal and lock navigation be-

tween the rivers Schuylkill and Susquehanna, or by the waters of the Tulpehocken and Quittapahilla and the Quittapahilla and Swatara, in the counties of Berks and Dauphin." Henry Drinker, Robert Hare, Joseph Heister, George Latimer, George Fry, and William Montgomery were appointed commissioners to receive subscriptions for one thousand shares of stock at four hundred dollars each, and the subscribers were created a corporation with full power to build the canal, under the title of "The Schuylkill and Susquehanna Navigation Company."

Such was the popular interest in this enterprise that although the number of shares was only one thousand, forty thousand were subscribed for, and it was found necessary to distribute them by lot. A project for another canal, brought forward by Thomas Leiper and John Wall, of Delaware County, was supported by a petition from the Philadelphia stonecutters and masons. Leiper asked permission to cut a canal from the flowing of the tide in Crum Creek, at or near McIlvaine's mill-dam, or W. Leiper's mill-dam, in order to cheapen transportation from his stone quarries to tide-water. The petition was supported by Philadelphia mechanics on the ground that Leiper's stone was the best procurable in the vicinity of the city, and that the canal would be of advantage to the public. In consequence of a remonstrance from John and Isaac McIlvaine, no further action was taken at this session. In March, the Society for Promoting the Improvement of Roads and Inland Navigation suggested the incorporation of a company for the permanent improvement of the Delaware and its branches from Trenton Falls to the northern boundaries of the State, and of another company to complete the improvement of the Schuylkill from the lower falls to the heads of its branches. Favorable reports were made on both propositions in the Legislature, but no definite action was taken. At the session of the Assembly, Dec. 18, 1791, Mr. Wells offered a resolution favoring the construction of a canal to unite the Delaware and Schuylkill near the city, and a committee was appointed to examine the proposed route. This committee reported "that there was a gut a little above Vine Street on the Delaware (Pegg's Run), and a gut a little above Vine Street on the Schuylkill, which might be deepened and united without much probability of meeting obstructions from any body of stone. The highest ground between the situations named, they said, was not more than twenty-seven feet above high water. The committee was unable to determine whether the canal should be supplied with water by a dam on the Schuylkill just below the mouth of the canal, or whether the water of the Schuylkill could be brought from a distance above the mouth of the canal along the banks of the river, to supply it, or whether the small streams in the neighborhood could be relied upon as feeders. They suggested that a bill should be brought in to incorporate a company to build the canal, leaving the mode

¹ Among the appropriations were the following: For the improvement of the Delaware, Lehigh, and Lehigh, and a road from the Delaware to the Susquehanna, near Great Bend, three thousand six hundred and fifty pounds. For the Schuylkill and a road from Reading to Harrisburg, two thousand pounds. For the Susquehanna, from the mouth of the Swatara to the Juniata, from the Juniata to the West Branch, from the West Branch to the Starrucca and Great Bend, one thousand and forty pounds. For the West Branch, from the mouth of the Sinnemahoning to its north branch, thence to Driftwood; for a road from Driftwood to the Allegheny, twenty-three miles; for the Allegheny to the Conewango, French Creek, and a road from the latter to Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, two thousand one hundred and seventy pounds. For clearing the Conewango Falls and down to Wright's Ferry, five thousand two hundred and twenty pounds. For the Juniata and its connecting roads and waters—from the mouth of the Juniata to Water Street; from the latter to Frankstown; thence by road to Poplar Run; thence by road to the Conemaugh, and a road from the forks of the Little Conemaugh to the mouth of Stony Creek; and for improving the Little Conemaugh, Conemaugh, and Kiskiminetus to the Allegheny, ten thousand three hundred and ten pounds. The Governor was also authorized to receive proposals for making sixteen roads in Berks, Dauphin, and other counties up to the Allegheny Mountains.

of supplying it optional with the company. The ground was measured afterward by some citizens, who made out that the highest portion of it was thirty-seven feet above high-water mark. This depth was thought to be too great to dig away with advantage. The feasibility of erecting a dam to back the water of the Schuylkill sufficiently to feed the canal was discussed. It was urged against the plan that the water would cover a large extent of ground, thus injuring many mill-seats and overflowing valuable fields and meadows, and that the dam could not be made strong enough to resist ice and freshets. It was suggested that it would be preferable to take the water of the Schuylkill from a point near Norristown, where the stream was forty feet higher than at Philadelphia. The water could be carried from thence to Philadelphia by a canal, passing the hollows by means of aqueducts. By this method it was thought that the city could be supplied with pure water for drinking and domestic purposes, and dry-docks might also be established. The Legislature passed an act to incorporate a company to construct the canal April 10, 1792, under the title of "The Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Navigation." Power was given to this company to take water from the Schuylkill anywhere between the mouth of Stony Creek at Norristown and the northern bounds of the city, and to conduct the same by a canal along the east bank of the river. The width of the locks at the river was to be thirty feet, and no more water was to be taken than would pass through a thirty-feet water-way. The company was also given power to construct a canal between the Delaware and Schuylkill, to be supplied with water from the streams lying between the Delaware and Schuylkill, and within eight miles from the northern bounds of the city, with authority to conduct the said streams into the canal, and to make dry- and wet-docks, for the accommodation of vessels, near Philadelphia, to communicate with the rivers. There was also added a more important authority, which was given for the purpose of supplying the city with water for drinking and culinary purposes from the canal. Privilege was given to conduct the water, by means of pipes and other conductors, under the public roads, streets, and alleys, and to dispose of it to the citizens at fixed rates.

"About the same time the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Canal Company commenced work at the crown level, or middle ground, between the Tulpehocken and Quittapahilla. The stock—two thousand shares at two hundred dollars each—was soon taken, and the company organized by the election of Robert Morris, president; Timothy Matlack, secretary; and Tench Francis, treasurer. It was resolved to bring the water from the mouth of Stony Creek, near Norristown, on the east side of the Schuylkill. The work was commenced in November, 1792, near Norristown mills."¹

¹ Thompson Westcott.

The construction of the proposed turnpike road from Philadelphia to Lancaster was an undertaking which enlisted the popular interest to a marked degree. Owing to its necessarily heavy cost the Legislature decided it was inadvisable for the State to attempt the work, and accordingly passed an act to enable the Governor to incorporate "a company for making an artificial road from the city of Philadelphia to the borough of Lancaster." The title of the corporation was "The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company." The route extended from the west side of the Schuylkill opposite Philadelphia, so as to pass over the bridge over the Brandywine near Downingtown, thence to Witmer's bridge on the Conestoga, thence to the east end of King Street, Lancaster. There were to be one thousand shares at three hundred dollars each. Full authority was given to the company to enter upon lands, examine the ground and locate the road, compensate owners of property, regulate tolls, fix the width of wagon-wheels to be used in traveling over the road, etc. Books for subscriptions to the stock of the company were opened in May, and two thousand two hundred and seventy-six shares were subscribed, or one thousand six hundred and seventy-six more than were provided for. A lottery was resorted to in order to reduce the number of shares to one thousand, and six hundred of the subscribers were thrown out. The sum of sixty-two thousand two hundred and eighty dollars had been paid in on the subscriptions, but the lottery reduced the amount to thirty thousand dollars. Shares on which but thirty dollars had been paid on installment increased in value within a few days to one hundred dollars each. William Bingham was elected president of the company, William Moore Smith, secretary, and Tench Francis, treasurer. Work was commenced soon afterwards, and the road thus built was the first turnpike constructed in the United States.²

The attention of the Assembly was also directed by the "Society for Promoting the Improvement of Roads," etc., to the necessity for constructing roads from Philadelphia to Reading; from Philadelphia to the Wind Gap in Northampton County; from Philadelphia through Chester to the Delaware State line, and from Philadelphia through Bristol to the falls of the Delaware. Committee reports in favor of granting charters to companies willing to undertake these improvements were made, but no further action was taken by the Legislature at this time.

The legislative measures affecting the local interests of Philadelphia, enacted during 1791, were not specially important. The increase of the Northern Liberties having become so great that the residents in that section of the county had begun to experience the necessity of some form of municipal or borough government, the Legislature was appealed to, and a law was passed March 30, 1791, granting the inhabi-

² Thompson Westcott.

tants of that part of the Northern Liberties between Fourth Street and the Delaware and Vine Street and Pegg's Run, authority to elect three commissioners and a treasurer, with power to establish a public watch, and to set up and keep in repair a number of pumps, to procure lamps, to employ watchmen, and to assess taxes for the same. The question of imposing an excise tax upon distilled liquors was quite prominent in local political discussions about this time. In the Legislature, resolutions opposing the excise passed the House of Representatives, but were lost in the Senate. The system was considered to be of English origin, and this fact added to its unpopularity. At a meeting of the Society for Promoting Domestic Manufactures, held at Germantown, on the 4th of July, at which Dr. George Logan presided, resolutions were adopted opposing the excise, as being "a dangerous violation of our natural and inalienable rights," and declaring that the Legislature had no right to interfere with the use of distilled liquor. An application to the Legislature for power to tear down wooden buildings was refused this year. In their petition the Councils asked for authority to demolish such structures in case of fires, which made it dangerous to leave them standing, and also for power to tear down buildings that were ruinous and in danger of falling. The application was probably suggested by the experience gained in two destructive fires which visited the city this year. On the evening of May 11th fire broke out in a livery-stable, on Dock Street near Third, belonging to Israel Israel, which rapidly spread to other buildings, the majority of which were of wood. About twelve o'clock the part of the square bounded by Dock and Third Streets and Carter's Alley, and a small alley which ran parallel to Second Street, was in flames. From eighteen to twenty houses were burned, and much suffering resulted. Committees were appointed to collect subscriptions for those in distress, and Hallam & Henry gave a benefit at the old theatre on South Street.

In October another fire occurred in Dock Street under circumstances which justified the belief that it was of incendiary origin. Governor Mifflin offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the arrest of the perpetrator; and John Barclay, the mayor, Nicholas Waln, Thomas Fisher, John Morton, Mordecai Lewis, Robert Waln, D. Lenox, and David Lewis agreed to give five hundred dollars more. Four persons were arrested on suspicion, but nothing was proven against them. At a meeting of City Councils, "to consult in relation to the alarming attempts to fire the city," the mayor, John Barclay, and Aldermen Joseph Swift, Matthew Clarkson, and Reynold Keen, were authorized to appoint patrols to guard the city by night and day. A meeting of citizens was subsequently held at Peter Evan's tavern, and the following citizens volunteered to act as patrols: North Mulberry Ward, Thomas Coats, Nathaniel Falconer, Philip Wager; South Mulberry, John Hallowell, Leonard

Dorsey, Jonathan B. Smith; North, Samuel Emlen, Jr., Lawrence Seckel, Israel Wheeler; Upper Delaware, Andrew Hodge, John Montgomery, Bowyer Brooke; Chestnut, John Dunlap, William Lane, William Poyntell; South, Charles Marshall, Joseph P. Norris, Raper Hoskins; Dock, Joshua Gilpin, David Lewis, Joseph Few; Lower Delaware, Elliston Perot, Nathan Field, Chalmers Allen; Middle, Charles Jarvis, Andrew Tybout, George Bickham; Walnut, Casper Morris, Samuel Coates, John Shields; New Market, Francis Gurney, James Moore, John Clement Stocker; High Street, William Hall, Zachary Collins, Jacob Baker. These patrols kept watch for some days, when, no further attempts to commit arson having been made, they discontinued their services. Subsequently, William Dillon, a boy of twelve years of age, arrested and tried for setting fire to the stables of several citizens, was acquitted of arson, but pleaded guilty of setting fire to the store of John M. Jones and the stable of David Lenox. He was fined five shillings and condemned to two years' imprisonment, and to give security for good behavior for seven years.

The abuses in the management of the debtors' department of the jail was the only other subject of local interest that is worthy of mention in the legislative records of 1791. In a special message to the Legislature in December, Governor Mifflin called particular attention to these abuses. Among the evils cited was the "want of a provision for maintaining the prisoners," and the lack of a competent allowance for the service of the keeper, who was permitted to increase the emoluments of his office by vending liquors to the prisoners. Debtors, he added, were permitted to languish in jail without clothes, food, or fire, while those confined for crimes "enjoyed every supply that was requisite to maintain life." He recommended that provision be made for the maintenance of prisoners, and that the jailer be given an adequate salary in order that every pretence for his keeping supplies for the prisoners might be taken away.

President Washington's birthday this year was observed by the firing of salutes and by the official attentions of the heads of the national departments, foreign ministers, officers of the army and navy, State authorities, etc., who called upon him to tender their congratulations. The President held a levee, at which "one hundred ladies, elegantly if not superbly dressed, graced the ball-room, and twice that number of gentlemen made their appearance during the evening." On the 2d of March an eulogium on Franklin was pronounced at the German Lutheran Church on Fourth Street by the Rev. Dr. Smith, at the request of the American Philosophical Society. Among those present were President Washington and wife, Vice-President Adams and wife, members of Congress and the State Legislature, Governor Mifflin, and others. The Fourth of July was celebrated this

year by a fête, given by the Messrs. G. and R. Gray at their gardens. During the entertainment a disturbance occurred, during which several persons were thrown into the river but escaped drowning, and many were badly hurt. Two days later the return of Gen. Washington from the South, after a short absence, was signalized by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon. Governor Mifflin's birthday, August 1st, was observed in a similar manner.

The most important event of the year 1792, so far as Philadelphia was concerned, was the passage of the act for the establishment of the United States Mint. Ten years before, on the 21st of February, 1782, Congress had resolved to establish a mint, but the design was not at once carried into execution owing to the difficulty experienced in procuring artists and workmen. On the 16th of October, 1786, a resolution was adopted directing that the law of February, 1782, should be carried into effect, but it was found impossible to do so at that time. On the 2d of April, 1792, an act was passed providing that the mint should be established at Philadelphia, and during the summer and fall a building was erected on the east side of Seventh Street above Sugar Alley, afterward known as Farmer Street, and now Filbert Street. In October coining was commenced.

The acrimonious discussions and abusive newspaper controversies which had characterized the local politics of Philadelphia had now given place to milder methods of dealing with public affairs, and such had been the subsidence of popular feeling, and so general the concurrence in the results of the Revolution, that parties had almost ceased to exist, and there seemed to be a practical unanimity of political sentiment. During 1792, however, a difference of opinion arose on the question as to how candidates for office should be nominated. The Legislature had passed a law providing for the election of members of Congress and Presidential electors on a general ticket to be voted for throughout the State. Washington was the only candidate for President, and although some opposition to John Adams, the candidate for Vice-President, had been developed, it was not of a formidable character. No question of personal preference therefore, so far as the two principal candidates were concerned, was involved, and the difficulty arose from a difference of opinion as to the proper mode of nominating the candidates for electors and Congressmen. A meeting of citizens was held at the State-House on the 27th of July, Hon. Samuel Powell presiding, and William M. Smith secretary, to consider the action of a preliminary meeting at which Matthew Clarkson had presided, and Benjamin R. Morgan had acted as secretary. Both Clarkson and Morgan absented themselves from the second meeting. At the preliminary meeting it had been proposed that conferees should be appointed by the citizens of each county, who were to select a ticket. This suggestion had not been adopted; but an effort was now made to revive it.

At the second meeting (July 27th) it was decided that conferees ought to be appointed. Another meeting was called for the 30th at the State-House yard. At this meeting Judge Wilson was chosen temporary chairman, and Robert Henry Dunkin acted as secretary. Samuel Powell claimed the right to act as chairman, but was resisted by Judge McKean. Robert Morris and John Barclay were then proposed for chairmen by the contending factions, one side favoring the conferee method, the other side urging the appointment of a committee of correspondence to transmit letters to all parts of the State, in order to ascertain the views of citizens and settle upon a ticket. Judge McKean, who supported the committee of correspondence plan, was finally placed in the chair, whereupon the advocates of the conferee system withdrew. The meeting then reversed the action of the former meeting in favor of conferees, and appointed a committee of correspondence, consisting of Chief Justice McKean, James Hutchinson, A. J. Dallas, John Barclay, Hilary Baker, and Jared Ingersoll, who were directed to correspond with persons in all parts of the State, and procure the names of individuals suitable for Presidential electors and members of Congress. These names, when procured, were to be submitted, without the influence of selection or comment, "to the deliberate consideration and unbiased suffrage of the people." A meeting of the opposition was held at Eppelsheimer's tavern on the 4th of August, and resolutions calling for a conference at Lancaster of representatives from all the counties were adopted. A committee, composed of George Latimer, Robert Waln, William Lewis, Israel Whelen, William Rawle, Richard Wells, Hilary Baker, John Wilcocks, and Benjamin R. Morgan, was appointed to correspond with the leading citizens of the various counties on the subject of a conference, and to invite their opinions as to the best way "to produce a wise and virtuous representation for the Congress of the United States, and a proper choice of electors for the President of the United States." Delegates were chosen in the different counties, and when the conference assembled at Lancaster on the 20th of September, it was found that Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, York, Berks, Northampton, Montgomery, Dauphin, and Delaware Counties were represented. The conference nominated a Congressional ticket, upon which Thomas Fitzsimons and Thomas Scott were candidates for Congress from the city and county of Philadelphia. The electoral ticket was headed with the name of James Ross, of Washington. A few days afterwards the committee of correspondence issued a circular, stating that they had addressed letters to five hundred and twenty citizens of the State, residing in the different counties, and to the foreman of each grand jury, for himself and his associates. From the replies which they had received they undertook to say that it was the sense of the people of Pennsylvania that the electoral ticket headed

by Thomas McKean would be most agreeable to them. This ticket was eventually presented as that of "the friends of the rights of man," while the other, headed by Joseph Ross, was not honored with any distinctive title. The tickets were different throughout; but in the sequel it was proved that the people, not recognizing the subject as one of a party nature, elected some of the nominees on each ticket. There was no difficulty as to the choice of Washington; and, although Adams was denounced as an aristocrat, he received every vote in the electoral college of Pennsylvania but one.

At the election in October the ticket for Congress headed by the name of William Findley received 2179 votes in the city and 1140 in the county, while the ticket headed by Thomas Fitzsimons received 1372 votes in the city and 506 in the county. The electoral ticket headed by William Henry received 812 votes in the city and 210 in the county, while the ticket headed by William Todd received but 222 votes in the city and 47 in the county.

Public attention was somewhat distracted from home affairs about this time by the exciting events of the French revolution. Louis XVI., who seemed to have yielded to the demands of his people, was exceedingly popular on that account as well as because of his active interposition on behalf of the United States during the Revolutionary struggle, and at the Fourth of July celebration was toasted by the Society of the Cincinnati, and the Seventh Battalion of militia, Lieut.-Col. Coats commanding. On the 14th of July, the first anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille was celebrated in Philadelphia with a public demonstration. The shipping along the river front was gayly decorated with flags, and salutes were fired from the French vessels, of which there were several in the harbor. A public entertainment was served at Oeller's Hotel, at which a number of toasts complimentary to the French king and people were drunk, and the officers of Col. John Shee's Fourth Philadelphia Regiment celebrated the occasion with a dinner at Ogden's Hotel, on the Schuylkill, at Market Street.¹

Among the other local events of the year were the entertainments of the dancing assemblies and a visit of Indian chiefs, who came to pay their respects to the Federal government. The old City Dancing Assembly, which gave a ball on the 21st of February in honor of the birthday of President Washington, was composed chiefly of members of old and aristocratic families, who were disposed to be exclusive; while the new City Dancing Assembly, which gave a similar entertainment on the 22d, was principally made up of active tradesmen, who had been unable to obtain admission to the older organization. There was considerable rivalry and ill-feeling between the two assemblies, and Washington prudently attended both entertainments, proposing at each the toast "The State of Pennsylvania." The Indian deputation consisted of forty-seven members, including Oghayewas, or Farmer's Brother, first sachem of the Senecas, Long Plover tribe; Kanodington, first sachem of the Buffaloes, Snipe tribe; and Sagoyewetha, or Red Jacket, first sachem of the Wolf tribe; together with representatives of the Beaver tribe, Cayoges, Onondagoes, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Stockbridges. They were received at the State-House by Governor Mifflin, in the presence of a number of ladies and other spectators. A few days afterwards they gave an exhibition of war-dances, and about a week after the formal reception Red Jacket made a speech expressing their gratification at the civilities shown them.²

The year 1793 derives a ghastly pre-eminence in the annals of Philadelphia from the yellow fever epidemic of that year. During the early part of the summer the disease had been raging in the West Indies, and in July vessels were allowed to come to the Philadelphia wharves without sanitary inspection or quarantine. The fever first made its appearance during the same month in a lodging-house on Water Street, but it was not until the middle of August that its progress began to attract attention. The first official measures in relation to the disease were taken by the mayor, Matthew Clarkson, on the 22d of August, and four days later the physicians united in an address to the public defining the nature of the disease, and recommending measures of precaution and the

¹ "The militia at this time," says Thompson Westcott, "was kept up with vigor, and those who composed it were proud of its discipline and influence. The officers participated in all public ceremonies, and were anxious to omit no proper occasion when they could appear."

² "In November, a meeting of the officers of the militia of the city and liberties was held at the inn of Michael Kitta, to hear the report of a committee previously appointed, to determine on what occasions it was proper for them to assist in public testimonials. Col. Williams was in the chair; and Col. Shee, on behalf of the committee, made report as follows:

"1. That the characters to whom it is incumbent to manifest such attention are the President of the United States and the Governor of the State.

"2. That the time to present our respects is upon the anniversaries of those days on which happened events auspicious to our rising empire.

"3. As long as this city contains the seat of the general government we will annually wait on the President on the Fourth of July, in commemoration of an era at once propitious to our country and glorious to

him who so eminently contributed to its establishment. We will assemble at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, with side-arms and the uniforms of our respective corps. The Governor on such occasions will be requested to precede us.

"4. At the same time and hour, on the 2d of September, the anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, we will assemble to congratulate the Governor on the event.

"5. We will attend the funerals of commissioned officers of the militia, and will provide ourselves with uniforms."

² During their stay in Philadelphia, Ogihets, or Peter Jaquette, one of the chiefs of the Oneidas, died. He had accompanied M. de Lafayette to France on the latter's return from the United States, and had been educated in that country. The funeral procession from Oeller's Hotel to the Presbyterian burying-ground in Mulberry Street, where the remains were interred, was escorted by a detachment of the City Light Infantry, and among those present were the Secretary of War and a number of army officers.

proper remedies for the treatment of the disease. When the people began at length to realize the alarming character of the disease, a panic ensued, and about the 25th of August a general exodus of the population commenced. Among those who remained the consternation was extreme; and, as the disease progressed, terror and dismay were visible on every hand. Mayor Clarkson remained at his post, and through his efforts a committee of citizens was organized to assist the overseers of the poor in their ministrations to the sick and dying. Subsequently another committee was formed, to which were intrusted all the arrangements relative to succoring the sick, providing physicians, nurses, etc. Other measures were taken from time to time to check the spread of the pestilence and provide for the destitute; and among those who remained in Philadelphia were many noble-hearted men and women, who devoted all their energies, their time, and their money to the work of relieving the general distress. Many succumbed to the disease; among these self-sacrificing spirits were ten clergymen and ten physicians. The epidemic lasted from the 1st of August to the 9th of November, during which period the number of interments in the city, according to the returns from the graveyards, was 4044. According to Mathew Carey, however, the real number of interments was about 5000. During the prevalence of the fever about 17,000 persons, it has been computed, left the city, and during the period of greatest mortality there were fewer than 23,000 persons in the city. Assuming that the deaths numbered 5000, the rate of mortality was in a fraction of twenty-two per cent. The pecuniary loss to Philadelphia has been estimated at from \$1,750,000 to \$2,000,000.¹

While the epidemic was at its height the embarrassments of the local authorities were increased by the necessity of providing for a large number of French refugees from St. Domingo, who arrived in Philadelphia early in August. These unfortunate persons had been driven from their homes by the insurrection of the negroes, and on their arrival in the United States found themselves in a destitute condition. About six hundred of them came to Philadelphia and were hospitably treated. The French Patriotic Society contributed eight hundred dollars to their relief, and subscriptions were obtained in various quarters which swelled the fund to eleven thousand dollars. It was estimated that fourteen thousand six hundred dollars more would be required, of which four thousand dollars would be needed to pay the passage of those who wished to go to France, and three thousand dollars of those who desired to return to St. Domingo. Additional subscriptions were obtained, but the increasing severity of the yellow fever doubtless interfered with the full accomplishment of the design.²

The proceedings of the Legislature during this year related to a number of matters of more than ordinary interest to Philadelphians. In April a bill was passed directing that a road be laid out from Philadelphia to York through West Chester and Strasburg, crossing the Susquehanna at Blue Rock; and a petition was presented for the establishment of a turnpike road from Chestnut Hill, through Germantown, to the city of Philadelphia. The committee of the Legislature reported in favor of its being laid out from the city to the ten-mile stone, adding that "if carried through to Bethlehem" it would "be beneficial," and recommended that it should be built to Chestnut Hill first, and extended to Bethlehem in ten years afterwards. Remonstrances, born of a growing hostility to special legislation, were presented to the Assembly, not only against the proposed Chestnut Hill turnpike, but also against the different canal and turnpike companies already in existence, as being vested with privileges in derogation of the rights of the people. The principal grievance seemed to be that the corporations were authorized to enter upon the lands of citizens and take possession of them for their own purposes. In consequence of the opposition thus developed the Chestnut Hill turnpike project was temporarily abandoned. The Legislature this year (March 30th) chartered another bank,—the Bank of Pennsylvania,—which was expected to "promote the regular, permanent, and successful operation of the finances of the State, and be productive of great benefit to trade and industry in general;" and passed a new militia act, which provided that the volunteers of the city and county of Philadelphia were to form one division and two brigades. Under this law Governor Mifflin appointed James Irvine major-general of the first division, composed of the city and county of Philadelphia; Thomas Proctor, brigadier-general of the city brigade; B. I. Nicholas, brigade inspector; Jacob Morgan, brigadier-general of the county brigade; and Joseph Key, brigade inspector. The Legislature also passed a law authorizing the enlargement of the court-house building at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, in order to provide additional accommodations for Congress. An appropriation of \$6666.67 was made, part towards completing the President's house, and the remainder for taking out the south wall of the court-house, extending it forty feet on Sixth Street, and erecting a gallery in the Senate for the accommodation of spectators, if the United States Senate should resolve to sit with open doors. On the 3d of April the Assembly

lin. and Joseph Sanson trustees to distribute two thousand five hundred dollars among the French refugees, "excepting so far as can benevolently be done such persons as, having slaves, do by any act or device contravene or evade the law of this State made and provided for the abolition of slavery, so as, contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, to deprive the persons by them so held or claimed as slaves of their just rights to freedom." In January, 1796, one thousand dollars were appropriated to the same trustees for a like purpose, and in January, 1797, the sum of one thousand dollars.

¹ For a detailed account of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, see the chapter in this work on the Medical Profession.

² In February, 1795, the Legislature appointed Godfrey Haga, Edward Penington, Robert Ralston, S. P. Griffiths, Joseph Lownes, Samuel Meek-

passed a resolution directing the Governor to have additional buildings erected, adjoining the south side of the wings of the State-House, for the accommodation of the land office, rolls office, and treasury, and for the safe-keeping of records and public papers of the commonwealth; also to erect an additional building at the west end of the State-House for the accommodation of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The resolution, however, does not appear to have met with the approval of the Senate.

The popular interest in ballooning experiments, which had been somewhat checked by the disaster which had overtaken the Carnes aerostat in 1784, was revived in Philadelphia in 1793 by the arrival of Blanchard, the famous French aeronaut. Blanchard's popularity was enhanced by the fact that his devotion to the principles of freedom had caused his imprisonment in the fortress of Kufstein, and he was thus enabled to appear in the dual rôle of a daring experimenter and ardent patriot. He secured the yard of Walnut Street prison as the place from which to make the ascent in his balloon, early in January, and a subscription at five dollars per ticket was set on foot to secure him from loss; but the desired amount not having been obtained as soon as expected, second-class tickets at two dollars each were issued. On the 9th of January, the day appointed for the ascension, an immense concourse assembled at the jail-yard and vicinity. Within the inclosure there were several hundred spectators. Capt. Fisher's company of artillery was stationed in the prison-court, and on the arrival of President Washington, at nine o'clock, a salute of fifteen guns was fired. Two guns were subsequently fired every fifteen minutes until the time of the ascension. At five minutes after ten o'clock, Blanchard, having received a paper from Gen. Washington, took leave of the spectators and sprang into his boat, which was spangled and painted blue. The balloon, which was of yellowish silk highly varnished, was covered with a strong network. Blanchard was dressed in a plain blue suit, with a cocked hat and white feathers. On entering the boat he threw out a portion of the ballast and the balloon began to ascend, the aeronaut waving the United States flag and the tri-color of France. As the balloon rose the spectators cheered, cannon were fired, and an inspiring air was played by the band. Blanchard's voyage lasted forty-six minutes, during which he traveled fifteen miles, descending a little to the eastward of Cooper's Ferry, N. J. At half-past six o'clock on the evening of the same day he reached Philadelphia and paid his respects to President Washington. The success of the experiment elicited many flattering notices of Blanchard in the newspapers; but these did not compensate him for the pecuniary loss which he sustained. He had calculated on gaining nearly three thousand dollars by the exhibition, the expenses of which were represented to be twenty-five hundred dollars. Instead of realizing the amount needed, he

represented that the whole sum received for tickets and subscriptions was but four hundred and five dollars. His expenses were five hundred guineas, so that he fell short several hundred guineas.

Joseph Ravara, consul-general of Genoa, started a subscription to reimburse Blanchard, but succeeded in raising only two hundred and sixty-three dollars. Blanchard, however, determined to make another ascension, and fixed the 30th of May for the trip. He selected Rickett's Circus, southwest corner of Twelfth and Market Streets, as the place from which to make the ascension, and fixed the price of admission at one dollar. In the mean time Governor Mifflin had, "for the encouragement of science," given Blanchard permission to erect a temporary rotunda or exhibition-room on the Governor's lot, on the south side of Chestnut Street, between Seventh and Eighth. Blanchard advertised that he would exhibit at this place the balloon with which he intended to make his forty-sixth ascension, accompanied by Joseph Ravara. While it was displayed there it became injured and broken by stones thrown against it from the outside, and the ascension did not take place. On the 5th of June, Blanchard sent up from his rotunda a balloon and parachute. The latter had in its car a dog, a cat, and a squirrel. A slow match was fixed so as to burn off the rope which suspended the car when the balloon was at a certain distance in the air. This was done, and the balloon fell into the Delaware at Five-Mile Point, and the parachute descended near Bush Hill. Blanchard again complained that, although one hundred and fifty dollars were received for admission to the rotunda, he was not compensated for his outlay. The number of outsiders was, as usual, immense. Nevertheless, another exhibition was given June 17th. The rate of admission was fifty cents. The balloon fell in Arch Street, near Fifth, and the parachute, with the animals, in the Friends' burying-ground, at Arch and Fourth Streets. The result was similar.

On the 20th Blanchard gave another exhibition, and on this occasion had the satisfaction of seeing his rotunda filled with spectators. He also exhibited models of balloons and philosophical apparatus, and a "wonderful carriage" propelled by an "automaton in the shape of an eagle chained to the tongue of the carriage and guided by the traveler." This vehicle, which ran without the assistance of horses, traveled "as fast as the best post-chaise," and could "not only travel on all roads, but likewise ascends any mountain which is accessible to any common carriage."¹

¹ In an advertisement headed "A curious carriage," Blanchard made the following announcement: "Monday, the 20th August, at half-past five o'clock, at his rotunda, on Governor Mifflin's lot, Philadelphia, Mr. Blanchard will make two experiments—the one of natural philosophy, and the other of mechanism. An air balloon of eleven thousand four hundred and ninety-eight cubic feet will be filled with atmospheric air in the space of six minutes (instead of ten hours, which were required formerly) by the help of a machine which he has invented and but

In 1794, Blanchard advertised that he would make his forty-sixth ascension if it were possible to obtain twelve pipes or cylinder tubes six feet in length. By such means he declared it would be practicable for him to fill his balloon with gas in two days. Subsequently he announced that he would be unable to make the ascension in consequence of the defectiveness of the tubes, and declared that he would henceforth cease to attempt aerostation in the United States "until the arts are brought to such perfection as to furnish him with the means necessary to success."

During 1793 and 1794 the people of Philadelphia were excited to a high pitch of enthusiasm by the events of the French revolution, which in the winter of the former year had reached its culminating point with the execution of Louis XVI. We have seen that only a few months before that unfortunate monarch had been the object of the warmest encomiums on the part of Philadelphians; but now the sympathies of the great majority of the citizens were wholly with the French republicans. Such, indeed, were the excesses indulged in for the purpose of testifying the general devotion to the principles of the revolution, that it is difficult to realize at this day that they could have been committed or tolerated in staid Philadelphia. As the French republic was then at war with England, the sympathy exhibited by the United States toward France naturally aroused the deep resentment of the British government, and led to offensive measures on the part of the latter, which finally necessitated the passage of the embargo laws. The first of the series of popular demonstrations in Philadelphia following the declaration of the French republic was an entertainment given at Oeller's Hotel, on the 1st of January, 1793, by a number of Frenchmen and Americans in honor of the recent successes of the French armies. Hodgkinson, the comedian, sang a patriotic song, and a number of toasts were drank. The persons present organized the "*Société Française des Amis de l'Égalité*," of which P. Barrier was elected president, and A. C. Duplaine, secretary. A number of Frenchmen had previously held a meeting, at which they had resolved to open subscriptions for the relief of their distressed fellow-citizens of France then in Philadelphia, and to organize a society to be known as the "*Société Française de bien Faisance*." John de Ternant, the French minister, was soon after elected president.

Other celebrations in honor of the new republic were held on the 6th of February. At an entertainment at Hyde's inn on that day, thirteen toasts expressive of sympathy with the Revolutionary party were drunk; and at the City Tavern a dinner was given for the purpose of celebrating the victories of the French armies over the Austrians and Prussians. At the latter entertainment Governor Mifflin, the French

minister, De Ternant, and the French consul-general, De La Forest, the officers of the city militia, and others were present. At the head of the table stood a pike bearing the cap of liberty and the French and American flags entwined, surmounted by a dove bearing the olive-branch. After the drinking of toasts, singing of songs, etc., the officers with the band proceeded to the house of the French minister, where the band played "Ça Ira" and Yankee Doodle. The French Society held a celebration on the same day.

The effect of these demonstrations, and of the importation of radical notions from the French democracy, was to arouse a feeling of hostility to ceremonious form and display on the part of public officers. Thomas Jefferson had returned from France strongly impregnated with the advanced views of "fraternity and equality" which were being so savagely exploited there, and his great influence was thrown in the scale in favor of the French extremists. Such was the feeling excited on the subject that an effort was made in Congress to substitute for the head of Washington on the national coins "an emblematic figure of Liberty," which after a stubborn contest between the Senate and House was successful.² Objection was

¹ The *Aurora*, Sept. 29, 1891, contained the following strange account of the origin of this song, which probably was furnished by Mrs. Duane from a statement made by her father:

"When Dr. Franklin was at Paris, and heard of the success of the American armies under Gates, Greene, and Washington, his usual explanation to those around him was *ça ira*, which is, in literal English, 'go on,' or 'let them go on,' meaning thereby that success must attend such perseverance and valor. The venerable doctor was then the subject of general admiration and esteem at Paris, and these words, when the enthusiasm in favor of America was so high, became words of popular exclamation, or cant words. When the Bastille was demolished, those who recollected the enthusiasm connected with the words *ça ira* during the American revolution adopted and applied them to popular purposes in the French, and Dr. Franklin's exclamation of *ça ira* became the theme of the first popular song composed in the French revolution."

² This requires explanation. There never was a coin bearing a likeness of Washington issued as money under the authority of the United States of America. The first coin struck out by authority of the United States Mint was a copper cent, in October, 1793. It was commonly called the "chain cent," and bore as a device a head of the Goddess of Liberty, hair streaming backward freely and unbound. On the reverse was a circle of fifteen links formed into a chain. Another variety of the same general design, with a wreath substituted for the chain, was issued in the same year. The first half-cent of 1793 was of the same style, with a wreath instead of a chain. The first silver dollar and half-dollar, struck in 1794, had a head of Liberty, tresses loose and falling below the neck. On the reverse an eagle with outstretched wings standing on a rock. The first half-dime, in the same year, had the same device. The first dime, in the same year, was in general design like the dollar of 1793. The first gold eagle and half-eagle (1795) had a head of Liberty wearing the liberty cap. Three types of the cent were issued in 1791, having busts of Washington; they were got up as pattern-pieces under the mint authority but by private contracts. John Harper, sawmaker, at Sixth and Cherry Streets, coined them. But they met with Washington's disapprobation; and at his suggestion the device was rejected and the dies subsequently broken. Another pattern-piece, design, or bust of Washington (legend, "G. Washington I.") was issued in 1792 from a design of Peter Getz, of Lancaster, Pa. This was struck in an old coach-box, on Sixth above Chestnut, by John Harper, in presence of Adam Eckfeldt, afterward coiner at the mint. Some specimens in silver were struck, but Washington disapproved. Another type with bust of Washington was struck in 1792, and a half-dollar of yet

lately brought to perfection. The eagle fixed to the carriage beginning its flight, the carriage will come out from it, stand and run round the place, carrying two persons."

also made to the President's levees, his ceremonious intercourse with the public, and his employment of a coach as a means of conveyance. It was charged that he held himself aloof from the people, and that he would not visit the Coffee-House and mingle with the people. The old Assembly having postponed their ball until President Washington's birthday, the action of the managers was criticised on the ground that it savored of undue deference. It was also urged that the officers of the militia ought not to wait upon him on his birthday, and any celebration of that event was denounced as idolatrous. Notwithstanding these objections, guns were fired and bells rung on the 22d of February, and the usual parade of the militia took place. In the evening a ball and supper were given at Oeller's Hotel.

On the 4th of March, Washington again took the oath of office as President of the United States, and no details of the ceremony of reading his inaugural address before Congress were omitted. He proceeded to the State-House "in an elegant white coach, drawn by six superb white horses, having on its four sides beautiful designs of the four seasons painted by Cipriani."¹ As the coach-door opened two gentlemen, with long white wands, emerged, and with some difficulty opened a passage-way through the concourse of spectators for the President. Washington was dressed on this occasion in a full suit of black velvet, with black silk stockings and diamond knee-buckles. His shoes, "brightly janneped, were surmounted with large, square silver buckles." His hair was powdered and gathered behind in a black silk bag, on which was a bow of black ribbon. He carried in his hand a cocked hat, decorated with the American cockade, and wore a light dress-sword in a green shagreen scabbard, with a richly-ornamented hilt.

Ternant, the French minister, was recalled during the winter of 1793, and Citizen Genet, a violent Republican, was sent out in the frigate "L'Ambuscade" to take his place. Genet arrived at Charleston in April, where he had undertaken to authorize the fitting out of privateers and the enlistment of sailors in the United States. Genet brought with him official notification of the fact that France had declared war against England, but the news had reached New York by British packet five days before his arrival at Charleston. The situation was the subject of deep concern to Washington and his cabinet. By the treaty of commerce the right of shelter was guaranteed to French privateers and prizes,—a right not

conceded to nations at war with France,—and the United States were pledged to protect the French possessions in America. The question arose, however, whether this agreement held good under the change of government in France, and it was finally decided to issue a proclamation of neutrality and to receive the new minister of France.

The frigate "L'Ambuscade," after landing Genet at Charleston, had set sail for Philadelphia. On her way up the coast she captured seven prizes, with which she arrived at Philadelphia on the 2d of May. She was greeted with a salute from two field-pieces which had been placed on Market Street wharf. Genet made the journey from Charleston to Philadelphia by land. On the 16th of May he was met at Gray's Ferry by a great concourse of citizens, who escorted him into the town. In the evening a meeting was held at the State-House, Charles Biddle presiding, and Robert Henry Dunkin acting as secretary, at which a committee, consisting of David Rittenhouse, Alexander J. Dallas, Dr. James Hutchinson, Peter Stephen Duponceau, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, George Fox, and William Barton, was appointed to prepare an address to the new ambassador. On the following day, after the address had been adopted, the persons composing the meeting formed themselves in line, and, with Charles Biddle at their head, proceeded to the City Tavern, where they were introduced to Genet. The latter declared that he was overcome by this manifestation of good-will, but he recovered sufficiently to make a suitable reply, which was afterwards reduced to writing. He was also waited upon by the French Benevolent Society, on whose behalf P. S. Duponceau made an address, to which the minister replied, and by the German Republican Society. These demonstrations, and the attentions he received at the hands of individuals, encouraged Genet in his efforts to obtain substantial aid and recognition from the American government. His effrontery soon became insufferable. On his official presentation to Washington, May 18th, perceiving in the vestibule of the President's residence a bust of Louis XVI., who had been guillotined a few months before, he complained that its retention in such a conspicuous position was an insult to his government, by whom the execution of Louis had been ordered. His pretensions, however absurd they may appear at this day, were in a measure justified by the extravagant attentions which he continued to receive at the hands of the people of Philadelphia.

A few days after his arrival a civic entertainment was given at Oeller's Hotel, at which the guests were Genet, the officers of "L'Ambuscade," and officials of the Federal and State governments. Charles Biddle presided, and Dr. James Hutchinson acted as vice-president. Each toast was greeted with a salute from Capt. Fisher's battery of artillery, and after the eleventh toast Citizen Genet sang the "Marseillaise" "with great judgment and animation." When all

another type (bust of Washington in uniform) in the same year, as also two varieties of a Washington cent. Who struck them or where they were issued is not known. They are all regarded as pattern-pieces. Other pieces, coppers, medalets, and tokens, with busts of Washington in copper, were issued in 1791, 1795, 1800, etc. They were never legalized as currency, and their coining were private speculations. (See further "American Numismatics" Manual," by Montroville W. Dickeson.)

¹ "Recollections and Anecdotes of the Presidents of the United States," by Arthur J. Stansburg.

the regular toasts had been drunk, the red cap of liberty was placed on Genet's head, and then, successively, on the heads of all present. As an antidote to the intoxicating draughts of "liberty and equality" which the people were eagerly quaffing, three hundred of the merchants and traders of the city presented an address to President Washington urging him to issue a proclamation of neutrality, and pledging themselves to assist in its enforcement, and the birthday of George III. was celebrated by a public dinner at Richardet's tavern. The tenth toast at this dinner was "The Cap of Liberty: but may those who wear it know that there is another for licentiousness." An incident which occurred soon after the arrival of the frigate "L'Ambuscade" compelled the municipal authorities to take decisive action. There were many English sailors in port at the time, and collisions between them and the French sailors were of frequent occurrence. Finally, on the 27th of May, a party of Englishmen, who had attacked a similar party of Frenchmen, were overpowered by the latter, assisted by citizens, severely beaten, and carried as prisoners on board "L'Ambuscade." After being held for a time they were released, "just at the moment," said Bache's *Advertiser*, "when they (the French) received information of a horrid plot among the English to assassinate all the French who were found alone in the streets." The mayor deemed it advisable to apologize to Genet for the failure of the authorities to prevent or suppress the riot, but the City Council, taking a more sensible view of the affair, expressed the opinion that the presence in port of armed vessels of nations at war would be a fruitful source of trouble, and resolved that a committee be appointed with the proper authority "in order to procure a standing order that all ships of war or privateers be directed to moor in the lower part of the port of Philadelphia, and not higher up the river than the borough of Chester." On the day on which this riot occurred Citizen Bompard, commanding "L'Ambuscade," gave an entertainment on board that vessel to the French minister, the Governor of the State, and other citizens. As the Americans were about to leave Dupont, the boatswain, addressed them on behalf of the crew in a "patriotic" speech.

The Fourth of July this year was celebrated more as a French than an American holiday. On that day the first Democratic society established in the United States was organized, with David Ritzenhouse as president, William Coates and Charles Biddle vice-presidents, J. Porter and Peter S. Duponcau secretaries, Israel Israel treasurer, Dr. James Hutchinson, Alexander J. Dallas, Michael Leib, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, and David Jackson committee of correspondence.

The members of the society, together with those of the French Patriotic Society, celebrated the anniversary by a dinner at George Lesher's tavern, No. 94 South Second Street. The officers of the Fourth

Regiment dined at Ogden's, Middle Ferry, and in the evening proceeded to the house of the French minister, where an address was delivered, which was properly responded to by Genet. A "select company" in Passunk township also participated in an entertainment, at which toasts to the French republic and Citizen Genet were drunk. The anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, July 14th, was celebrated by the officers of the Second Regiment of militia by a dinner at Weed's Ferry. Genet and Governor Mifflin were among the guests, and "it was probably at this dinner that the head of a pig was severed from its body, and being recognized as an emblem of the head of the murdered king of France, was carried round to the guests. Each one, placing the cap of liberty upon his head, pronounced the word 'tyrant!' and proceeded to mangle with his knife the head of the luckless creature doomed to be served for so unworthy a company."¹

The Federal government was not infected by the popular enthusiasm on behalf of the French revolutionists, but wisely sought to avoid embarrassing entanglement and to preserve the neutrality which it had proclaimed between France and her enemies. An English vessel, the "Grange," was captured by the French frigate "L'Ambuscade" in the Delaware, and an earnest protest to the French minister on the part of the American government resulted in the release of the vessel and cargo. Another English vessel, the "Sally," also captured by "L'Ambuscade," could not make out so good a case, and having been condemned, was fitted out by the French as a privateer in the port of Philadelphia, under the name of "Le Petit Democrat." As this was a clear violation of the neutrality proclamation, the State authorities undertook to prevent the departure of the vessel, and notified M. Genet that if necessary force would be resorted to. Genet replied in indignant terms, and asserted that President Washington had acted without authority in proclaiming neutrality without the formal consent of Congress. If the latter body, when it met, supported Washington's cause, he would withdraw, leaving the dispute to be adjusted by the two nations themselves. He peremptorily refused to enter into any negotiations for suspending the departure of the "Petit Democrat," and threatened if an attempt were made to seize her to repel force by force. Finally, however, Genet promised that the vessel should not sail without the consent of the authorities; but the vessel sailed, notwithstanding, a few days afterwards. Meanwhile a committee of merchants had been appointed at a meeting held for the purpose, which had waited on Governor Mifflin and urged that every effort be made to preserve neutrality. A subscription was also set on foot to raise six thousand dollars for the defense of the port.

¹ Thompson Westcott.

The Federal government supplemented the efforts of the State authorities in a vigorous manner. A British ship, the "William," arrived at Philadelphia in May as a prize of the French privateer "Citizen Genet," under the charge of two American citizens, Gideon Henfield, of Salem, Mass., and John Singletary, of South Carolina. Henfield and Singletary were arrested for violating the neutrality law, a proceeding which called forth a furious protest from Genet and a demand for their release. The Federal authorities remained firm, however, and Henfield was brought to trial in July, but acquitted. Genet at once gave a dinner, the guests being invited to meet Citizen Henfield, who had been "formally taken under the protection of the French republic." Henfield again took service with a French privateer, but was captured soon afterwards by a British cruiser and imprisoned. The ship "William" was placed in charge of a guard of militia, which was subsequently withdrawn in pursuance of an arrangement with the French minister. An attempt of the "Jane," an English armed vessel, to increase her armament at Philadelphia was resisted by the State authorities, and the British minister, Mr. Hammond, consented to her departure without increasing her force. In order more effectively to enforce the neutrality regulations, Governor Mifflin ordered a battery to be erected at Mud Island, which was garrisoned by companies of the city militia. The latter, however, sympathized with the French to such an extent that their services were almost perfunctory. On one occasion the "Sans Culottes," a French privateer sailing up the Delaware with a prize, was brought to and subjected to a formal examination at the fort, after which she took her departure with her prize, amid the cheers of the garrison. In August the Legislature appropriated five thousand dollars for the erection of a battery on Mud Island. On the anniversary of the abolition of royalty in France, Sept. 20, 1793, two French frigates in port, "La Precieuse" and "La Ville D'Orient," were decorated with flags and fired salutes, the patriotic societies uniting in a celebration at Richardet's, at which one of the toasts was, "The guillotine to all aristocrats."

Meanwhile, the French privateers were inflicting serious damage on American commerce by overhauling and capturing American as well as British vessels whenever it suited them. British cruisers were committing similar depredations, and on the 13th of August a meeting of Philadelphia merchants was held, at which a committee was appointed to collect information respecting the capture or detention of vessels belonging to citizens of the United States by cruisers of nations at war, and to lay the same before the President. The committee consisted of John Nixon, Thomas Fitzsimons, John Wilcocks, John Swanwick, John M. Nesbitt, Joseph Crawford, Joseph Bull, Francis Gurney, James Vanuxem, Magnus Miller, Robert Wain, Walter Stewart, and Robert Ralston.

Meanwhile, the struggle between the executive authority of the general government and the French faction, headed by Genet, was being carried on with rapidly accelerating bitterness. Genet's pretensions were supported not only by a strong popular element, but by an influential political faction headed by Jefferson, who, although a member of Washington's cabinet, was also head of the opposition. Freneau's *Gazette* and the *General Advertiser*, both published at Philadelphia,—the latter becoming afterwards the famous *Aurora*, published by Bache, a grandson of Franklin, who, educated in France, was an enthusiastic advocate of the new order of things in that country,—assailed the government with great vindictiveness, and assured Genet that the people were his friends, and that he had only to stand firm in order to obtain what he wished.¹

It was about this time that the name Democrat, derived from the Democratic Society which had been formed in Philadelphia in imitation of the political clubs of Paris, was first introduced as a party appellation into American politics. A long time elapsed, however, before it was accepted by any but the more ultra portion of the opposition. "It was never recognized by Jefferson; and even of these societies, several preferred to call themselves Republican. It was only in combination with that earlier name that the epithet Democratic came into general use, the combined opposition taking to themselves the title of Democratic Republicans."²

The embarrassing position in which the general government found itself was aggravated not only by the equivocal course of Jefferson and his followers generally, but by the conduct of many leading Pennsylvanians, who openly espoused the cause of France, and declared themselves in favor of war with Great Britain. Among these were Governor Mifflin, Chief Justice McKean, Frederick A. Muhlenberg, David Rittenhouse, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, and Alexander J. Dallas. Under their leadership and that of prominent men in other States, the organization of Democratic societies and the stimulation of public sentiment in favor of France were vigorously prosecuted. The newspaper attacks on Washington and his advisers grew more and more violent, and the embarrassments of the administration continued to multiply. Finally, in view of Genet's increasing insolence, it was determined to demand his recall. Public opinion now began to change, and ere long the government found itself supported by the great mass of the people, who readily perceived that the intemperate conduct of the French partisans, if unchecked and permitted to influence the policy of the government,

¹ Washington was greatly annoyed by these attacks. In a letter to Henry Lee, he wrote: "The publications in Freneau's and Bache's papers are outrages on common decency." And Jefferson quotes him with charging "that rascal Freneau" with "an impudent design to insult him."

² Hildreth's History of the United States, revised edition, vol. i. p. 425.

could not fail to involve the country in a war with Great Britain. In August Genet repaired to New York,¹ where he was received with ringing of bells and firing of cannon; but on the day of his arrival there, a public meeting was held, at which the policy of neutrality was strongly indorsed. Similar action was taken shortly afterward in many cities and towns, and the hands of the government thus immeasurably strengthened. On the other hand, Genet continued to be the recipient of flattering attentions in Philadelphia.

On the 1st of January a meeting of the Second Regiment of Philadelphia militia, Col. John Barker commanding, adopted an address congratulating Genet on the prospect of the establishment of a permanent republic in France; and on the 6th of February the anniversary of the alliance between France and the United States was celebrated by the officers of the regiment at Richardet's Tavern, Ninth above Arch Street. On the latter occasion the crew of the French vessel "Ville D'Orient" marched to the tavern headed by a band of music, and bearing the French and American colors, which were afterwards presented to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and delegates of the French Patriotic Society were present. On the same day the latter society gave a dinner at Oeller's Hotel, and a few days later the commander of the "Ville D'Orient" entertained a number of Americans and Frenchmen on board that vessel. In the mean time Genet's recall had been conceded, and on the 22d of February M. Fauchet, the new French minister, arrived at Philadelphia. The President's birthday was celebrated as usual by the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the beating of drums. His *levee* was largely attended, and in the evening the President and his wife were present at the ball of the City Dancing Assembly, which terminated with a grand supper.

CHAPTER XX.

PHILADELPHIA FROM 1794 TO THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

MEANWHILE the relations between the United States and Great Britain were becoming more and more unsatisfactory. It was not to be expected that the British government would view with equanimity the violent demonstrations in Philadelphia and elsewhere in favor of a nation with which it was at war; and it was only natural that it should fail to encourage a very

nice or rigorous discrimination between French and American property in its seizures of vessels on the high seas. So flagrant, indeed, became the aggressions of the British cruisers, that on the 13th of March, 1794, a meeting of merchants and traders was held at McShane's Harp and Crown Tavern, Third Street below Arch, with Stephen Girard as chairman, and Robert McKean as secretary. It was resolved that owners of American vessels had a right to reimbursement of losses from vexation or spoliation by cruisers of Great Britain or other nationalities, and that additional imposts should be placed on goods from States so offending. On the 18th a more general meeting was held in the State-House yard, at which the acts of hostility complained of as having been perpetrated by Great Britain, were thus described: "It appears that Great Britain," said one of the clauses of the preamble,—

"... uniformly actuated by an ambitious and vindictive policy, and equally regardless of positive compact and of general law, has denied the rights, attacked the interests, interrupted the pursuits, and insulted the dignity of the United States; inasmuch as she has arbitrarily refused to surrender the Western posts, conformably to the express stipulations of treaty; she has clandestinely fomented and maintained a savage war upon the frontiers of the United States, contrary to the dictates of justice and humanity; she has insidiously let loose the barbarians of Africa to plunder and enslave the citizens of the United States; she has arrogantly attempted to prescribe boundaries to the American commerce; she has basely authorized piratical depredations to be committed by her own subjects on the ships and citizens of the United States; she has violently seized and sequestered the vessels and property of the citizens of the United States to the value of several millions of dollars; she has insultingly imprisoned and meanly reduced or forcibly impressed into her service the seamen of the United States to the number of several thousand citizens; and she has contemptuously disregarded the reiterated complaints which such complicated injuries have produced."

In view of these grievances it was resolved that the citizens of the city and county of Philadelphia, being duly impressed with the injuries and insults which Great Britain has offered to the rights, commerce, and character of the United States, ask and expect, from the wisdom and patriotism of the general government, and they hereby pledge themselves cheerfully to support with their lives and fortunes the most expeditious and the most effectual measures (which appear to have been too long postponed) to procure reparation for the past, to enforce safety for the future, to foster and protect the commercial interests, and to render respectable and respected among the nations of the world the justice, dignity, and power of the American republic. It was also resolved that the general government be urged to extend to France and citizens every favor which "friendship can dictate and justice can allow," and that measures should be adopted "to prevent more of our property from falling into the hands of Algiers or of Britain;" that "duties and prohibitions ought immediately to take place on British ships and manufactures until reparation for the losses of our citizens can be obtained, and the just claims of America to the surrender of the Western posts be complied with. The chairman having called the attention of

¹ During the French minister's absence, a number of sailors—a portion of the crew of the French frigate "Jupiter," which had mutinied—came to Philadelphia, and at Ge et's request were arrested by the State authorities. They were met at Kensington by companies of the city militia, taken into custody, and escorted to Walnut Street prison, where they were confined.

the meeting to the condition of American citizens enslaved at Algiers, it was resolved that "a committee of five citizens be appointed to prepare a plan for soliciting donations from all benevolent and patriotic freemen for the purposes of establishing a fund to relieve and redeem our unfortunate fellow-citizens who, sailing on board of vessels belonging to the port of Philadelphia, have been captured and enslaved by the Algerine or any other piratical State."¹

The committee reported at an adjourned meeting held on the 24th of March, suggesting the appointment of a committee of five citizens in each ward to solicit subscriptions, and a board of trustees to superintend the distribution of the Algerine fund. The persons chosen as trustees were George Latimer, John Barclay, John Swanwick, Jacob Morgan, Thomas Mifflin, George Meade, Thomas McKean, Israel Israel, Alexander Boyd, Caleb Lownes, John Dunlap, Robert McKean, and Stephen Girard. A benefit in aid of the fund was given at the new theatre by Wignell and Reinagle, which realized nine hundred dollars, and a ball given by Monsieur Sicard, for the same charitable object, netted sixty dollars and fifty-six cents.

Measures of retaliation had already been proposed in Congress, and the excitement against Great Britain was intensified by the reception of news that a British Order in Council, dated Nov. 6, 1793, but only just made public, had directed British cruisers to stop, detain, and bring into port all ships laden with goods the produce of any French colony, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of such colony. Simultaneously with the adoption of this order an expedition was dispatched for the conquest of the French West Indies. Great excitement was caused in Philadelphia by the news of this action on the part of the British government, and on the 26th of March Congress passed a resolution laying an embargo for thirty days on American vessels bound to any foreign port or place, which term was afterwards extended for another period of thirty days ending on the 25th of May. On the 4th of June the President was authorized, at his discretion, to lay an embargo which might expire fifteen days after the beginning of the next session of Congress. The embargo caused considerable dissatisfaction among the sailors, many of whom were thrown out of employment. On the 13th of April a large body of them paraded the streets, and apprehensions of a riot were felt, but Governor Mifflin induced them to disperse. The militia, however, were called out, and measures taken for the defense of the city. In addition to the embargo, Congress adopted measures for strengthening the military forces

of the country, and the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act on the 28th of February for raising troops for the defense of the Delaware and the western frontiers. A company of artillery was ordered to be raised, of which John Rice was captain, John Hazlewood, Jr., lieutenant, and John Salsberry ensign. The company held possession of the fort at Mud Island during the summer and fall, and in December the act raising the company was revived, and the time of service extended. In pursuance of the act of Sept. 4, 1793, appropriating five thousand dollars for the purpose, a battery was erected on Mud Island by Peter Charles L'Enfant, engineer, and on the 16th of April, 1795, the property of Mud Fort was ceded by the State of Pennsylvania to the United States. This work was afterwards known as Fort Mifflin.

The state of popular feeling towards Great Britain is indicated in the character of the celebrations of public anniversaries during this year. On the 1st of May, St. Tammany's day, there was a demonstration, which was conducted "with great ceremony" by the Democratic and German Republican societies and citizens at the country place of Israel Israel, three miles from the city, in "honor of the late successes of their French brethren." *Bache's Advertiser*, published that day, suggested that it was time for Americans "to put away the old cockade borrowed from a nation that formerly tyrannized over them. Let them form a new one from the colors of their national flag. There will be a similarity between it and the French, as between the flags of sister republics. Let there be a difference of colors. The French run circular; let the American be striped from the centre to the circumference, alternately red and white, with a blue star in the middle. It is proposed that the Democrats who meet to-day shall provide themselves each with one." The suggestion was probably carried out, and is worthy of note as marking the beginning in the United States of the custom of wearing badges as designations of political preferences. After the dinner at Israel's mansion the citizens, of whom some eight hundred were present, formed themselves in double line before the house, and Blair McClenachan, as president of the Democratic Society, in which office he had succeeded David Rittenhouse, "gave the fraternal embrace" to the French minister, Fauchet, "amid the animated joy and acclamations of the whole company." From Israel's they marched in procession back to the city, escorted by a volunteer company. At the house of the French minister they partook of refreshments, and proceeding thence to the State-House were dismissed. Two days later another banquet in honor of French victories took place at Dalley's tavern, in Shippen Street, between Third and Fourth, at which Governor Mifflin and M. Fauchet were present.

In the hope of averting war with England, President Washington dispatched Chief Justice Jay as a special

¹ The Philadelphia vessels captured by the corsairs up to this time were these: Ship "Dauphin," Capt. Richard O'Brien, captured July, 1785; eight of the crew redeemed, seven died. Ship "Minerva," Capt. John McShane, captured Oct. 18, 1793; of the crew, fifteen living, two died. Ship "President," captured October, 1793, Capt. William Penrose; the crew eleven in number.

commissioner to that country. The appointment was very obnoxious to the Democratic element, which charged him with having bartered away the rights of the United States to a free navigation of the Mississippi River in the treaty with Spain, and predicted that the negotiations he was about to make with England would prove equally disadvantageous to his own country. After his departure from New York on the 12th of May, his effigy was exhibited in Philadelphia, having been "ushered forth from a barber's shop amid the shouts of the people," and, after having been guillotined, was blown up with gunpowder.¹

On the Fourth of July the Ciceronian Society held a celebration a short distance from the city, and among the toasts were: "May tyrants never be withheld from the guillotine's closest embraces," and "May the link which unites Americans and Frenchmen never be cast asunder by the *aqua fortis* of British intrigue." The officers of the Second Regiment dined at the "Swan Tavern," on the banks of the Schuylkill, Passyunk, and the toasts proposed were of a strong Gallic tendency. The Society of the Cincinnati, which dined at Richardet's, avoided the expression of partisan sentiments, and the Delaware pilots, who had an entertainment at Isaac Fish's, on the Jersey shore, were very moderate in their toasts. Ten days later the anniversary of the French alliance was celebrated with a military parade, artillery salutes, and an entertainment given by the shipwrights and carpenters. So strong was the anti-British sentiment that a medallion inclosing a profile bas-relief of George II., surmounted by a crown, which had been permitted to remain on the eastern front of Christ Church throughout the Revolution, was removed by the vestry in obedience to intimations published in Bache's *Advertiser* to the effect that if it was not taken down it might be done for them.²

The demonstrations this year in honor of the French republic culminated in "a grand festival" on the 11th of June, "to celebrate the abolition of despotism in France." At daybreak a salute of ten guns was fired from two field-pieces worked by French and American gunners, and at an early hour a large number of persons had assembled in Centre Square, the officers and volunteers in uniform, but without arms. An obelisk adorned with insignia of liberty, with the colors of America and France draped beside it, was

raised in the middle of the square; and young girls and boys dressed in white, with tri-colored ribbons, and holding baskets of flowers, were grouped about the pedestal. Fauchet, the French minister, and his suite were greeted on their arrival with cries of "Long live the French republic and the United States!" French and Americans "mingled together in the most fraternal manner," and the "Carmagnole" was danced. At a signal of ten guns a procession was formed, the line being headed by two pieces of artillery drawn by French and American gunners. The obelisk was carried by four Frenchmen and four Americans in uniform wearing red liberty caps, and surrounded by the young girls and boys. A French National Guard followed carrying a pike crowned with the liberty cap, and supported by bearers of the ensigns of the two nations. The French minister and officers of the State and city government came next, and after them an immense number of persons, Americans and Frenchmen, arm in arm, holding branches of oak in their hands. In this order they proceeded to the house of M. Fauchet, at the southeast corner of Twelfth and Market Streets. In the centre of a large grass-plot a statue of Liberty surmounting an altar had been erected upon a platform. Stationed upon this eminence, Citizen Choland delivered an oration in French, which was responded to by Citizen Fauchet, who at the end took the oath "to support the republic, one and indivisible." The Frenchmen present also swore to support the republic, and live freemen or die. The young girls strewed flowers upon the altar. The persons present sang the "Marseillaise" hymn in grand chorus. The ceremonies at this place ended by dancing the "Carmagnole." At Richardet's a feast was prepared, at which there were five hundred guests. The usual ceremonies on such occasions took place, and the proceedings closed by dancing around the tree of liberty. In the evening fire-works were exhibited at the house of the French minister. As an accompaniment to the excitement of the day, the British flag was publicly burned in Market Street.

The year 1794 was also signalized by the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, which for a time diverted the attention of the people of Philadelphia from foreign politics. A reign of terror was established throughout Western Pennsylvania, and the authority of the general government set at defiance. Washington applied to Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania, to suppress the insurrection and re-establish the reign of law, but Mifflin returned an evasive answer, alleging his inability to comply. His refusal determined Washington to assume the whole responsibility and to act with promptness and decision. Accordingly, on the 7th of August, he issued a proclamation requiring the insurgents to desist from their opposition to the laws, and made a requisition on the Governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia for thirteen thousand troops, afterwards in-

¹ Referring to the excitement which prevailed in Philadelphia during 1793-94, John Adams, in a letter to Thomas Jefferson many years afterwards, said,—

"You certainly never felt the terrorism excited by Genet in 1793, when ten thousand people in the streets of Philadelphia day after day threatened to drag Washington out of his house and effect a revolution in the government, or compel it to declare war in favor of the French Revolution and against England. The coolest, the firmest minds, even among the Quakers in Philadelphia, have given their opinions to me that nothing but the yellow fever, which removed Dr. Hutchinson and Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant from this world, could have saved the United States from a fatal revolution of government."

² The image and crown were for many years in possession of the Philadelphia Library Company, but are now in the vestry-room of the church.

creased to fifteen thousand, and on the 8th of August "general orders" were issued by Governor Mifflin calling out five thousand two hundred militia of the force of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the requisition of the President of the United States. Maj.-Gen. William Irvine was appointed to the command of the State troops, and Brig.-Gen. Thomas Proctor to the command of the brigade composed of the troops of the city and county of Philadelphia and the counties of Montgomery, Chester, and Delaware, in all eighteen hundred and forty-nine men. The quota of the city, or First Brigade, was five hundred and fifty-nine men; of the county, five hundred and forty-four men.

On the 1st of September the Legislature was convened in special session by proclamation of the Governor. He stated the facts in his message, and called upon the members for speedy action against the insurgents. The matter was referred to a committee, which recommended an appropriation of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars to defray the expenses of the Western expedition. The bill was passed September 19th, and the Governor was authorized to engage the services of troops for four months. On the 9th of September, Governor Mifflin requested the officers of the city and county brigades to meet him at the council chamber, City Hall. Here he made a speech, setting forth the views of President Washington and the necessity of immediate action. Through a defect in the military laws the militia could not be drafted; but through the personal exertions of Governor Mifflin volunteers stepped forward amounting altogether to one thousand men, being twice as many as it was then considered would be necessary from Pennsylvania. The Governor's tent was pitched near the Lancaster road, on the west side of the Schuylkill, Col. Clement Biddle being deputed to lay out the encampment. Capt. Jeremiah Fisher's company of artillery was first to offer its services. Capt. Chandler Price's light infantry was early among the volunteers. Maj. Macpherson raised a company in four or five days, about one hundred and fifty in number. This organization was called "Macpherson's Blues," and was the beginning of a military organization afterwards extended to a regiment, having in it companies of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, the members of which were Federalists in politics. The uniform of the Blues was blue cloth pantaloons, round jacket faced with scarlet, and white buttons. Capt. Taylor's rifle company adopted the same costume. On the 19th the First City Troop, Capt. Dunlap, and the cavalry corps of Capts. Singer and McConnell, about one hundred and sixty strong, marched from Market Street, near Twelfth, to Carlisle, by the way of Norristown, Reading, and Harrisburg. Scott's light infantry, with the artillery companies and ten six-pounders and five three-pounders, crossed the Schuylkill at the Middle Ferry two days afterward and marched up the Ridge road to Norristown, and so on to the place

of rendezvous. The next morning Col. Gurney's regiment, embracing grenadiers and light infantry, with baggage, marched by the same route. The light infantry encampment on the Lancaster road, containing about four hundred men, was broken up on the 22d, and the troops marched by way of Lancaster. Macpherson's Blues followed, one hundred and forty strong. Afterwards, at camp, the Blues, Taylor's rifles, Graham's and Clunn's artillery, and McConnell's, Singer's, and Dunlap's horse were formed into a regiment, of which Macpherson was elected colonel. Before these soldiers left the city a meeting was held at the court-house to devise means to support the families of citizens who were upon the expedition, whose maintenance depended upon the labors of those thus suddenly called away. John Wilcocks was chairman and Robert Ralston secretary. Godfrey Haga, William Montgomery, Israel Whelen, Andrew Bayard, James Cox, Levi Hollingsworth, John Phillips, and John Barclay were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions. They collected \$3249. Of this sum families in North Mulberry Ward received the greater part, \$1162.14 being distributed there. Lower Delaware Ward received but \$6; South Ward, \$505.99; and New Market Ward, \$650.

Gen. Stewart remained in military command of the city during the absence of the Governor, with power to assist the civil authorities in the preservation of order. After a brief campaign, attended by slight loss of life, the troops dispatched to Western Pennsylvania succeeded in completely subduing the rebellion and re-establishing the rule of the lawful authorities. Macpherson's Blues returned to Philadelphia on the 10th of December, being received with salutes of artillery, and the cavalry companies of Dunlap, Singer, and McConnell reached the city on the 28th.

The movement for the abolition of slavery had been making quiet progress during all these years, and on the 1st of January, 1794, a convention was held at Philadelphia, by invitation of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, of delegates from all the societies for the abolition of slavery throughout the United States. At this convention two memorials were adopted, one to the Legislature of Pennsylvania and the other to Congress, asking the adoption of suitable laws to protect the African race and to suppress the slave-trade. The petition to Congress, which related principally to the slave-trade, was referred to a committee, which made a report recommending the passage of a law against the fitting out of any ship or vessel in any port of the United States, or by foreigners, for the purpose of, procuring from any part of the coasts of Africa the inhabitants of the said country, to be transhipped into any foreign ports or places of the world to be sold or disposed of as slaves. The law, as finally passed on the 22d of March, rendered the vessels prepared for such service liable to forfeiture, made all persons concerned in fitting them out liable to a fine of two thousand dollars each, and compelled

owners, masters, or factors of foreign vessels who were suspected of intending to turn them into slavers to give bond that the vessels should not be employed for such service. Another convention of abolition societies was held on the 1st of January, 1796, Theodore Foster, of Rhode Island, presiding and Thomas P. Cope secretary, at which an address was adopted to the free negroes of the United States, recommending attention to religious duties, the cultivation of habits of industry, abstinence from the use of spirituous liquors, and the acquirement of a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia again during 1794, and also in 1795, 1796, and 1802, but during the three years from 1794 to 1796, inclusive, Philadelphia newspapers carefully avoided any reference to its existence, and a rigid quarantine against infected ports was maintained. Besides enacting a quarantine law the Assembly of 1794, on the 22d of April, passed a supplement to the act for the appointment of wardens of the port, by which the new office of harbor-master was created. He was authorized to superintend the execution of all laws of the commonwealth, of the city corporation, and of the wardens of the port, in relation to the regulations of the port, for cleansing docks and wharves, and preventing nuisances thereat by burning or breaming vessels, or otherwise; to regulate the stationing and anchorage of vessels in the stream or at the wharves; and to regulate the time during which vessels might lie at the wharves to discharge cargoes or take them in; with power to remove vessels, when necessary, and to permit others to take their places. His fees were specified in the law at one dollar for each voyage made by vessels, except coasters under one hundred tons.

In August of this year was formed the "Philadelphia Society for the Information and Assistance of Persons emigrating from Foreign Countries," of which John Swanwick was elected president, Thomas Newnham treasurer, Naphthali Phillips secretary, Henry H. Heins register, Dr. A. Blaney physician, T. W. Tallman and W. Franklin counselors. The contributions were one dollar per year, and charitable donations were received.

The City Council was mainly occupied this year with legislation in regard to yellow fever and modes to prevent its recurrence. In January it was ordered that "five water-carts be provided to cause the streets to be watered and cleaned," and sheds to accommodate three of them were built on the northeast corner of Potter's Field (now Washington Square). In November it was determined that the most eastwardly of the city lots on Lombard Street, between Tenth and Eleventh, south side, should be fenced in and interments made there instead of in Potter's Field; but the action of the Councils was for a time a dead letter, and burials continued to be made in the old ground. The Councils also passed a resolution in June of this year,

directing that "a stone or column," having a base with four sides and forming an exact square, should be placed in the centre of the public square at Broad and Market Streets, as a standard from which the measurement and regulation of the streets and courses might be made. In December it was determined to extend the market-house on High Street from Fourth to Fifth Street. The district of Southwark, by an act of the Legislature passed on the 18th of April, had been erected into a corporation, with fifteen commissioners, who were empowered to employ a watch and to have the streets lighted, paved, and cleaned, to erect market-houses, school-houses, and public buildings, and to levy taxes. The first election was ordered to be held at the house of Catharine Fritz. In accordance with this act and prior laws a road had been laid out from Moyamensing road, opposite Brocken's gate, by the Buck Tavern to the ferry over the Schuylkill to States Island; also a street from the river Delaware at or near Prime Street, and parallel or nearly parallel with Cedar Street, to the Gray's Ferry road, which the commissioners named Federal Street. Authority was given, in 1796, to the county to lay taxes to pay for the cost of opening these highways.

The recall of Genet and the failure of the Whiskey Insurrection, which had been secretly countenanced by some of the leaders of the radical faction of the Democratic Republican party, were severe blows to the French sympathizers in Philadelphia. Both of these incidents demonstrated that Washington's government was firmly seated, and able to maintain itself in the face of popular clamor, and that while the administration lasted, it would be futile to endeavor to embroil the country with the enemies of France. When, on the 1st of July, the terms of Jay's treaty with England were made known by a publication in Bache's *Advertiser*, a violent opposition to its ratification was at once developed. On the Fourth of July, the militia paraded by order of Brig.-Gen. Thomas Proctor, marching from Centre Square down Market to Front Street, and thence by way of Front and Chestnut Streets to the State-House. "Everybody," said the *Independent Gazetteer*, "was solemn on account of Jay's treaty. It appeared like a day of mourning." The militia officers of the Philadelphia brigade dined at Smallwood's, near Frankford, and were ardent in their expressions of sympathy with France. Citizens dining on the banks of the Schuylkill were equally enthusiastic. In the evening a transparency with the figure of John Jay was brought from Kensington into the city escorted by a procession. In the right hand was held a balance. One scale, inscribed "American liberty and independence," was represented as kicking the beam, while the other, inscribed "British gold," was down in extreme preponderance. In the left hand the figure bore a scroll representing the "treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation," which was extended toward a group of senators, who seemed pleased, and were reaching

forward to grasp it. From the mouth of the figure issued the words, "Come up to my price, and I will sell you my country." The procession moved from Kensington down Front Street to Callowhill Street, and thence, by the latter, to Second and Market Streets; then to Front Street, and back to Kensington. "A great concourse attended. All was silent," said Bache's paper, "until its return. The figure was burned at Kensington amid the acclamations of hundreds. There was no noise nor riot."

The French Republicans had arranged a celebration of the anniversary of the Revolutionary alliance at Richardet's on the 11th; but the French minister Adet would not attend on account of Jay's treaty, and the affair was conducted coldly.

On the 22d a town-meeting was called at the State-House to deliberate upon the treaty, Dr. William Shippen, Jr., in the chair. A resolution was adopted that "the citizens of Philadelphia do not approve of the treaty between Lord Grenville and Mr. Jay." A committee was appointed to draft an address to the President of the United States upon the subject. It consisted of Thomas McKean, Charles Pettit, Thomas Lee Shippen, Stephen Girard, Jared Ingersoll, William Shippen, Blair McClenachan, Abraham Coats, Alexander James Dallas, John Swanwick, Moses Levy, F. A. Muhlenberg, John Hunn, John Barker, and William Coats. This committee reported the draft of a memorial at an adjourned meeting on the 24th. The address was adopted, and the chairman throwing the copy of the treaty contemptuously from the stage, it was caught by persons present, who placed it on a pole. Three cheers were given for Stevens Thomson Mason, and three cheers for Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the Irish patriot, who had arrived in the city a few days before. The crowd then proceeded, bearing the copy of the treaty on the pole, to the house of the French minister, whence, after some ceremony, they took it to Second Street, and burned it before the house of Hammond, the British minister. Similar scenes were enacted before the house of Phineas Bond, British consul, No. 171 Chestnut Street, and at the mansion of William Bingham, senator from Pennsylvania, at No. 114 South Third Street, where the windows were broken. The Democratic papers represented that the meeting was attended by six thousand citizens; but the *Gazette of the United States* declared that it was composed of "two shiploads of Irish people, interspersed with fifty French emigrants." The Frenchmen in the city showed their indignation by declining to meet on the 10th of August, as had been usual in former years, "out of deference," it was said sarcastically, "to the patriotism of the American people." These demonstrations were all intended to have an influence upon Washington, who had not yet signed the treaty; but they were without effect. Despite the vituperation launched against himself and Mr. Jay, he ratified the instrument on the 11th of August.

This act was the signal for fresh invectives from the Democratic press; but, on the other hand, Thomas Willing and others, a committee representing four hundred merchants of the city who had signed an address approving of the treaty, waited on the President on the 21st, and submitted their sentiments in favor of the measure. At the election the parties were ranged as "Treaty" and "Anti-Treaty," and in a few instances they were styled "Federalists" and "Democrats." For the State Senate, Robert Hare, the Treaty candidate, received 3055 votes in the city and county of Philadelphia and in Delaware County, and Jacob Morgan, Anti-Treaty, had 2314. In the city, Latimer, Federalist, had 1648 votes for the Assembly, and Pettit, Anti-Treaty, 1093. Blair McClenachan, Anti-Treaty, had in the county 871, and Thomas Forrest, Federalist, 608. There were five candidates for commissioner. Peter Helm was elected.¹

Besides the demonstrations that followed the publication of Jay's treaty with Great Britain, there were a number of other occasions during the year on which the popular feeling in favor of France was strikingly exhibited.

At a meeting of one hundred and fifty officers, held in January at Guise's tavern, Frankford road, to

¹ Among the remarkable political productions of the year was the following, published by Bache on the 23d of November:

"THE POLITICAL CREED OF 1795.

- "1. I believe in God Almighty as the only being infallible.
- "2. I believe that a system of excise must of itself, if continued, infallibly destroy the liberty of any country under heaven.
- "3. I believe that national banks are equally dangerous in a free country.
- "4. I believe that a man who holds his fellow-man at an awful distance in private life must hold them in contempt if, by accident, he finds himself for a time placed above them.
- "5. I believe that man wants to be a king who chooses the advocates for kingly government as his first counselors and advisers.
- "6. I believe that a little smiling, flattering adventurer was once placed at the head of a national treasury because he had contended for a monarchy over a free people.
- "7. I believe the man who was sent as ambassador to a great nation, and at a very critical moment, was sent because he contended for the same thing.
- "8. I believe that man wishes to be a despot who makes alliances with despots in preference to freemen and republicans.
- "9. I believe proclamations no better than popes' bulls; that, as far as they respect religious ceremonies, they are contrary to the freedom of conscience; that, as they respect government, they either counteract the force of law, or, in the vanity of government, pretend a superior skill as to its meaning.
- "10. I believe that there is something more designed than fair government when the people are too frequently ordered to fast or give thanks to God.
- "11. I believe that honest government requires no secrets, and that secret proceedings are secret attempts to cheat the governed.
- "12. I believe that all honest men in a government wish their conduct and principles to be made known to the governed, and that dishonesty only shuns the light.
- "13. I believe it is the duty of every freeman to watch over the conduct of every man who is intrusted with his freedom.
- "14. I believe that a blind confidence in any men who have done services to their country has enslaved, and ever will enslave, all the nations of the earth.
- "15. I believe that a good joiner may be a clumsy watchmaker, that an able carpenter may be a blundering tailor, and that a good general may be a most miserable politician."

consider what measures were necessary to amend the militia laws, the proceedings were closed by a dinner and toasts, in which pro-Gallic sentiments were promulgated, and the anniversary of the French alliance was commemorated by a dinner given by Lieut.-Col. Barker's Second Regiment at Jacob Meyer's tavern, Filbert Street, between Eighth and Ninth. On the other hand, the officers of Col. Gurney's regiment, together with Gen. Proctor and others, who dined at Dalley's, in Shippen Street, toasted Alexander Hamilton, the bugbear of the French party.¹

A dinner to Hamilton, who had just resigned the Secretaryship of the Treasury, was given by the merchants of Philadelphia on the 18th of February, "as a testimonial of respect for his virtues and their gratitude for his eminent services." Among those present were Gen. Knox, the late Secretary of War, the judges of the Supreme Court, the Governor of the State, and many others. The 22d of February being Sunday, Washington's birthday was celebrated on the 23d. He was waited upon and congratulated by Congress, the Society of the Cincinnati, and citizens. In the evening the City Dancing Assembly gave a ball and supper. On the reception of the news of the capture of Amsterdam by the French on the 1st of April, the bells of the churches were rung, and on the 17th the victory was celebrated by French, Dutch, and American citizens and Capt. Flinham's artillery. A salute of seven guns was fired at daybreak, and one of fifteen guns at Centre Square at ten o'clock. Citizen Dubois, Sr., presided, and Citizens Dubois, Jr., and Gautier acted as secretaries. The committee of arrangements consisted of Citizens Chotard, Sr., A. C. Duplaine, Dore, Sr., Benjamin F. Bache, J. C. Heneken, Jacob Gerard Koch, M. H. Meschert, Israel Israel, and Michael Leib. From Centre Square the company proceeded to the garden of Minister Fauchet, at Twelfth and Market Streets. Here before the statue of Liberty a French citizen made an address, after which the citizens present took an oath "to live free or die." The French minister then delivered an address, after which Dubois united the three flags under a civic crown. The assemblage repaired to Oeller's Hotel, and after dinner the artillery and citizens escorted the American flag to the house of Governor Mifflin, Market Street above Seventh; the Dutch flag to the residence of Francis Van Berckel, minister of the Netherlands, at No. 258 Market Street; and the French flag to Citizen Fauchet's house, at the southeast corner of Twelfth and Market Streets. On the 1st of May a civic feast was given by the Democratic and German Republican Society at Oeller's Hotel. The Dutch and French ministers were present, and Fauchet made his appearance for the last time. He was succeeded on the 13th of June by

Citizen Adet, who with the French consul-general, De La Tombe, now represented the French republic.²

The local measures before the Legislature and City Councils were not specially important this year. By an act of March 13th the Northern Liberties was divided into two districts for election purposes, the dividing line being Second Street from Vine Street to Germantown road, and the latter from the intersection to the boundary of the township. The divisions were known as the Eastern and Western Districts of the township of the Northern Liberties, and the citizens were authorized to elect one assessor and two inspectors for each. A few days later an act was passed to authorize the building of a town-house and marketplace in the Northern Liberties. Twenty feet of ground on each side of Second Street, between Coates and Poplar Streets, had been dedicated by the owners of lots to encourage the improvement of that part of the county, and the petitioners to the Legislature offered to build the markets by subscription, without any charge to the public, and proposed that, after the buildings had been paid for, all the income of the market should be appropriated to the benefit of the charity school of the Northern Liberties. William Coats, Jacob Weaver, Dr. John Weaver, Dr. Peter Peres, Jacob Whitman, William Peter Sprague, Daniel Miller, John Brown, Michael Groves, and John Nicholas Wagner were appointed superintendents of the building, with power to take subscriptions and loans, and were authorized to commence in the middle of Second Street, forty feet north of Coates Street, a town-house twenty-four feet front by thirty feet in depth along Second Street,³ and a market eighteen feet wide, extending to Brown Street; also a market at the same distance from the principal streets, and of the same dimensions, between Brown and Poplar Streets. Henry Faunce was nominated first clerk of the market, and three surveyors were appointed to regulate the grades, descents, and water-courses of the streets, lanes, and alleys of certain portions of the township bounded by the Shackamaxon Creek, or Gunner's Run, portions of the Frankford road, the Germantown road, and the Old York road, and Hickory Lane and the Wissahickon road; and also to survey a portion of the township north of Cohocksink Creek.

Owing to the additional danger to the city from fire resulting from the erection of wooden buildings, the Legislature, on the 18th of April, 1794, passed an act empowering the city corporation to pass ordinances forbidding the erection of any wooden man-

¹ William Cobbett, whose political writings afterward attained great circulation, came to Philadelphia about this time, and in January issued his first pamphlet, entitled "A Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats."

² A riot took place on the 1st of June between a party of sailors belonging to the privateer "Brutus" and some rope-makers, during which one rope-maker was killed and several persons were wounded. To quell the disturbance, Neilson's grenadiers and Scott's light infantry were ordered out and patrolled the streets for two nights.

³ The town-house stood in Second Street, north of Coates. It was in size and general appearance similar to the building still standing in the middle of Second Street at Pine Street, at the north end of the "Second Street Market," once called the "Society Hill Market."

sion-house, shop, warehouse, store, carriage-house, or stable within such part of the city eastward of Tenth Street as may be judged proper. Remonstrances against the exercise of this power were presented to the City Councils, and the matter was postponed for more than a year, but on the 6th of June, 1795, an ordinance was passed prohibiting the erection in future of wooden buildings between the Delaware and the east side of Sixth Street, between Vine and Sas-safras, and between Walnut and Cedar Streets, and between the Schuylkill River and Tenth Street, between Sas-safras and Walnut Streets. The penalty was five hundred dollars, besides a liability to pull down the building so erected, under a fine of three hundred dollars for every three months during which the house remained up after conviction. Every person engaged in the building of such wooden house was also declared to be subject to a fine of one hundred dollars. This ordinance was resisted, and successfully. On the trial a citizen of Philadelphia was admitted as a witness, although it was objected that he was a member of the corporation, and therefore incompetent to give testimony. This opinion was sustained by the Supreme Court. The Councils denounced this decision as unreasonable. By it "the police of the city was prostrated, the execution of the laws rendered impossible, and the very existence of the corporation became absurd and useless."¹

In April, 1795, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the city corporation to pass an ordinance compelling the owners and occupants of houses in the city to provide and keep in repair any number of leathern buckets not exceeding six for each building, to be used in extinguishing fires. At the same time an act was passed providing for the inspection of powder, and naming David Rittenhouse, Francis Gurney, and Thomas Proctor as commissioners, with instructions to procure two of the machines invented by Joseph Leacock, of Philadelphia, for ascertaining the force of powder, and to "make experiments, settle the standard of gunpowder, and mark the gradations in the arch." It was further provided that the strength of all manufactured gunpowder should be fixed by an inspector appointed for the purpose. The Legislature also passed an act authorizing the extension of the market in High Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, for the benefit of the farmers only.

Among the local incidents of the year was the death of John Penn, formerly Proprietary Governor

of Pennsylvania, which occurred on the 9th of February. He was buried in the aisle of Christ Church, in front of the chancel, nineteen feet from the north wall.²

On the 10th of November a small schooner of eighteen feet keel, twenty-three feet from stem to stern, and six feet beam, arrived at Market Street wharf at noon, and the occupants, two persons, fired a Federal salute from a blunderbuss. This small vessel was called the "White Fish," and it had reached Philadelphia by water, and occasional portage by land, from Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, now near the present town of Erie, Pa., under the charge of two persons, John Thomson and David Lummis.³

Thomson and Lummis were surveyors who had been engaged in laying out lands in the Northwestern Territory, and who, having finished their labors, had determined to test the truth of a theory that there was an easy means of establishing transportation between Lake Erie and the Hudson River. They built their boat at Presque Isle during the summer of 1795, without adequate tools for the work, and taking all their timber from the woods. The "White Fish," as she was called, was an open boat, without a deck. After making her way to New York City across the State and down the Hudson, she started for Philadelphia, and, sailing the Jersey coast, doubled Cape May on the 4th of November.

On her arrival at Philadelphia the "White Fish" had completed a voyage of nearly one thousand miles, twenty-nine of which was over the land, embraced in five portages. It had demonstrated the feasibility of connecting the waters of the lakes with the Hudson River, an idea afterward acted upon when the New York and Erie Canal was constructed. The "White Fish" was considered a great curiosity. It was taken from the water and placed in the State-House yard, where it remained for many years.⁴

The most important event of the year 1796 was the announcement of Washington's intention to retire from public life at the close of his Presidential term. On the 19th of September his Farewell Address to the people of the United States was published in Dunlap & Claypoole's *Daily Advertiser*.⁵

² The inscription on the tombstone reads as follows:

"Here lieth the body of
Honorable JOHN PENN, Esquire,
One of the late proprietaries of
Pennsylvania,
Who died February 9th, A.D. 1795,
Aged 67 years."

John Jay Smith says, in "The Penn Family," that John Penn "died in Bucks County."

³ John Thomson was at that time a native of Delaware County. He was the father of J. Edgar Thomson, afterwards president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. David Lummis was subsequently lost in a storm in a passage from Philadelphia to Charleston, S. C., in 1804.

⁴ An entertainment was given at Weed's tavern in January, 1796, to commemorate the arrival of the "White Fish."

⁵ D. C. Claypoole, printer of the *Daily Advertiser*, furnished in 1826 a committee of the Pennsylvania Historical Society with an account of the manner in which he obtained the manuscript of the Farewell Address

¹ These difficulties were remedied by an act passed in 1799, which declared that the interest of members of a municipal corporation in the fines and penalties incurred for breaches of the ordinances of such corporation was too remote to affect the credibility of their testimony. Therefore it was declared that the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and of any other town or borough, should be good witnesses in prosecutions for breaches of ordinances or laws where the penalties incurred to the corporation; that the mayor, recorder, and aldermen might act as judges, notwithstanding their nominal interest, and the freemen of the corporation might act as jurors in such cases.

Washington's residence in Philadelphia had been made very uncomfortable during the latter years of his presidential service by the assaults of political opponents, especially during the period of excitement growing out of the French revolution. Although his course was uniformly temperate and prudent, he was denounced as favoring men and measures inimical to the American form of government, and language seemed scarce strong enough to express the suspicion and dislike with which he was regarded by Democratic extremists. In a letter to Jefferson, written in the summer of 1796, Washington complained that every act of his administration had been tortured, and the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations made "in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even a common pickpocket."

Another noteworthy event of the year was the death on the 26th of June of the famous astronomer, David

(1 Hist. Soc. Memoirs, edition of 1864, page 265.) The statement was called for in order to settle the truth of an allegation made that the Farewell Address was written by Alexander Hamilton and was entirely in his handwriting. Mr. Claypoole says,—

"A few days before the appearance of this memorable document in print I received a message from the President, by his private secretary, signifying his desire to see me. I waited on him at the appointed time, and found him sitting alone in his drawing-room. He received me kindly, and, after I had paid my respects to him, desired me to take a seat near him. Then, addressing himself to me, he said that he had for some time past contemplated retiring from public life, and had at length concluded to do so at the end of the then present term; that he had some thoughts and reflections upon the occasion which he deemed proper to communicate to the people of the United States in the form of an address, and which he wished to appear in the *Daily Advertiser*, of which I was editor. He paused, and I took the opportunity of thanking him for having preferred that paper as the channel of his communication with the people—especially as I viewed this selection as indicating his approbation of the principles and manner in which the work was conducted. He silently assented, and asked when the publication could be made. I answered that the time should be made perfectly convenient to himself, and the following Monday was fixed on. He then told me that his secretary would call on me with a copy of the address on the next Friday morning, and I withdrew.

"After the *proof-sheet* had been compared with the copy, and corrected by myself, I carried another *proof*, and then a *revise*, to be examined by the President, who made but a few alterations from the original, except in the punctuation, in which he was very minute.

"The publication of the address—dated 'United States, Sept. 17, 1796'—being completed on the 19th, I waited on the President with the original, and in presenting it to him expressed my regret at parting with it, and how much I should be gratified by being permitted to retain it. Upon which, in an obliging manner, he handed it back to me, saying that, if I wished for it I might keep it; and I then took my leave of him.

"Any person acquainted with the handwriting of President Washington would, on seeing this specimen, at once recognize it; and, as I had formerly been honored by written communications from him on public business, I may say that his handwriting was familiar to me; and I think I could at any time, and without hesitation, identify it. The manuscript copy consists of thirty-two pages of quarto letter-paper, sewed together as a book, and with many alterations, as in some places whole paragraphs are erased and others substituted; in others many lines struck-out; in others sentences and words erased, and others interlined in their stead. The tenth, eleventh, and sixteenth pages are almost entirely expunged, saving only a few lines; and one-half of the thirty-first page is also effaced. A critical examination will show that the whole, from first to last, with all its numerous corrections, was the work of the same hand; and I can confidently affirm that no other pen ever touched the manuscript now in my possession than that of the great and good man whose signature it bears."

Rittenhouse, at his house, corner of Arch and Seventh Streets. His funeral was attended by the American Philosophical Society and the Democratic Society, of both of which organizations he was president at the time of his death; and, at the request of the Philosophical Society, an eulogium upon his character was delivered on the 17th of December in the First Presbyterian Church, in the presence of President Washington, members of Congress, the State Legislature and the City Councils, the mayor, etc.

The excitement growing out of Jay's treaty with England, and the efforts made both in France and America to commit the United States to an active interference on behalf of the French republic, continued during 1796, and was intensified in June by the announcement that the American ship "Mount Vernon," which had sailed from Philadelphia a few days before, had been captured a few miles outside the capes of the Delaware by the "Flying Fish," a French privateer, which had been lying at Philadelphia during the previous month, and which was supposed to be owned by a resident of the city. It was pretended that the "Mount Vernon," which was bound for London, had goods that were contraband of war on board, but an examination of the manifest showed that such was not the case. The commander of the "Flying Fish," however, took possession of the "Mount Vernon," declaring that, since Jay's treaty, he had determined to seize every vessel bound to a British port, and adding that he had a list containing the names of other vessels about to sail from Philadelphia which he intended to capture. Sending back the "Mount Vernon's" crew in a pilot-boat, the "Flying Fish" bore away with her prize. On their way up the Delaware, the captured crew met the ship "Philadelphia" bound for Bristol, which, on hearing what had befallen the "Mount Vernon," put back to Philadelphia. Vessels about to sail were delayed, and a panic ensued among the merchants which was not allayed until the departure of the "Flying Fish" from the coast.

Jay's treaty had its friends as well as its opponents in Philadelphia, and in April a meeting of merchants was held to urge Congress to pass the necessary laws to carry the treaty into execution. In the memorial adopted by the meeting it was represented that property belonging to merchants of the United States, amounting at a moderate computation to more than five millions of dollars in value; had been taken from them by subjects of Great Britain, the restitution of which they believed depended in a great measure upon the completion of the treaty. Besides this sum, the merchants had invested large amounts in vessels and ventures which they apprehended would be jeopardized if the United States failed to carry out the stipulations of the treaty. In order to give full effect to the action of the meeting a committee of correspondence was appointed, consisting of Thomas Fitzsimons, Joseph Ball, Walter Stewart, George

Latimer, Samuel Sterritt, Israel Whelen, Robert Waln, Joseph Anthony, Samuel Breck, and Francis Gurney. This movement was antagonized by a meeting of the Gallic element held several days later, with Stephen Girard in the chair, in which the treaty was denounced as being "unequal in its stipulations, derogatory to our national character, injurious to our general interests, and as offering insult instead of redress." Congress finally passed the laws necessary to carry the treaty into effect on the 30th of April.

Party lines had now come to be very strictly drawn between the Federalists and Republicans or Democrats. At the election held in October, John Swanwick, the Republican candidate for Congress, had 1502 votes in the city, and Edward Tilghman 1432. The other candidates of the Federal party, however, had a majority of 642 in the city. In the county, Blair McClenachan, the Republican candidate for Congress, received 1182, and Robert Waln, Federalist, 910. At the Presidential election in November, the Jefferson electoral ticket, headed by Thomas McKean, received 1723 votes in the city and 1832 in the county. The Adams ticket, headed by Israel Whelen, received 1100 in the city and 399 in the county. In the State, McKean had 12,306, and Whelen 12,181. Two Federalists, Samuel Miles and Robert Coleman, were declared elected, however, in consequence of personal popularity. At the meeting of the electoral college, Jefferson had 14 votes, Burr 13, Pinckney 2, Adams 1. Two electors were excluded in consequence of alleged irregularities in the election. About this time the wearing of the tri-colored French cockade, which had been previously suggested, became general. Citizen Adet, the French minister, in November, issued a proclamation calling upon all Frenchmen resident in America to mount and wear the tri-colored cockade, "the symbol of a liberty the fruit of eight years' toil and five years' victories." This request was not only complied with by Frenchmen, but by large numbers of citizens who sympathized with French principles. Adet, who seems to have been almost as presumptuous and overbearing as Genet had been, was much incensed by the fact that in some periodical works, almanacs, etc., published in the United States, and particularly the "Philadelphia City Directory" for 1796, the name of the minister of the French republic had been printed after that of the minister of Great Britain. Adet applied to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, for redress, and coolly demanded that the error should be rectified "by suppressing the publication and distribution of the directory and other almanacs in which it has been committed." Pickering of course refused to interfere, and informed Adet that he presumed that the government of the United States would not "attempt by official arrangement voluntarily to settle questions of rank among foreign powers."

Another incident curiously illustrative of the state of feeling in Philadelphia at the time is the announce-

ment, under date of October 25th, in the *New World* (published by Samuel Harrison Smith at No. 118 Chestnut Street) of the fact that among the passengers in the ship "America" was "L. P. E. Orleans, eldest son of the *ci-devant* Égalité, and distinguished in French history as lieutenant-general at the battle of Jemmapes." The partisans of the French no longer had it all their own way, however, for William Cobbett, the celebrated English political writer, who had come to the United States in 1792, began to publish a series of bitter and vindictive pamphlets under the *nom de plume* of "Peter Porcupine," in which he fiercely assailed the French and their American sympathizers. His publisher was Thomas Bradford, who realized large profits from the sale of the pamphlets. Cobbett, however, was very poorly paid, receiving only four hundred and three dollars for them during the two years that Bradford was his publisher, and in order to reap the benefit of his writings he resolved to establish himself in business as a bookseller, and hired a blue frame house No. 25 North Second Street, opposite Christ Church. "The moment, however, that I had taken a lease of a large house," wrote Cobbett, "the transaction became the topic of public conversation, and the eyes of the Democrats and the French, who still lorded it over the city and who owed me a mutual grudge, were fixed upon me. I thought my situation somewhat perilous. Such truths as I had published no man had dared to utter in the United States since the rebellion. I knew that these truths had mortally offended the leading men among the Democrats, who could at any time muster a mob quite sufficient to destroy my house and to murder me." Cobbett's apprehensions, however, were not realized; and though warned "not to put up any aristocratical portraits, which it was said would certainly cause his windows to be demolished," he exhibited, without injurious consequences, all the portraits of kings, queens, princes, and nobles,—“in short every picture that I thought likely to excite rage in the enemies of Great Britain.” “Such a sight,” he adds, with evident satisfaction, “had not been seen in Philadelphia for twenty years. Never since the beginning of the rebellion had any one dared to hoist at his window the portrait of George III.”

Although Cobbett escaped mobbing, the Anti-Federalist feeling in Philadelphia was still very violent. A curious illustration of its depth and bitterness is found in the conduct of Democratic citizens, who celebrated the Fourth of July with a public dinner at Oeller's Hotel, at which Pierce Butler and John Swanwick presided. Lieut. Shaw's second company of volunteers, after firing a salute at daybreak, took post at twelve o'clock upon some waste ground near Oeller's Hotel. The Society of the Cincinnati happened to be dining at Governor Mifflin's garden on Chestnut Street, between Seventh and Eighth, and the salutes which Shaw's company were engaged in

firing interfered with the toasts and speeches. Governor Mifflin and the officers of the society sent a message to Lieut. Shaw, requesting him to reserve his fire until their last toast had been delivered; but "the company to a man," said Bache's *Aurora*, "refused to acquiesce, conceiving that as they were called upon to honor the day, they, as freemen and soldiers, were not bound to wait on any description of men, in which they persisted, although a second and more strenuous effort was made."

The first gaslights ever seen in America were exhibited in August of this year by Ambrose & Co., manufacturers of fire-works, at their amphitheatre in Arch Street, above Eighth, who advertised that in addition to the ordinary fire-works of combustible material they would "show a grand fire-work by means of light composed of inflammable air." They disposed the lights so as to form an Italian parterre, Masonic figures and emblems, a superb country-seat, etc. The jets of light were made from orifices in pipes bent into the requisite shapes.

After a successful campaign against the Indians in the Northwest, Gen. Anthony Wayne returned to Pennsylvania, and on the 6th of February was received, at some distance from Philadelphia, by three troops of light-horse, and escorted into the city amid artillery salutes from cannon stationed in Centre Square and the ringing of bells. He was afterwards entertained by the Democratic Society at a dinner at Richardet's. Ambrose & Co., manufacturers of fire-works, procured subscriptions for the erection of a trophy in Arch Street, between Seventh and Eighth. The structure, a triumphal arch, twenty-six feet in height, representing the Temple of Peace, was intended to show the public gratification at the fact that there was peace between the United States and Algiers, between the republic of France and the king of Prussia, the republic of Holland, the king of Spain, the Elector of Hanover, etc., and between the United States and the Indians, "a result of the late western expedition." The edifice was supported by four grand pilasters, and the cornice bore appropriate inscriptions. The front was surmounted by the figure of a terrestrial globe, on which rested a dove bearing an olive-branch in its beak. Beneath this was a statue of a woman, intended to symbolize Union. Five statues, of Peace, Liberty, Plenty, Justice, and Reason, with their attributes, decorated other portions of the structure, with which were intermingled vases, baskets, and other ornaments. The temple was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and there was also a handsome display of fire-works.

Capt. Morrell's Volunteer Greens, a cavalry corps, composed of Federalists, gave a dinner to Gen. Wayne, on the 25th of February, at Weed's tavern, Gray's Ferry. Gen. Morgan, Col. Macpherson, and the officers of the First and Second Troops of city cavalry were present.

Material amendments to the city charter were

made during this year. By the act of incorporation of 1789 the City Council was one body, composed of the mayor, aldermen, and city councilmen, but on the 4th of April, 1796, the Legislature passed an act creating a Select Council, consisting of twelve citizens, to serve for three years.

Those first elected were directed to divide themselves into classes for one, two, and three years, after which one-third of the number of members was to be chosen yearly. The Common Council, composed of twenty persons, was to be elected annually. The whole legislative power of the city was vested in these two bodies. The Governor was authorized to appoint the recorder and fifteen aldermen, to hold their offices during good behavior. The mayor was to be elected by the Select and Common Councils from among the aldermen, to serve for one year. He was to preside in the mayor's court. This act went into operation in October, when the new Councils were elected. The corporation was not favorable to this change. A protest against the measure was presented to the Legislature, and the mayor sent in a communication asking that the corporation might be heard by counsel against the bill at the bar of the House. On the other side the petitioners, who were many, sent in a memorial asking to be heard on their side, if the privilege asked by the city was granted. The House paid no attention to either request, but proceeded to pass the bill, which was soon ratified by the Senate.

Various other matters of local importance came up before the Legislature during 1796. From the Northern Liberties came remonstrances in reference to the condition of the hay-scales and public landings in that district, which caused the passage of a law by the Legislature in April vesting the property mentioned in the commissioners of the county, who were to govern them with the approbation and consent of three justices of the peace. They were empowered to make rules and orders for the regulation of the tenants of the wharves and landings, and of carters, drivers, skippers, and others, to fix the prices of weighing at the hay-scales, to lease and repair the landings and hay-scales, and with the profits to buy other landings and wharves in the Northern Liberties for public use. A lottery to raise £5250 for that purpose had been recommended by the committee, but the House would not sanction the proposition. A petition was also presented in favor of raising £6000 for paying off the debt incurred by the erection of market-houses in the district.

In March the Senate passed a bill authorizing a lottery for the benefit of Dickinson College. The House amended the bill by inserting sections in favor of a lottery to raise, among other sums, \$15,000 for the erection of piers in the Delaware River at Chester, \$16,000 for finishing the town-house and Callowhill Street market in the Northern Liberties, and \$8000 for a town-house and repairing public landings

in Southwark. These were all struck out of the bill by the Senate. The House adhered to the amendments, and so the whole bill fell. Petitions for making the Cohocksink Creek a public highway were sent to the Legislature in the latter part of the year, and the committee to which the subject was referred reported in favor of making it a highway from the Delaware to the bridge crossing the Frankford road, for the passage of all kinds of vessels and rafts that could float thereon. The law, passed in accordance Feb. 27, 1796, made it lawful for any citizen to remove obstructions to the navigation, so that the width of the creek for navigation should be forty feet. Drawbridges were authorized wherever necessary. The Legislature also ordered that the roads laid out from Brockden's gate by the Buck tavern to the ferry on State Island, and from Prime Street on a line parallel with Cedar Street to Gray's Ferry, and called "Federal Street," should be opened, as the same were surveyed under the act of 1787; and in December the Governor announced in his message that the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike had been completed, but it was not immediately in good traveling order. The regular stage commenced its trips in May, to go through in one day. The first stage left Lancaster at five o'clock in the evening, and reached Philadelphia at five o'clock in the morning, bringing ten passengers. The successful completion of this work was justly regarded as a subject for congratulation.

About the only matter of interest before the City Council in 1796 was the effort to discover the origin of attempts that were made in December to fire the city. A committee appointed by the Council to investigate the matter, reported that endeavors had been made to set fire to the house of Peter Cress, harness-maker, No. 237 Market Street, and a reward of five hundred dollars was offered for the arrest of the incendiary. The nightly watch was ordered to be doubled, and meetings of citizens were held at the State-House, at Southwark Hall, and at Kitt's tavern, No. 58 Market Street, of the inhabitants of the Middle Ward, who appointed a guard to patrol the streets. The Councils took up for consideration a bill to oblige owners of houses to provide and repair their fire-buckets, and they again urged the necessity of stringent laws against the construction of wooden buildings. It was resolved to appoint twelve assistant superintendents to oversee the watchmen, and observe that they do their duty. The alarm was increased by a fire which broke out on the night of the 30th of December at the old academy, in Fourth Street, below Arch, which destroyed the roof of that building and the roofs of three houses adjoining. This was supposed to be the work of design. The precautions were redoubled, and the incendiaries becoming intimidated, did not again attempt to apply the torch.

During December of this year representatives of a number of Indian tribes visited Philadelphia, and

accidentally met at Peale's Museum, in Philosophical Hall, on Fifth Street below Chestnut. As they were hostile to one another, some embarrassment resulted, but by degrees the interpreters entered into conversation, and the chiefs were induced to take part. Their differences having been alluded to, it was finally decided to meet again for conference. At this interview there were present chiefs of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, the Southern Shawnee, Wyandotts, Delawares, Miamis, Chippewas, Kickapoos, and other Northwestern Indians. The conference opened by a message from President Washington congratulating them that their hearts were softened to each other, and encouraging them to make up their differences. The Indians were so struck with the circumstances connected with the unexpected and singular manner of their meeting that they expressed their belief that the Great Spirit must have brought them thus together for the purpose of reconciliation. In this opinion they debated their grievances, and resolved to enter into a treaty of amity.

Among the speculative schemes projected about this time was a lottery proposed by Joseph Cooke, who had built stately stores and dwellings at the southeast corner of Third and Market Streets. The drawing was to be controlled by the numbers drawn in the Federal lottery. The house at the corner of Market Street¹ was valued at \$50,000; the house adjoining, on Third Street, at \$40,000; and the next at \$30,000. The depth of the whole lot was but one hundred and seven feet. To this real estate Cooke proposed to add jewelry to the value of \$280,000,—making the total \$400,000. There were to be 16,739 "fortunate chances" and 33,261 "nothings." The price of tickets was placed at eight dollars each. This scheme was urged in January; but the value put upon the property was extravagant, and few were found who were willing to invest in it.

The event of the year 1797 in Philadelphia was the

¹ This house, which got the nickname of "Cooke's Folly," was originally built about 1792. Cooke, who was a fashionable and flourishing goldsmith and jeweler, erected the building with the intention that it should rival the most splendid establishments of London and Paris. It was a lofty brick structure, with a gable on Third Street, and wings upon either side of the gable. The Market and Third Streets fronts were literally crowded with carvings, and grotesque faces and figures were placed wherever there was room for them. The upper part of the building was designed for dwellings, while the lower stories were occupied, at the outset, by jewelers, who made a grand display of mirrors, etc. The completion and opening of "Cooke's building," or of "Cooke's Folly," made quite an excitement, and the showy shops used to be surrounded by crowds of curious gazers. The novelty, of course, wore off, and the building being too fine for the age, it gradually fell into decay. It went from one degree of dilapidation to another, until its fine apartments up-stairs were all used as workshops; its statuary and carvings were broken and covered with dust, its wood-work became bare of paint, there was scarcely a whole pane of glass in the upper windows, old hats and rags occupied the place of glass, and when it was finally demolished, about 1838, it was as gloomy a looking wreck of fluery and frippery as could be imagined. Mr. Cooke occupied the corner store for his shop, and the downfall of his enterprise carried him with it. He failed for a very large amount, and finally died poor, leaving his family, who had been brought up in luxury, destitute.

change in the Federal administration, John Adams having been elected President to succeed Washington, and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President in place of Adams.

As the anniversary of Washington's birthday was the last that would occur during his occupancy of the Presidential chair, efforts were made to celebrate it with special *éclat*. In the morning Capt. Skerritt's artillery paraded, and at noon fired a salute. At ten o'clock the companies of grenadiers and light infantry, commanded by Capt. Neilson, Robbins, and Johnston, with Hozey's Southwark Light Infantry, assembled in front of the State-House. The militia officers met there at the same time, and were escorted to Washington's residence.¹ At a later hour members of the Society of the Cincinnati, escorted by grenadiers and light infantry, called to pay their respects, and in the evening there was a ball.

On the 3d of March, Thomas Jefferson, the Vice-President elect, arrived in Philadelphia, where he was received by Capt. Shaw's company of artillery, which displayed a flag bearing the inscription, "Jefferson, the friend of the people." On the following day the inauguration of the second President of the United States took place in the Senate chamber. Upon the entry of Adams and of Jefferson there was applause from their respective partisans. Adams took a seat in the Speaker's chair. Jefferson, Washington, and the secretary of the Senate were at his left hand. The chief justice and associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States were in the centre at a table. Gen. Wilkinson, commander of the army, all the officers of state, and foreign ministers were present.

At the proper time John Adams arose and made an appropriate speech. After he ceased speaking he descended to the table at which the judges were sitting and took the oath of office, which was administered by Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth. He then returned to his seat. After a few moments he arose, bowed to the audience, and retired. He was followed by the Vice-President, between whom and Washington a ceremonious contest arose as to who should go first. Washington insisted that Jefferson should take precedence, and the latter reluctantly agreed to proceed in that manner. The foreign ministers and others followed, and the inaugural act was concluded.

Mr. Jefferson was afterwards sworn into office in the Senate chamber, up-stairs.²

¹ William McKoy, who wrote his recollections many years ago in Poulson's *Daily Advertiser*, under the signature of "Lang Syne," gives the following description of this memorable scene:

"The first novelty that presented itself was the entrance of the Spanish minister (the Marquis Yrujo) in full diplomatic costume. He was of middle size, of round person, florid complexion, and hair powdered like a snow-ball, dark, striped silk coat, lined with satin, white waistcoat, black silk breeches, white silk stockings, shoes and buckles. He had by his side an elegant-hilted small-sword, and his 'chapeau,' tipped with white feathers, under his arm. Thus decorated he crossed the floor of the hall, with the most easy nonchalance possible, and an occasional side toss of the head (to him habitual), to his appointed place. He was viewed by the audience for a short time in curious silence. He had scarcely adjusted himself in his chair when the attention of the audience was roused by the word 'Washington!' near the door of the entrance. The word flew like lightning through the assembly, and the subsequent varied shouts of enthusiasm produced immediately such a sound as

'When loud surges lash the sounding shore.'

It was an unexpected and instantaneous expression of 'simultaneous' feeling which made the hall tremble. Occasionally the word 'Washington!' 'Washington!' might be heard like guns in a storm. He entered in the midst, and crossed the floor at 'quick step,' as if eager to escape notice, and seated himself quickly on his chair, near the Marquis Yrujo, who rose up at his entrance as if startled by the uncommon scene. He was dressed similar to all the full-length portraits of him,—hair full powdered, with black silk rose and bag pendant behind, as then was usual for elderly gentlemen of the 'old school.' But on those portraits one who had never seen Washington might look in vain for that benign expression of countenance possessed by him, and only sufficiently perceptible in the lithographic bust of Rembrandt Peale to cause 'a feeling,' as Judge Peters, in his certificate to the painter, expresses it. The burst at the entrance had now subsided, when the word 'Jefferson!' at the entrance-door again electrified the audience into another explosion of feeling similar to the first, but abated in force and energy. He entered, dressed in a long, blue frock-coat, single-breasted, and buttoned down to the waist; light sandy hair, very slightly powdered, and cued with black ribbon a long way down his back; tall, of benign aspect, and straight as an arrow, he bent not, but with an erect gait moved leisurely to his seat near Washington and sat down. Silence again ensued. Presently an increased bustle near the door of the entrance and the words, 'President!' 'President Adams!' again produced an explosion of feeling similar to those that had preceded, but again diminished, by *repetition*, in its force and energy. He was dressed in a suit of light drab cloth, his hair well powdered, with rose and bag, like that of Washington. He passed slowly on, bowing on each side, till he reached the 'Speaker's chair,' on which he sat down. Again a deep silence prevailed, in the midst of which he rose, and bowing round to the audience three times, varying his position each time, he then read his inaugural address, in the course of which he alluded to, and at the same time bowed to, his predecessor, which was returned from Washington, who, with the members of Congress, were all standing. When he had finished he sat down. After a short pause he rose up, and bowing round as before, he descended from the chair, and passed out with acclamation. Washington and Jefferson remained standing together, and the bulk of the audience watching their movements in cautious silence. Presently, with a graceful motion of the hand, Washington invited the Vice-President, Jefferson, to pass on before him, which was declined by Mr. Jefferson. After a pause, an invitation to proceed was repeated by Washington, when the Vice-President passed on towards the door, and Washington after him. A rush for the street now commenced, and the next view of Washington, the 'beheld of all beholders,' was on the north side of Chestnut Street, going down, with the crowd after him, and Timothy Pickering on his right, to 'Francis Hotel,' on a visit of congratulation to the President elect. On his arrival at the hotel, in Fourth above Chestnut (now Indian Queen), they passed in, and the door was closely 'wedged in' with people desirous of beholding to the last the person of Washington, now passing away from them, and to be seen by them no more forever. When the door closed another explosion of feeling from the assembled throng produced a sound like thunder. The effect was such that the door of the hotel again opened, and again Washington (to them), 'first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts

¹ The building in Ninth Street below High or Market, which had been commenced by the State of Pennsylvania with the intention of making it an official residence for the President of the United States, was now almost completed, and on the 3d of March Governor Mifflin wrote to President elect Adams tendering it to him for his accommodation, with the stipulation that rent should be paid for it equal to that which Mr. Adams would have had to pay for any other suitable house in Philadelphia. Mr. Adams, however, declined to accept the house, being in doubt as to whether he was at liberty to do so without an authorization from Congress, and leased the residence No. 130 High Street, which had been occupied by President Washington. On the 17th of March, 1800, the Legislature passed a law authorizing the Governor to appoint commissioners to sell the President's house. The property was afterwards sold to the University of Pennsylvania for forty thousand dollars, and the building was torn down in July, 1829.

On the afternoon of the same day the merchants of Philadelphia gave Washington a farewell dinner at Rickett's Circus. The guests assembled at Oeller's Hotel, and proceeded thence to the amphitheatre. As they entered the building the band played "Washington's March," and a curtain being drawn up, a finely-painted transparency was revealed, representing the Genius of America in the act of crowning Washington with laurel, her hand pointing to an altar, upon which was inscribed "Public Gratitude." Two hundred and forty persons were present, and Thomas Willing and Thomas Fitzsimons presided. After Gen. Washington had withdrawn a toast was drunk, expressing the hope that the evening of his life would be as happy as its morning and meridian had been gloriously useful, and that the gratitude of his country would be "coeval with her existence." Washington's retirement was not by any means the subject of universal regret, but was hailed by some of the Democratic journals in savage terms of satisfaction. In the *Aurora* he was denounced as the "man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country," and was charged with having "cankered the principles of republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of despotism," and with having carried "his designs against the public liberty so far as to have put in jeopardy its very existence."¹

On the other hand, various addresses of respect were made to Washington on behalf of societies, churches, and other public bodies. The City Councils not being able to agree as to the phraseology of an address, the Common Council determined to present an address of its own, irrespective of the other branch; and the clergymen of the city presented an address signed by the ministers of all the denominations, in which they quoted with favor the sentiments of his Farewell Address in relation to religion, and wished him long life and happiness. The signers were William White, Ashbel Green, William Smith, John Ewing, Samuel Jones, William Hendel, Samuel Magaw, Henry Helmut, Samuel Blair, Nicholas Collin, Robert Annan, William Marshall, John Meder, John Andrews, J. F. Schmidt, Robert Blackwell, William Rogers, Thomas Ustick, Andrew Hunter, John Dickins, I. Jones, Joseph Turner, Ezekiel Cooper, Morgan J. Rhee, James Abercrombie.

Congress met this year in quarters which had been greatly enlarged and improved, having at last been

completed in accordance with the original plan. The County Court had been extended forty feet on Sixth Street, and a gallery erected for spectators on the north side of the Senate chamber, which remained there until about 1835 or 1836. The Senate occupied the second-story back room, which afterward became the court-room of the District Court; and the House of Representatives an apartment down-stairs immediately under the Senate. The rooms fronting on Chestnut Street were divided into committee-rooms. From the front door on Chestnut Street a hall or entry led to the door of the hall of the House of Representatives, or to the stairway leading to the second story, in the same position as the present stairway leading to the District Court rooms. The arched entrance on Sixth Street had not then been opened.² New quarters had also been provided for the Bank of the United States, which in July removed from Carpenters' Hall to the

² The following interesting reminiscences of the appearance of Congress are from one who frequently saw that body in session from 1790 to 1800: "The House of Representatives, in session, occupied the whole of the ground-floor, upon a platform elevated three steps in ascent, plainly carpeted, and covering nearly the whole of the area, with a limited *loggia* or promenade for the members and privileged persons, and four narrow desks, between the Sixth Street windows, for the stenographers, Lloyd, Gales, Callender, and Duane. The Speaker's chair, without canopy, was of plain leather and brass nails, facing the east, at or near the centre of the western wall. The first Speaker of the House in this city was Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, who, by his portly person and handsome rotundity, literally filled the chair. His rubicund complexion and oval face, hair full powdered, tumbled satin vest of ample dimensions, dark-blue coat with gilt buttons, and a sonorous voice, exercised by him without effort in putting the question, all corresponding, in appearance and sound, with his magnificent name, and accompanied, as it was, by that of George Washington, President, as signatures to the laws of the Union,—all these had an imposing effect upon the inexperienced auditory in the gallery, to whom all was new and very strange. He was succeeded here by Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, a very tall, raw-boned figure of a gentleman, with terrific aspect, and, when excited, a voice of thunder. His slender, bony figure filled only the centre of the chair, resting on the arms of it with his hands and not the elbows. From the silence which prevailed of course on coming to order, after prayers by Bishop White, an occasional whisper, increasing to a buzz, after the manner of boys in school, in the seats, in the lobby, and around the fires, swelling, at last, to loud conversation, wholly inimical to debate.

* * * * *

"The United States Senate convened in the room up-stairs, looking into the State-House garden. In a very plain chair, without canopy, and a small mahogany table before him, festooned at the sides and front with green silk, Mr. Adams, the Vice-President, presided as president of the Senate, facing the north. The portrait which was in Peale's Museum is, in the opinion of the writer, a perfect *fac-simile* of the elder Adams in face, person, and apparel, as they appeared to him, above the little table placed before that venerable gentleman. Among the thirty senators of that day there was observed constantly during the debate the most delightful silence, the most beautiful order, gravity, and personal dignity of manner. They all appeared every morning full powdered, and dressed, as age or fancy might suggest, in the richest material. The very atmosphere of the place seemed to inspire wisdom, mildness, and conciseness. Should any one of them so far forget, for a moment, as to be the cause of a protracted whisper while another was addressing the Vice-President, three gentle taps with his silver pencil-case upon the table by Mr. Adams immediately restored everything to repose and the most respectful attention, presenting in their courtesy a most striking contrast to the independent loquacity of the representatives below-stairs, some few of whom persisted in wearing, while in their seats, and during the debate, their ample cocked hats, placed 'fore-and-aft' upon their heads, with here and there a leg thrown across the little desks before them, and facing Mr. Jupiter Dayton, as he was sometimes called by writers in the *Aurora* of Benjamin Franklin Bache."

of his countrymen," stood *uncovered* before them. A deep silence ensued. He then bowed three times to the spectators, varying his position each time, which was returned by a shout from the crowd and a clapping of hands. Having so done, he slowly retired, seemingly in much agitation, within the door, and the grateful assembly gradually disappeared."

¹ According to the late Col. Robert Carr, the article in the *Aurora* was written by Dr. William Reynolds, a physician, at that time residing at No. 95 South Eighth Street, who took it to the newspaper office in company with Dr. Michael Leib. The latter looked over it and suggested some modifications. It was published during the absence from the city of the editor, Mr. Bache, who, on his return, expressed great anger and annoyance at its appearance in the columns of the *Aurora*.

new building specially erected for it in Third Street below Chestnut, the law-office occupying the bank's old quarters.

The change in the Federal administration produced no softening of political asperities in Philadelphia, but, if anything, rather seemed to intensify the bitterness between the contending factions. Fuel was added to the flames by publications in *Peter Porcupine's Gazette*, a daily evening paper published by William Cobbett, the first number of which appeared in March. It was strongly anti-Democratic and anti-French, and its course was marked by great violence and vindictiveness of tone. A fierce attack on Don Carlos de Yrujo, the Spanish minister, caused the latter to make a demand upon the American government that Cobbett should be prosecuted. The request was granted, and the printer was bound over to appear in the Federal Court; but De Yrujo, dissatisfied with this disposition of the case, expressed a desire that Cobbett should be tried before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the presiding justice of which tribunal, Thomas McKean, was his particular friend. Accordingly Judge McKean, in November, delivered a charge to the grand jury, in which he sought to obtain the indictment of Cobbett, and even went so far as to appear before that body as a witness against the journalist. But the grand juries of both the Supreme and Federal Courts ignored the indictment. Cobbett naturally construed this action as a triumphant vindication of his course, and in his paper severely criticised the conduct of Judge McKean.

The bitterness of party feeling was even more forcibly demonstrated by an attack which was made on Benjamin F. Bache, editor of the *Aurora*, by Clement Humphreys, son of Joshua Humphreys,¹ during a visit to the frigate "United States," while upon the stocks at Southwark. The ship-carpenters employed on the vessel were Federalists, and owing to some strictures in the *Aurora* as to their political course were deeply incensed against Bache. An attack was

made upon him by Clement Humphreys, who, while beating him, exclaimed that he had "accused the ship-carpenters of being bribed," had "abused the President on the day of his resignation," and had "printed several Tory pieces." Bache succeeded in escaping, but not until after having been considerably injured. Humphreys was arrested, tried, and found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of fifty dollars and to give security in the sum of two thousand dollars to keep the peace. About the time of the assault on Bache, Cobbett was threatened with violence in consequence of articles in relation to Governor Mifflin; but with characteristic boldness he published a defiance, in which, in vigorous terms, he upheld the liberty of the press and denounced his would-be assailants. The frigate "United States," whose construction has been referred to, was launched at Southwark, under the direction of the builder, Joshua Humphreys, at high water, on the morning of the 10th of May. The launch was witnessed by thousands of spectators, among whom the President of the United States and the heads of departments, who were stationed on the United States brig "Sophia," Capt. O'Brien. Commodore Barry was in command of the "United States." The latter was constructed on better principles than those observed in building the vessels of the Revolutionary navy, and was a formidable addition to the naval armament of the country. The model was fine, and the decoration exceeded anything which had then been attempted. The figure-head, carved by William Rush, represented the Genius of America, wearing a crest adorned with a constellation. Her hair escaped in loose, wavy tresses, and rested upon her breast. A portrait of Washington was suspended from a chain which encircled her neck, and her waist was bound with a civic band. In her right hand she held a spear and belts of wampum,—the emblems of peace and war. In her left hand was suspended the Constitution of the Union. Above was a tablet, on which rested three books, to represent the three branches of government, and the scales of Justice. On the base of the tablet were carved the eagle and national escutcheon, and the attributes of commerce, agriculture, the arts and sciences.

Political discussion was interrupted for a time by the prevalence of yellow fever, which again ravaged the city. The disease made its appearance on the 17th of August, and almost immediately caused a general exodus from the town. President Adams took refuge at Braintree, Mass., and the United States offices were removed. The war office was opened at the Falls of Schuylkill; the treasury office at Gray's Ferry, and the general post-office at Dunlap's stable, Twelfth Street, below Market. The office of Secretary of State was opened at Trenton, N. J., and the heads of the State and Post-Office Departments went to the same town. The Secretary of War took lodgings near Downingtown, Pa., and the Attorney-General went to Virginia. Many merchants transferred

¹ Joshua Humphreys was a native of Delaware County, Pa., and died in 1838, aged eighty-seven. He may be called the father of the American navy, as the vessels constructed under the act of Congress of March 27, 1794, "to provide a naval armament for the United States," were modeled after his designs. On the 12th of April, 1794, Gen. Knox requested Mr. Humphreys to prepare drafts and models for such frigates as he had proposed to the War Department in his letter of that date, and also models for the frames; and in July following he was instructed to have the moulds for those to be built at Norfolk (the "Chesapeake"), Baltimore (the "Constellation"), New York (the "President"), Boston (the "Constitution"), and Portsmouth (the "Congress"), prepared with all possible dispatch and sent to those places, Mr. Humphreys superintending in person the construction of the frigates "United States" at Philadelphia. The central idea of Mr. Humphreys' plans was that ships of a heavier build and greater weight of metal than those of the European navies should be constructed, in order that the United States might at once take rank as a naval power. Mr. Humphreys' views met with some opposition, and one of the frigates, the "Chesapeake," was constructed on a smaller scale than had been intended, and on a different model, although the timbers had been prepared for the larger dimensions. The ships constructed after Humphreys' plans proved to be fast sailers, capable of enduring heavy battering and of inflicting severe injury in a short time.

their business to Wilmington, Del., at which place sixteen Philadelphia firms announced, in the month of August, that they were prepared to sell their goods and merchandise.

The epidemic continued until about the 1st of November. During its prevalence the number of deaths from the disease was twelve hundred and ninety-two. In consequence of the frequent visitations of the scourge the Governor urged upon the Assembly the importance of obtaining a sufficient supply of water for the city by means of canals, and providing proper sanitary regulation; and a petition to the City Councils asking that action be taken in the same direction, received many signatures. President Adams' return on the abatement of the epidemic was marked by a new display of political rancor. The adjutant-general of the city volunteers had issued orders for a parade of the military to receive the President. "An Old Soldier," on the 4th of November, published a communication in the *Aurora*, objecting to binding the militia "to the chariot-wheels" of the President. He said that "the attempt was made to convert the honorable badge of the citizen soldier into the slavish livery of a mercenary;" to "concentrate the regiments into servants in livery;" and that the President had been "reveling and feasting at Boston and New York while our unhappy city was the prey of disease and death." Other articles of the same kind, subsequently published, were signed "No Idolater," "An Old Whig," etc. The *Aurora* of the 11th described the reception as "the triumphal entry of his Serene Highness of Braintree into the city."¹ It said that at eleven o'clock Capt. Dunlap's troop, consisting of twenty-four men, Morrell's of eighteen, and Singer's of twelve, "went to meet his Serene Highness." Between two and three o'clock the cavalcade appeared. Capt. Forest, with twenty-four men, "had the honor to precede his Highness' horses." Capt. Dunlap's "and the other two troops had the honor to follow his carriage. Great order was maintained," said the *Aurora*. "There was no gaping multitude; no huzzas." The companies, according to the same authority, turned out miserably. Nelson's grenadiers had eight men, Robinson's artillery seven. The whole number of soldiers on parade was about ninety, although the real force of the eleven regiments ordered out was about one thousand. The *Aurora* says that constables stationed at the doors of his Excellency ordered some small boys to hurrah, and thus ended the reception of the President at the seat of government.

The popular celebrations of the year were marked by similar ebullitions of partisan feeling. On the 14th of January Commodore Joshua Barney was entertained at dinner at Oeller's Hotel, "in consideration of his services to the cause of republican liberty," and the anniversary of the alliance with France was

celebrated at the same hotel "by as respectable an association of citizens," said the *Aurora*, "as ever convened on a similar occasion." Chief Justice McKean and Mr. Langdon, of New Hampshire, presided, and among the guests was Joseph Priestley, the famous philosopher. Washington's birthday, as we have seen, was celebrated with much *éclat*, and on the 12th of April the successes of the French in Italy were celebrated at Kensington on the site of an old redoubt, commenced by Gen. Putnam while in command of the city, and afterwards completed by the British. The usual salutes were fired at daybreak, noon, and sunset, and the French, American, and British flags were displayed. At the entertainment the toasts were of strong Gallic flavor. On the 1st of July an entertainment was given to James Monroe, late minister to France, who was recalled on account of his rashly enthusiastic course in "fraternizing" with the officials of the French republic. Chief Justice McKean and Mr. Tazewell, of Virginia, presided, and among the guests were President Adams and Vice-President Jefferson. On the 4th of July the second company of artillery (militia), Capt. Guy, dined at the Buck Tavern in the "Neck," fifty citizens dined at Geisse's Point-no-Point (now Bridesburg), and the Columbian Fishing Company spent a pleasant day at their fishing hut on the Schuylkill. On the 18th of August, Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Polish patriot, arrived at Philadelphia as a passenger on the ship "Adriana" from Bristol, England. He was received by a large gathering of citizens, who took the horses out of his carriage and dragged it in triumph to Mrs. Lawson's, in Fourth Street, where the general was to lodge. The sufferings of the American captives in Algiers called forth strong expressions of sympathy in Philadelphia, and when the prisoners were at last released they were received with great kindness in Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 8th of February. They were met outside the city and escorted to the Indian Queen Tavern. In the evening they were taken to Rickett's Circus, and a subscription taken up for their relief realized a handsome amount. Shortly after their arrival the United States schooner "Hamdalla" sailed from Philadelphia for Algiers laden with gunpowder, cannon, and other munitions of war. The construction of three vessels intended for similar service was commenced at Philadelphia about the same time. One, a ship of twenty guns, was built at Kensington by Bowers. Joshua Humphreys laid down the keel, in Southwark, of the "Hassan Bashaw," a brig, mounting twenty guns, and Nathaniel Hutton constructed a schooner, the "Skjoldbrand," to carry eighteen guns. All these vessels were transferred in payment of tributes to the Dey of Algiers. During this year two vessels were libeled for being engaged in the slave-trade. The ship "Lady Waltersdorff," of New York, was one of them. When she entered the Delaware two negroes were found on board, and irons, handcuffs, chains,

¹ John Adame's residence was at Braintree, Mass., since called Quincy.

and other implements of the trade. It was ascertained that she had left the coast of Africa with one hundred and fifty men, who had been sold into slavery at St. Croix. The vessel was seized and confiscated at Philadelphia, and the owner made amenable to the penalty of the act of Congress.

The next exciting incident of the year in Philadelphia was a fire which occurred between five and six o'clock on the morning of the 27th of January in the house of Andrew Brown, printer of the *Philadelphia Gazette*. The escape of the family, which slept in an upper story, was cut off by the flames. Two apprentices leaped from a window, and though injured, escaped with their lives. Two servant-girls, who were badly hurt, were got out alive; and Brown was rescued by a negro servant, who bore him down a ladder. Mrs. Brown and three children (two girls and a boy) were suffocated. The victims were buried in three coffins, the funeral starting from the house of Maj. Robert Patton, on South Third Street, and proceeding to St. Paul's Church, where the service was read by Rev. Dr. Magaw. Mr. Brown lingered until the 4th of February, when he died, and Ann Taggart, one of the servants, died a week afterwards. The publication of the *Philadelphia Gazette* was continued by Andrew Brown, a son of the deceased.

Among the measures before the Legislature and City Councils this year was a project for erecting a permanent bridge over the Schuylkill at Middle Ferry on Market Street. The City Councils proposed to undertake the work, but private individuals, on the other hand, desired the formation of a company for its construction; and, owing to the conflict of interests, no definite action was taken in the matter this year, but in 1798 a bill was passed incorporating a company. In April an ordinance was passed by the Councils assigning the use of Dock Street, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, to the cattle market. The location of the market was shortly afterwards changed to Seventh Street, between Walnut and Prune (Locust). An act of Assembly passed on the 27th of February declared the Cobocksink Creek, from the mouth to the bridge on the road to Frankford, a public highway for the passage of all kinds of vessels and rafts that could float therein. The inhabitants were granted permission to remove obstructions, and it was provided that the creek should be of the width of forty feet for purposes of navigation. Authority was also given for the erection of drawbridges over it.

In consequence of the insolent attitude of the French Directory and the continued seizures of American vessels by French cruisers, the popularity of France had now begun to decline; and it soon became evident that the country was slowly but surely drifting into war. On the 5th of March, 1798, President Adams informed Congress of the receipt of dispatches from the American envoys to Paris announcing the failure of their mission. Accompanying the dispatches was a message from the French Directory

to the Council of Five Hundred urging the passage of a law declaring that all ships having English commodities on board were good prizes, and that the ports of France would be closed to all ships that in the course of their voyages had touched at any English port. A few days later, Congress was informed that the representatives of Talleyrand, one of the French ministers, had demanded a bribe of fifty thousand pounds for the members of the Directory and a loan to the republic, in consideration of the adoption of a satisfactory treaty. Great excitement was caused by the publication of these facts, and a decided revulsion of feeling in the popular sentiment toward France soon followed. In every part of the country was re-echoed the vigorous language of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

In the Pennsylvania Senate, however, the feeling in favor of France was still very strong. On the 20th of March that body adopted resolutions declaring that the representatives of Pennsylvania bear their public testimony against war in any shape or with any nation unless the territories of the United States shall be invaded, but more especially against a people with whom our hearts and hands have been lately united in friendship. In the House, however, the resolutions were received and laid on the table, but never taken up for consideration. On the 12th of April the Common Council appointed Joseph Magoffin and Thomas P. Cope a committee to consider with the mayor, recorder, and aldermen the propriety of holding a general meeting "on the subject of uniting the whole corporation in an address to the President of the United States on the present critical situation of affairs." The Select Council also adopted resolutions in favor of presenting an address "expressing to the President of the United States the highest approbation of his conduct relative to the existing differences with the French republic." This address was presented to President Adams on the 23d of April. It expressed, in the name of the city of Philadelphia, approbation of the Federal administration, and of "the prudence and moderation with which our government has received the unprovoked aggressions of France." In his reply President Adams expressed his gratification at these expressions of confidence and good will. At a meeting of the merchants, traders, and underwriters, held at the City Coffee-House on the previous day (April 11th), an address to the President had been adopted expressing regret at the failure of the negotiations with France, and their determination to support the government. On the following day a number of the residents of the city, Southwark, and the Northern Liberties met at Dunwoody's tavern, Market Street above Eighth, with Col. Gurney in the chair and Samuel W. Fisher secretary, at which it was resolved that the government had done all that could be done to restore harmony between the United States and France, and Joseph

Thomas, Andrew Bayard, Samuel Wheeler, Joshua Humphreys, Henry Pratt, Levi Hollingsworth, and Joseph North were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the President. Popular indignation at the conduct of France was rapidly intensifying, and the publication of a new patriotic song, "Hail Columbia," greatly stimulated the agitation. At the request of Gilbert Fox, a young actor, Joseph Hopkinson, then twenty-eight years of age, wrote "Hail Columbia" to accompany the air of "The President's March," composed by a German music-teacher named Roth, which had become very popular in Philadelphia. This song was sung by Fox at his benefit in the theatre on the 25th of April, and excited the wildest applause. It was necessary to repeat it several times, the audience joining in the chorus. The words were immediately caught up and repeated in all parts of the city, and thence throughout the country. It was also sung at night in the streets by large assemblies of citizens, including some members of Congress. As the song was thought to be inimical in tone to the French, it was not very popular among the Democratic party, which, under the leadership of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, was still strongly favorable to France. Bache's *Aurora* of the 27th denounced the song as "the most ridiculous bombast and the vilest adulation to the Anglo-monarchical party and the two Presidents," and on the 5th of May announced that "Joseph Hopkinson, the author of the late Federal song to the tune of 'The President's March,' had been nominated by the President a commissioner to transact some business with the Indians," and added, "He has written his song to some tune, that's clear!"

Among the demonstrations for the support of the government was a meeting of youths between eighteen and twenty-three years of age, at James Cameron's tavern, Shippen Street, on the 28th of April. Samuel Relf presided, and Edward Bridges acted as secretary. Resolutions were passed approving the action of the Federal government, and Samuel Relf, Edward Bridges, Charles Hare, John Woodward, Charles W. Goldsborough, and Richard Rush were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the President. At an adjourned meeting held on the 30th, at which it was computed eight hundred young men were present, committees were appointed to procure signatures to the address. On the 7th of May twelve hundred of them assembled at a place of rendezvous and marched in procession to the President's house. At the suggestion of Francis Shallus it was decided to wear a black cockade, and with this badge upon their hats they marched into the President's house in double file and were received by the President in his saloon, after which they dined together. In the evening, excited by liquor, some of them made an attack upon the house of Benjamin F. Bache, printer of the *Aurora*, and battered at the doors and windows, but committed no further trespass. On the following

night parties of men wearing the French cockades appeared upon the streets and created some disorder, in consequence of which the Citizen Volunteers were placed on guard at the mint and arsenal, and troops of cavalry paraded the streets at night. The 8th of May had been designated as a day of fasting and prayer; but political agitation rendered it a day of excitement and disorder. The newspaper writers contributed not a little to the excitation of feeling. Cobbett was particularly violent, and Bache, in the *Aurora*, was almost as vehement. In James Carey's *United States Gazette* of May 10th, Cobbett was denounced as a foreigner who had no interest in the country, and severely criticised for having recommended the wearing of a cockade by the Federalists. "A citizen," it was urged, "has no business with a cockade. It is a military emblem, which ought only to be worn by a soldier. . . . It ought to be discountenanced by citizens at large." Republicans—"the real friends of order"—were advised "not to think of assuming any badge liable to misconception," and which "could answer no possible good and might be attended with mischief."

Cobbett having charged the American Society of United Irishmen with being "engaged in a conspiracy against the country," was denounced in a series of strong resolutions, and the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, in celebrating their saint's day at the Columbia Wigwam on the Schuylkill, on the 12th of May, adopted a number of toasts expressing strong sympathy with the French and an enthusiastic preference for Democratic principles. The Democratic Republicans of the Northern Liberties, at a meeting held on the 1st of May, Col. Coats presiding and William Robinson, of Southwark, assisting, adopted sentiments of a similar character. On the same day the grenadiers and infantry assembled at the State-House and marched to Centre Square, where they performed various evolutions. After their dismissal, the First Light Infantry, which had gained the designation of *sans-culottes*, partook of a dinner prepared for the occasion. The True Republican Society, successor of the Democratic Society, had an entertainment at John Snyder's Robin Hood Tavern, in the course of which an election for officers was held. Early in June, Governor Mifflin, in anticipation of war with France, addressed a circular letter to the militia officers, requesting their co-operation in the preparation of measures for defense, in accordance with the act of Congress, passed near the end of May, providing for the raising of a provisional army. A meeting of the division officers, including Gen. Thomas Proctor, major-general of the division of the city and county of Philadelphia, was held at the State-House, and resolutions adopted assuring the Governor of their cordial and hearty support. The militia of the county brigade, however, sympathizing with France, and desiring to avoid a conflict, if possible, were not so prompt or enthusiastic in their action.

On the 16th of June seventy of the brigade officers assembled at the town-house, Northern Liberties, Gen. Jacob Morgan in the chair, and by a vote of sixty-five to five adopted resolutions offered by Capt. Hozey, of the Southwark Light Infantry, declaring their intention to co-operate with the Governor. On the other hand, an address deprecating hasty action and expressing gratitude to France for her generous assistance during the Revolution, which was offered by Maj. Frederick Wolbert, was adopted by a vote of



A MACPHERSON BLUE.

sixty-one to nine, and Gen. Jacob Morgan, Col. Coats, Dr. Michael Leib, Col. Worrell, and Col. Franks were appointed to present it. New companies were organized, and Macpherson's Blues, who promptly offered their services, were strengthened by the addition of new companies in the various arms of the service; their number being increased to six hundred men. The different commands embraced in the organization were the First Troop City Cavalry, Capt. John Dunlap, afterwards Robert Wharton; Second Troop City Cavalry, Capt. Singer, afterwards Joseph B. McKean; one company artillery, Capt. Hale, afterwards Taylor; one company grenadiers, Capt. Higbee, afterwards Moore, of which Fennell, the tragedian,

was a member; one company riflemen, Capt. Howell; one company infantry, from Germantown, Capt. —; four companies infantry (Blues), Cpts. McEwen, Heysham, Frobisher, and Willing.¹

Several companies of infantry, artillery, and cavalry were also raised in various parts of the city and county, among which were a troop of light-horse raised by Capt. Thomas Lieper; the Philadelphia Blues, Capt. Lewis Rush; First Green Infantry, Capt. Doyle Sweeney; the Light Infantry, blue and buff, Capt. John Johnson; the Light Infantry, blue sash, Capt. David Irving; the Germantown Infantry Blues, Capt. Daniel Rubicam, attached to Macpherson's Blues; the Northern Liberty Blues, and others. Governor Mifflin accepted from the city eight hundred and seventeen men, and from the county seven hundred and ninety-five. The Philadelphia troops were attached to the Third Division, commanded by Maj.-Gen. Thomas Craig, of Montgomery County; Brigs. Jacob Morgan, of Philadelphia, and Thomas Boude, of Lancaster.

¹ The general uniform of the Blues was of navy-blue cloth; pantaloons edged with white; a tight round jacket, edged in the same manner, with red lappels, cuffs, and collar, the collar standing, two inches high, having two bright buttons and worked button-holes thereon. The hat was turned up on the left with a fan-tail by a white button and looped, decorated with a black cockade, out of which arose a white plume; the crown was covered with bear-skin.

As Macpherson's Blues were mostly Federalists, a military association of persons of opposite political principles was formed as a set-off. It was known as the "Militia Legion of Philadelphia," and consisted of all the "Republican uniformed flank companies, troops of horse, rifle corps, grenadier, artillery, and light infantry companies, established conformably to the laws of this Commonwealth." It was to be commanded by one general commandant and four majors,—one of cavalry, one of artillery, and two of infantry. Easter Monday, the 1st of May, and the Fourth of July were selected as the regular parade days. All the members of the association were required to subscribe to a "test," declaring their attachment from conviction or principle to Democratic Republican government, and pledging themselves at all times to support the laws and republican institutions of the general and State governments. The association was popularly known as the Republican Legion, and exercised an important influence in public affairs. Col. John Shee was chosen commandant.

On the 11th of June a number of merchants assembled at the City Tavern, George Latimer being in the chair and John Donaldson secretary, and resolved to take up subscriptions for building and equipping two ships, not exceeding five hundred tons each and mounting twenty guns, for the use of the United States government. Joseph Anthony, David H. Conyngham, Daniel Smith, James Crawford, and Joseph Simmons were appointed to receive subscriptions, and it was determined that, as soon as forty thousand dollars had been subscribed, the construction of the vessels should be commenced; but, on the recommendation of the government, the plan was modified by the substitution of a frigate of forty-four guns for the smaller vessels. The frigate, which was constructed by the younger Humphreys, N. Hutton, and Delavue, was named the "City of Philadelphia." She was one hundred and thirty feet keel, and built to carry thirty eighteen-pounders and fourteen twelves.

The arrival of Gen. John Marshall, one of the envoys to France, on the 19th of June, was the occasion of a popular demonstration. He was received at Frankford by the three troops of horse, commanded by Cpts. Dunlap, Singer, and Morrell, and welcomed by the ringing of bells and the plaudits of a large concourse of citizens.

Considerable excitement was created about this time by the arrival in the Delaware of several vessels having on board a number of Frenchmen and negroes, who had come to the United States in consequence of the occupation of Port-au-Prince by the British troops. Governor Mifflin, alarmed at the prospect of the introduction into Philadelphia of so many persons supposed to be inimical to the country, issued orders to the Board of Health to detain them at quarantine, and prevent them from coming to the city, and applied to President Adams for assistance. The French were disposed to be turbulent, and threat-

ened to take possession of the vessels in which they were passengers and proceed to the city. Gen. Tous-sard, who commanded at Fort Mifflin, had two guns placed so that they commanded the vessels, and Capt. Stephen Decatur, who commanded the frigate "Delaware," which lay below the fort, took a position with his guns bearing on the French ships. Early in July the "Delaware" went to sea, and on the following day captured, off Egg Harbor, a French privateer schooner, "L'Croyable," of twelve guns, with a crew of seventy men, which had cruised about the capes of the Delaware and made prizes of several vessels bound to and from Philadelphia. The news of her capture was the subject of general rejoicing among merchants, a number of whom met at the Coffee-House and exchanged congratulations. "L'Croyable" was sent to Philadelphia and condemned as a prize, the crew being sent to Lancaster jail under charge of a detachment of Macpherson's Blues and the First City Troop. The vessel was afterwards fitted out as the American privateer "Retaliation," and under the command of Capt. Bainbridge rendered valuable service.

The political controversies of the period resulted in two personal affrays,—one between Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, and Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, members of Congress, and the other between B. F. Bache, editor of the *Aurora*, and John Ward Fenno, son of the editor of the *Gazette of the United States*. While balloting, on the 22d of January, for members of the committee on the impeachment of Senator Blount, Griswold insulted Lyon by alluding to a story in which Lyon was charged with having been compelled, while an officer of the Revolutionary army, to wear a wooden sword on account of cowardice in the field. Lyon retorted by spitting into Griswold's face. A committee of investigation reported in favor of the expulsion of Lyon, but a resolution to that effect was lost. Irritated by this failure, Griswold, on the 15th of February, approached Lyon, while the latter was writing at his desk, and struck him over the head and shoulders with a club. Lyon returned the blows with a pair of tongs, and after they had belabored each other for a short time, the combatants were separated. Subsequently they met in one of the anterooms, where Lyon assaulted Griswold with a stick. One of Griswold's friends ran out and procured a hickory club, which he gave to Griswold; but other parties interfered and prevented a renewal of the fight. A resolution for the expulsion of both Lyon and Griswold was defeated, neither the Democratic nor Federalist party, to which they were respectively attached, being willing to spare their services.

The affair between Bache and Fenno grew out of charges which the elder Fenno had made in his paper to the effect that Bache was in the pay of France. Bache retorted by asserting that Fenno was sold to the British. Fenno thereupon denounced

Bache as a "villain," and the latter characterized Fenno as a mercenary scoundrel. Finally young Fenno called on Bache at his office, and inquired who was the author of the last article. Bache told him to send his father to ask that question, and Fenno then left the office. On the following day the parties met on Fourth Street, and Fenno struck at Bache, who plied his cane over Fenno's head. After they had been separated, Bache, according to his own account, stooped "to pick up his comb" and Fenno gave him "a wide berth." Military preparations for the anticipated war with France were vigorously prosecuted. On the 11th of November, Gen. Washington, who was now lieutenant-general of the army, arrived in Philadelphia to take charge of matters, and was received by the troops of horse and a large number of the uniformed companies of foot. On the 24th President Adams, who had left the city on account of the recurrence of yellow fever,¹ returned, and was received

¹ The fever was again very virulent during the summer and early fall of 1798. Among its victims were Hilary Baker, mayor of the city, Benjamin Franklin Bache, editor of the *Aurora*, and John Fenno, editor of the *National Gazette*. The newspaper offices suffered severely, there being in all sixty-two persons who died from the disease. The publication of the *Aurora* was suspended from September 10th to November 1st. Carey's *Recorder*, the *Gazette of the United States*, ceased publication in the early part of September, and the *American Daily Advertiser* removed its office to Germantown. The scenes attending the pestilence were often horrible. Putrefying bodies were discovered in deserted houses in such a state of decomposition that they were no longer recognizable, and persons delirious from fever ran through the streets almost naked. Many were found lying in the streets stricken down by the disease. About forty thousand people fled from the town. At night the streets were deserted, and the thief and robber plied their trade with impunity. On the night of the 2d of September the Bank of Pennsylvania was robbed of one hundred and sixty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-one dollars and sixty-one cents in specie and notes, and the circumstance added to the dismay. The robbery admonished other moneyed institutions to beware of a similar danger. The Banks of North America and Pennsylvania were immediately transferred to Germantown, and the Bank of the United States soon followed. The fever made its appearance in the Walnut Street prison on the 13th or 14th of September, and its mortality was severe. There were then three hundred persons in confinement, including debtors. This disaster rendered it necessary to remove as many as could be safely taken away. The unfinished buildings of Robert Morris, Chestnut Street above Seventh, afterwards called "Morris' folly," were placed in requisition, and the women, with vagrant and untried prisoners, were removed there. Some of those who remained became desperate, and on the 18th made a bold attempt to escape. This was not a general movement on the part of the prisoners. Some of the convicts confined in the east wing took advantage of the visit of Dr. Duffield to seize the key and make an escape. They knocked down Mr. Evans, a constable, who was acting as a deputy keeper, and then called to the other convicts in the yard to aid them. Robert Wharton, then an alderman of the city, who was in another part of the jail, ran to the assistance of the keeper. When he arrived, Miller, the ring-leader, had an axe raised to kill Evans. Wharton and G. Gass, an assistant keeper, seeing this, both fired their muskets at the same time. One of the balls (supposed to be from the musket of Gass) broke the right arm of Miller and entered his body. Vaughan, another convict, struck Evans with a bar of iron, and retreated into his apartment. Evans pursued him and fired at him, sending a ball into his lungs. Another convict was wounded by a bayonet in the hands of a prisoner, a negro, who sided with the keepers. The majority of the convicts had nothing to do with this attempt. It commenced and ended with the projectors. Seven prisoners broke out afterwards by undermining the prison walls and escaped. The total number of deaths from the fever was three thousand six hundred and forty-five, or over twenty-four per cent. of the population remaining in the city.

with salutes from the sloop-of-war "Delaware," Capt. Stephen Decatur, and Capt. Matthew Hale's ninth company of Philadelphia Artillery, which was stationed near Centre Square.

Among the minor incidents of the year were the organization of the Welsh Society for the assistance of distressed immigrants from Wales, which was incorporated in 1802, many of its members having been associates of the old Society of Fort St. David's, which had been in existence before the Revolution: the death of Nathan Bryan, a member of Congress from North Carolina, who was buried in the graveyard of the First Baptist Church; and the falling, on Sunday morning, July 8th, of the roof and dome of Lailson's Circus, in South Fifth Street. The apex was ninety feet high, and the noise made by the falling timbers, etc., startled the whole city like a report of cannon. The building had been used until twelve o'clock the night before by Macpherson's Blues, and a constant cracking was heard in some parts of the building, but created no alarm, as no one suspected the cause. The catastrophe ruined M. Lailson, who soon after returned to France.

Among the laws passed this year was one, enacted on the 4th of April, which permitted the obstruction of the passage of certain streets of the city on Sunday. This act recited in the preamble that various religious societies had been enabled to purchase and hold lands by virtue of the act of Feb. 6, 1731, and to erect churches and other houses of religion thereon. The provision of the Constitution, "that all men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences," was quoted, and it was declared that those rights would be "nugatory" without securing the peaceable and quiet enjoyment of them. As a means of securing such rights, religious congregations in the city of Philadelphia were permitted to fasten chains across the streets, lanes, or alleys in front of their churches or meeting-houses, so as to prevent the passage of horses, vehicles, or persons on horseback, during the hours of divine service on the Sabbath. Churches which were in High Street, opposite the market, were permitted to fasten chains on both sides of the market. This provision was for the benefit of the First Presbyterian Church and the Friends' meeting-house, at the corner of Second and Market Streets. The fine for removing a chain so set up was thirty dollars. The law specially applied to the city of Philadelphia, and to no other part of the State. In March an act was passed to incorporate a company to make a turnpike road from Philadelphia to Germantown, and by the route of Chestnut Hill to the twelve-mile stone on the Reading road, and thence to Reading, in Berks County. This road to Germantown was a great improvement, the travel between the city and that borough being so great that heavy carts were cut in the highway, which became a slough of mire in wet weather. In the spring of the

year, especially, the way was only passable with the greatest difficulty. Wagons were bemired, stalled, and broken. Horses were sprained and weakened by the extraordinary efforts necessary to drag their loads; and such was the bad character of the roads that practically, at certain periods of the year, there was non-intercourse between Philadelphia and Germantown. A turnpike road had been prayed for immediately after the chartering of the Lancaster Turnpike Road Company; but the opposition by property-owners, who did not wish to pay the tolls, and the dilatory manner in which the Legislature acted upon all subjects of importance, postponed and delayed the improvement until this time. The new corporation was entitled "The President, Managers, and Company of the Germantown and Reading Turnpike Road." The new avenue was ordered to be commenced at the intersection of Front Street with the Germantown road, thence through Germantown to the top of Chestnut Hill, and thence through Hickorytown, the Trappe, and Pottstown to Reading,—the road to be sixty feet wide, thirty feet of which was to be an artificial road, bedded with wood, stone, or gravel. The income from tolls above nine per cent. was directed to be invested as a fund, with which to buy off the shares of the company; and, when all were paid off, it was directed that the road should be free. Another measure of great importance to the city was the incorporation of a company to build a permanent bridge over the river Schuylkill, at or near the city of Philadelphia. Petitions were presented from Philadelphia for the organization of a company, in connection with citizens of New Jersey, for the erection of a bridge over the Delaware at Trenton, to facilitate communication between Philadelphia and New York. The Legislature acceded to the request by the passage of an act incorporating the bridge company, and New Jersey concurred.

Although the yellow fever was again severe in 1799, and the city almost deserted by its inhabitants,¹ the political controversies were fiercer than ever. A violent opposition to President Adams and his administration had sprung up. The celebration of his birthday, January 17th, with a ball and supper at the new theatre, gave great offense to the Democrats; and the passage of the "alien law" led to some scandalous scenes.

On Sunday, February 9th, William Duane (then editor of the *Aurora*), Samuel Cumming (a printer employed upon that paper), Dr. James Reynolds, and Robert Moore, who had lately emigrated from Ireland, entered the yard of the Catholic Church of St. Mary's, prepared with blank petitions for the repeal of the law. During divine service they posted upon the walls of the church copies of a placard requesting the natives of Ireland who worshiped there "to re-

¹ The deaths from the fever this year were estimated to number twelve hundred and seventy-six.

main in the yard after divine service until they have affixed their names to a memorial for the repeal of the alien bill."

Some of the trustees of the church and members of the congregation tore these bills down, but they were again put up. When the congregation was dismissed, Duane and the others had the petitions spread out upon the tomb of the Rev. James Burns, and ready for signing. Some of the persons who came out of the church signed; but others looked upon the proceeding as an insult to the congregation, and strenuously remonstrated against it. An attempt was made to compel the intruders to leave the churchyard. Dr. Reynolds was pushed by the crowd, and drawing a loaded pistol, presented it at the body of James Gallagher, Jr., declaring that he would shoot any man who laid hands upon him. Gallagher struck at him, and, as Reynolds wheeled, the pistol fell or was knocked from his hand. Another person (Lewis Ryan) then caught Reynolds, threw him to the ground, and seized the pistol. Complaint was immediately made to the mayor, and shortly afterward Duane, Cumming, Moore, and Reynolds were arrested. During the proceedings before the mayor, Judge McKean appeared, and, according to Cobbett, exhibited a spirit of partisanship in favor of the prisoners, which must have been very offensive to the mayor.¹

Duane, Moore, Cumming, and Reynolds were afterwards tried for seditious rioting, in the Oyer and Terminer, before Judge J. D. Cox and Associate Justices Reynold Keen, Jonathan B. Smith, and A. Robinson. Reynolds was also indicted for an assault and battery upon Gallagher. The jury acquitted the defendants of riot, but convicted Reynolds of the assault. John Melbeck, Owen Foulke, Abraham Singer, Edward Shoemaker, Jacob Cox, John Morrell, and William Levis were indicted for this assault in the Mayor's Court, but the trial was delayed until 1801, when they were found guilty and fined, with costs. Civil actions for damages were brought against Peter Miercken, John Dunlap, Joseph B. McKean, Joshua Bosly Bond, James Simmons, and George Willing.

An article having appeared in the *Philadelphia Gazette* offensive to the United Irishmen, John Richard McMahon, one of the number, went to the office, ordered his paper to be stopped, and challenged Brown, the printer, to fight him with pistols. He was tried, convicted, and fined twenty dollars and costs for assaulting Brown, and to twelve months' imprisonment or a fine of two hundred and eighty dollars for giving the challenge. Another Irishman, John McGurk, was found guilty of entering the office of Fenno's *Gazette* with a drawn sword and committing an assault upon a man named Hilliard, whom he found there. Brown, of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, was also

beaten and injured. In May, William Duane, having asserted in the *Aurora* that some of the troops which went from the city to suppress the Northampton insurrection² had lived at free quarters while engaged in that duty, the officers of the cavalry regarded this statement as an insult, and a party of them waited on Duane and demanded to know which troop was thus stigmatized. Duane having refused to answer, was forced down-stairs into the yard of his house. The demand was repeated, but he again refused to tell, whereupon he was set upon and beaten. On the following day a number of Democrats assembled at the *Aurora* office to protect it from further violence, but no disturbance occurred. Several days later Fenno, editor of the *Gazette*, was assaulted in his office by Capt. J. B. McKean, on account of a publication concerning the latter's father. McKean struck at Fenno, and the latter returned the blow. A scuffle ensued, but the parties were separated. The most exciting political controversy of the year, however, was that growing out of the election for Governor. The Democrats had nominated Thomas McKean and the Federalists James Ross, of Pittsburg. McKean had many enemies, among whom the bitterest and most relentless was William Cobbett. At the public meetings of both parties the proceedings were bold and uncompromising. At one of these assemblages held at Dunwoody's tavern, of which Robert Wharton was chairman, resolutions were adopted instructing a committee to prepare an address on behalf of the friends of James Ross, in which it was declared to be necessary to expose the "judicial tyranny and intolerance of McKean."

Another meeting of Federalists was held at which their reasons for supporting Ross and opposing McKean were given. A few days before the election, a writer, signing himself a "Pennsylvanian," declared that McKean had been inconstant to all parties, and ever ready to attach himself to the strongest. Thus he had been opposed to the Stamp Act, the Declaratory Act of 1766, and all other arbitrary crown measures until 1772, when the post of collector of his

¹ The mayor at this time was Robert Wharton, who had been elected in the previous year to succeed Hilary Baker, who had died of yellow fever.

² This insurrection grew out of the opposition to the levying of a direct tax by the Federal government. One of the provisions of the law directed the measurement of the windows in each house as a means of approximating the value of the house as a subject of taxation. This measure was resisted at first by the women, and the methods of defense resorted to by some of them led to the adoption of the title "The Hot-Water War," as applied to the disturbances. In Northampton County some thirty persons who had been most active in fomenting trouble were arrested and imprisoned in the house of the United States marshal, but were rescued by a force of men under the command of John Fries. President Adams issued a proclamation commanding obedience to the laws, and Governor Mifflin called out a quota of troops. From Philadelphia, Dunlap's, Singer's, Morrell's, and Leiper's troops, and from the county, Leshler's troop marched on the 4th of April. One troop of cavalry also went from Bucks, Chester, Montgomery, and Lancaster. Brig.-Gen. Macpherson, who had been commissioned as an officer of the United States army, was given command of the expedition, his position in the State service being given to Col. Gurrey. Fries was soon apprehended and sent to Philadelphia, and others were also taken into custody. Fries was tried and found guilty of high treason, but both he and his companions were afterwards pardoned by the President.

Majesty's customs for New Castle, Del., being vacant, he applied for it, was appointed, and took the oath of allegiance to the king. The latter canceled the appointment when McKean became a warm Whig. "He was," said the writer, "a timid member of Congress in 1776; a Constitutionalist until 1787; a Federalist of the highest tone until 1793; and an Anti-Federalist, a foreigner, a Jacobin, and a Frenchman since, beside being the advocate of the Penn claim for half a million of pounds for quit-rent." James Ross' character was not so vulnerable, and the Democrats confined themselves chiefly to general criticisms of the Federalist policy. At a meeting of the citizens of South Mulberry Ward, held on the 16th of September, of which John Barker was chairman, it was resolved that the British faction and their emissaries were "trying to destroy our government by efforts to introduce British laws, British customs, and British cruelties in lieu thereof," and that Judge McKean should be supported "for his uniform opposition to the British tyrant, for his patriotism, integrity, firmness, and ability, and his long and faithful services for thirty-three years, so early as 1765, when he manfully opposed the British Stamp Act." The political excitement was so great that there was danger of large numbers of persons flocking to the city on election-day from their country retreats, and exposing themselves to the infection of the yellow fever. To prevent injury Governor Mifflin changed the place of holding the election for the city and the townships of Blockley and Kingsessing from the State-House to the Centre-House Tavern, kept by John Mearns, in Market Street west of Broad. The place of election for the District of Southwark was removed from the Commissioners' Hall, formerly Little's school-house, to Isaac Wharton's house, in Love Lane, between Moyamensing and Passyunk roads. The vote in the city was, for McKean, 1137, for Ross, 1612; and in the county, McKean, 2513, and Ross 1188. McKean was elected by a majority of 5395.

On the 24th of October a grand jubilee was held "upon account of the triumph of the principles of republicanism over a foreign faction." A number of Republicans or Democrats met at Zeigler's Plains, Spring Garden, "where a fine fat steer was in ancient order immolated on the altar of liberty, beneath the flag of America, surmounted by the classic emblem of liberty and peace, the cap and wreath of laurel and palm." Libations of red and white wine, said the *Aurora*, "were poured upon the altar, and the classical mind was regaled with inhaling the mixed odors of the libation and the sweet savors of the victim." At noon "two British twelve-pounders, whose muzzles had erst muttered destruction in the ears of the free sons of America, were heard to bellow forth the triumphs or triumph of him who had, in the hour of peril, met and dared their thunders." Guns were fired in honor of each of the counties where there was a Republican majority, and nine guns collectively for

the Republicans of the counties where the opposition had prevailed. At two o'clock two guns were fired specially "in honor of the union of German and Irish interests in the support of Republicanism and the virtuous exertions of the Germans in the counties of Lancaster and York." The evening ended with a general jubilee, "wherein music was used in rendering the parade agreeable," and patriotic songs were sung, after which the company returned to the city, and with lights and music marched to the houses of leading Republicans, whom they serenaded. On the 6th of November a meeting was held at the Universalist Church, Lombard Street, Israel Israel in the chair, at which Dr. Michael Leib reported an address congratulating Chief Justice McKean upon his election as Governor. In his reply, McKean did not hesitate to inveigh against the character and motives of those who had voted against him. Among these was William Cobbett, who had repeatedly declared that if McKean was elected he would leave Pennsylvania. When the result of the election in McKean's favor was made known, Cobbett hastened to prepare for his removal to New York. He was not able to perfect his arrangements before an execution was levied upon his personal effects, which swept away nearly all the property which he had accumulated in America. The plaintiff in the suit was Dr. Benjamin Rush, and the judgment had been obtained upon a verdict against Cobbett for libel. The quarrel between the parties, although perhaps aggravated by a difference of political opinion, was not about politics. In 1793 Dr. Rush had adopted a method of treatment of the yellow fever, upon the success of which he prided himself, and which he labored hard to convince the community was judicious. The principal features of his practice were the administration of copious mercurial purges and bleeding the patient as often, said Cobbett, as "five or six times a day." During the fever of 1797 *Peter Porcupine's Gazette* was published. Dr. Rush again, by letters printed in other newspapers, urged the adoption of his system of bloodletting and the use of calomel. Cobbett took up the subject, and ridiculed Dr. Rush's system of practice unmercifully. He opposed it by squibs, puns, epigrams, and quotations from "Gil Blas," by which Dr. Rush's practice was likened to that of Dr. Sangrado. "It began," said Cobbett, "about the beginning of September, and before October bleeding almost to death, and calomel, or Rush's powders, were the jests of the town." Suits for libel were brought against Cobbett and Fenno, who joined him in the assaults upon the Democratic doctor. The proceeding against Fenno was abandoned, "because," said Cobbett, "he was an American." That against the Englishman lingered on for two years. It had been brought in the Supreme Court, and Cobbett, "well knowing, from a former example," what he might expect from Chief Justice McKean, who presided in that tribunal, made application for a removal of the



See Portents, in Colours just Portray'd, | Would in darkness, acts the mischief's part,
 Ugly by old Nick to drive his dirty trade, | And triumph much to stab you to the heart.

FAC-SIMILE OF ONE OF THE COBBETT CARICATURES.

suit to a United States Court upon the allegation that he was a British subject. This favor was denied. The suit remained untied until after the election of McKean as Governor, and was called on in December, while Cobbett was absent in New York. In his charge to the jury Judge Shippen summed up the nature of the libels complained of thus:

"He (Cobbett) repeatedly calls the plaintiff a quack, an empiric; charges him with intemperate bleeding, injudiciously administering mercury in large doses in the yellow fever, puffing himself off, writing letters and answering them himself, styling himself the Samson in medicine, and charging him with slaying his thousands and tens of thousands."

The only defense to the suit was that the articles were not libelous nor malicious, but fair comments on a public subject. The jury thought otherwise, and brought in a verdict of five thousand dollars damages,—a sum unprecedented in the record of actions for tort in Pennsylvania. Execution was promptly taken out, and Cobbett's property was seized.

In his account of the affair, Cobbett asserts that property was sold for four hundred dollars, among the exulting yells of the sovereign people, that ought to have brought nine hundred or a thousand. He denounced the "sovereign people of Philadelphia" in bitter terms, characterizing them as "the most malicious and the most cowardly race in existence," and revenged himself by publishing a periodical in New York called *The Rushlight*, in which, after abusing Rush, McKean, Shippen, Hopkinson, and Harper, he ended by consigning all Philadelphians to perdition and sailed for Europe. Before his departure he issued "Porcupine's Farewell Address to the People of the United States," dated May 29, 1800. He stated that he had made John Ward Fenno his agent, and that he intended to print his writings in England and send them to this country, as well as *The Rushlight*, which was to be continued.¹

Among the measures of municipal improvement set on foot during this year (1799) was one for providing the city with an adequate supply of water. A petition signed by several hundred citizens was pre-

sented to the City Councils, requesting the municipal authorities to take the lead in the work, which was described as being one of peculiar importance in view of its probable efficacy in moderating, if not preventing, the ravages of yellow fever. The immense loss often experienced from fire through the insufficiency of the water supply was given as an additional reason, and the City Councils were urged to take the matter into their "immediate, wise, and effectual consideration." In August, 1798, the Common Council proposed that the Spring Mill fountain in Montgomery County should be examined, and a report made upon its capacity and the best method of bringing the water to the city. No action was taken by the Select Council until November, when a committee was appointed to investigate the subject, and to examine other sources of supply between Spring Mill and the city. It was also determined to petition the Legislature for assistance, and to request that the auction duties be appropriated for that service, and that full authority be given the city corporation for the introduction of water. Mr. Huntley, of Connecticut, having been represented as a person who possessed some valuable improvements for raising water from rivers to heights above their levels, the committee of Councils was authorized to consult with him and others.

In December, 1798, the citizens, together with the managers of the Marine and City Hospitals and the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Company, petitioned the Legislature for aid in procuring a water supply, and the Senate appointed a committee in relation to the subject, which reported favorably on the 12th of January, 1799, adding that the most feasible method of accomplishing that object would be the completion of the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal. It was proposed that the State should aid this work, and that sufficient funds might be raised by mortgaging the house built for the accommodation of the President of the United States, and by the duty on auctions, to enable the commonwealth to purchase one thousand shares of the stock of the canal company at two hundred dollars each. Benjamin H. Latrobe was selected as the engineer in place of Mr. Huntley. He reported that the water of Spring Mill Creek might be brought to the city in a closed, elliptical culvert of three feet six inches section, at least three feet under ground, except at the valleys, over which it might be carried by means of aqueduct or segment arches. The distance necessary to be traversed was estimated at twelve miles, and the cost at two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. This plan, however, was not approved by Mr. Latrobe, who proposed instead that works be erected on the Schuylkill, near the city, to pump water by steam-power into a reservoir high enough to distribute the water by pressure throughout the city. The canal company, whose interests would thus have been sacrificed, opposed Mr. Latrobe's proposition, claiming that by the completion of the canal, half its water, without any engine or reservoir on the Schuyl-

¹ A writer in the *Aurora*, Feb. 28, 1800, says,—

"Mr. Cobbett has asserted, both in his *Farewell Gazette* and in a late advertisement, that all his property in this city has been taken in execution and sacrificed at public vendue at the suit of Dr. Rush. This is not so. Not an article belonging to him has been sold at this suit; but it is a fact, notwithstanding his many boasts of punctuality in the discharge of his debts, that all his goods found in this city were seized by the executors of his landlord for house-rent disgracefully left unpaid by him, and it is also a fact that the whole amount of sales arising therefrom has not been sufficient to satisfy that claim.

"Any one questioning the truth of this statement is referred to the sheriff's office, where it will be seen that all the moneys raised by execution does not exceed the sum of three hundred and thirty dollars."

In the *Aurora* of June 11, 1801, it is said that the fine of five thousand dollars was paid by six gentlemen, three Englishmen having contributed one thousand dollars each, one Englishman five hundred dollars, one American one thousand dollars, and one American five hundred dollars.

kill or anywhere else, might be delivered into a reservoir on Centre Square, on a level of at least forty feet above the high-water marks of the Delaware or Schuylkill, "so as to send floods of water down all the streets and raise fountains in most of them without those aerial castles and elevated reservoirs of different stories which have been proposed."

It was also stated that the canal company had received a proposition from a Mr. Sambourn for throwing into the canal reservoir, by means of an engine on the banks of the Schuylkill, thirty gallons of water for each house in the city, or three hundred thousand gallons per day, estimating the number of houses at ten thousand, forty-two thousand dollars, or one-third of the cost as calculated by Mr. Latrobe; and it was declared to have been "well ascertained before the act passed by the Legislature, after repeated examination and levels and accurate calculations of the quantity of water any way contiguous to or connected with Philadelphia, that no other source and supply of water for the city and neighborhood, dry- and wet-docks, and extensive inland navigation could be obtained so expeditiously, or at so small an expense, as from the waters of the Schuylkill, taken off in their purest state, as high as the mouth of Stony Creek or Norristown, as hath been already suggested in our memorial." Latrobe's plan, however, finally prevailed, although the contest was kept up throughout the following year, principally by the canal company and its adherents. The employment of steam to pump the water was especially criticised, and a writer in the *Philadelphia Gazette* of July 31, 1800, spoke of it as "a ridiculous project," expressing the hope that "the good people of my native city will be no longer duped by such chimeras, but that they will turn out of Councils those men who have actively or, by suffering themselves to be duped by others, passively contributed to saddle the city with an unheard-of expense to accomplish that which, when finished, will be a public nuisance, and the probable cause of general calamity to our city, to wit: *a reliance upon steam-engines in the proper supply of water.* They are machines of all machinery the least to be relied on, subject to casualties and accidents of every kind."

Councils not only took prompt and energetic action on their own account, but on the 9th of February, 1799, authorized an address to be prepared, praying the assistance of citizens in this important work. Two days before the same bodies had passed an ordinance pledging the estates of the corporation, except the High Street bridge and ferry, for the payment of the interest and final redemption of the principal of a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in shares of one hundred dollars each. Edward Tilghman, Jared Ingersoll, Stephen Girard, Jesse Waln, Levi Hollingsworth, Leonard Jacoby, John Innskeep, Jacob Shoemaker, Joseph Cruikshank, William Jones, Jonathan Robinson, and Thomas Haskins were appointed commissioners to receive subscriptions. The

water was directed to be furnished freely in the streets; and it was promised that it should be introduced into one dwelling-house, for each share subscribed, for the term of three years, without charge. This was not sufficient, and at a later period an ordinance was passed to raise fifty thousand dollars by taxation.

The plan adopted for the works was as follows: A basin or inlet was formed at the Schuylkill, on the upper side of Chestnut Street, eighty-four feet wide and two hundred feet long, the bottom of which was three feet below low-water mark. From this an open canal extended one hundred and sixty feet to the rise of the hill, and thence a tunnel, six feet in diameter, was cut through the rock three hundred and sixty feet farther to the shaft or well in which stood the pumps for elevating the water. This shaft was ten feet in diameter and fifty-four feet deep, twenty-two feet of which was cut through solid rock. Here a powerful steam-engine was erected, which raised the water from the shaft and forced it into a brick tunnel six feet in diameter and one thousand and forty-eight yards long, by which the water was conducted up Chestnut to Broad Street, and along the latter to another engine-house in the middle of Centre Square. At this place the water was again raised into a reservoir containing sixteen thousand gallons, placed at an elevation of thirty-six feet from the ground, from which it descended into an iron chest four feet by eight outside of the building. With this chest were connected the main pipes for distributing water throughout the city. On the 12th of March, 1799, the first ground for the water-works was broke in Chestnut Street, by John Houston, under his contract for digging the trench of the upper tunnel, a work intended to convey to the Centre Square the water pumped into it by the lower engine. The extremely unfavorable weather retarded this work so much that very little was done at it before the 10th of April, when the weather became more favorable, and Robert Maltseed began the canal from the Schuylkill to the lower tunnel. On the 27th of April the lower tunnel was begun by John Lewis, and in a few days it was discovered that its whole extent would be in the solid rock, from the Schuylkill Canal, from whence it received the water, to the engine well, from which it was raised into the upper tunnel. The well was about the same time dug by Timothy Caldwell, and sunk to the level of low-water mark. On the 2d of May the first brick was laid by Thomas Vickers in the aqueduct of three arches which carried the tunnel across the gully in Chestnut Street, a large embankment having been previously made both above and below the trench. In the mean time contracts for the supply of logs for pipes of distribution were made, and a number of rafts were purchased, as occasion offered, and about the end of May the first pipes were bored. On the 18th of June the first pipe was laid, and at the same time the foundations of the lower engine-house were begun to be dug. A circu-

lar road was made in Centre Square, and the foundations of the upper engine-house and reservoir were begun. Pipes of distribution were soon laid in Chestnut Street from Front to Seventh, and in Mulberry between Second and Third Streets. Nicholas I. Roosevelt was employed to build the steam-engines, and he prosecuted his work very vigorously. A contract was also entered into with that gentleman to maintain the engine and keep it in repair. By the contract Roosevelt undertook to supply one million gallons of water to the city per day, at the rate of three thousand dollars per annum for each engine, and to supply any larger quantity, as far as three million gallons per day, at a rate of half the price of the first million per day. The whole supply was to be at the rate of about one dollar for every one hundred thousand gallons supplied per day. From this expense was to be deducted the annual amount of the rent of the extra power of the lower engine, and of a lot of ground leased to Roosevelt for forty-two years on an increasing rent, being for the first seven years \$500; for the second, \$800; for the third, \$1000; for the last twenty-one years, \$1800,—an average rent of \$1450 per annum. In consequence of this lease a very large additional power was given to the lower engine, which at a future period might meet the increasing demands of the population of the city by arrangements with the lessee.

The most important action taken by the Legislature during this year was the consummation of the project for the removal of the State capital from Philadelphia. In February, 1795, the Pennsylvania House of Representatives adopted a resolution in favor of removal, and Carlisle was selected as the seat of government. It was provided that the whole of the State property in Philadelphia should be sold, and that the removal of the Legislature should be effected by the 1st of December, 1798. The bill having passed the House failed in the Senate, but at the session of 1796 the matter was again taken up. Lancaster was selected as the capital by the House by a majority of two in preference to Carlisle and Reading, whose claims were strongly urged, but the Senate again refused to assent to the action of the House. Two years afterwards (in 1798) Representative Bonnet moved in the House that the seat of government should be removed to a convenient place at or near Wright's Ferry, on the Susquehanna River. Subsequently a motion was made to strike out "Wright's Ferry" and insert "Harrisburg," but it was lost by twenty-nine yeas to forty-three nays. The proposition to have the seat of government at Wright's Ferry was passed and sent to the Senate, which amended the bill by the insertion of "Harrisburg" as the capital. Neither house would recede from its position, and no committee of conference was appointed, so the bill was lost. In 1799 this measure was finally accomplished. On motion of Mr. Martin, of the House, seconded by Strickler, a resolution was adopted declaring that the

increase of the population of the commonwealth rendered it necessary that the seat of government should be removed from Philadelphia and fixed somewhere near the centre of the population of the State, "and more especially as of late a disease called the yellow fever had raged at particular periods, so as to render it dangerous for the members of the Legislature to meet." A committee was appointed to bring in a bill to remove the seat of government to some central place. Efforts were made to have Wright's Ferry, on the Susquehanna, chosen. Meanwhile the Senate took up the subject, and fixed Lancaster as the place of residence of the Legislature. When the bill came to the House attempts were unsuccessfully made to substitute "Harrisburg." The bill was finally passed by a vote of forty-four yeas to twenty-four nays, with Lancaster as the place to which the removal was to be made. The Governor signed the bill April 3, 1799. The time from which Lancaster was to be considered the State capital was after the first Monday of November. The Legislature met there on the 3d of December, 1799, and thus, after one hundred and seventeen years, Philadelphia ceased to be the capital of the State, about the same time when, by removal of the Federal government, it ceased to be the capital of the Union. This removal had an effect upon the people of the State that was probably not contemplated when it was adopted. It introduced taxation as a necessity for the support of government. In his message to the Legislature, in December, 1799, Governor Mifflin said that, for the first time in the history of the State, taxation would be necessary for the support of government. The removal from Philadelphia diminished the amount of fees for the attestation of public seals. The auction duties were specifically pledged for the payment of a certain debt, and a small contribution would be necessary from citizens. He also suggested the sale of the mansion-house, built for the use of the President of the United States, and other State property in Philadelphia, including the city lots yet undisposed of.

During the night of the 17th of December, 1799,¹ news was received of the death of Gen. Washington at Mount Vernon three days before. Congress assembled next morning, but at once adjourned, and on the following day John Marshall delivered an address in the House of Representatives and introduced the resolutions written by Richard Henry Lee, in which Washington is characterized as being "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." In the Senate orders were given to drape the chamber in black. The Episcopal churches were shrouded in black, and at Christ Church the pulpit and organ and the pew occupied by Gen. Washington were covered with the emblems of mourning. Mrs. Adams, wife of the President, postponed her recep-

¹ On the evening of the same day Rickett's circus, at the southwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, was destroyed by fire.

tion until the 27th, and the ladies belonging to families of the officers of the government were requested to wear black, while other ladies attending the *levée* were requested to dress in white, trimmed with black ribbons, wearing black gloves, and carrying black fans. Congress decreed that a commemorative procession should take place, and that a funeral oration should be pronounced by Gen. Henry Lee. This celebration was held on the 26th of December, 1799, and was long known in common parlance as Washington's sham funeral. The parade was formed in the middle of Chestnut Street, right on Sixth. The route was down Fifth to Walnut Street, down Walnut to Fourth, and up Fourth to the church. The bier was deposited beneath the pulpit. An anthem was sung by a choir, and a funeral service adapted to the occasion was read by Bishop White, after which Gen. Lee delivered the address, in accordance with the resolution of Congress.¹

¹ In describing the procession the *Aurora* specified the volunteer companies according to the political principles of the members of the various corps:

Capt. McKean's troop Federal horse.
 Capt. Price's light infantry,—Republican.
 Capt. Johnson's light infantry,—Republican.
 Capt. Rush's light infantry,—Republican.
 Capt. Kessler's light infantry,—Republican.
 Capt. Duane's light infantry,—Republican Greens.
 Capt. Sweeney's light infantry,—Republican.
 Capt. Summers' light infantry,—Republican Blues.
 Capt. Hozey's light infantry,—Republican.
 Capt. Nelson's grenadiers,—Republican.
 Capt. Ferguson's artillery,—Republican.
 Capt. Cripin's artillery,—Republican.
 Capt. Hale's artillery,—Republican.
 Capt. Hoff's riflemen,—Republican.
 Capt. Lelper's dragoons, dismounted,—Republican.
 Col. Shoe, commandant of the Republican Legion.
 The files of the whole military corps.
 The drums,—inuffled.
 A band of wind instruments.
 The light infantry of the Blues (Macpherson's),—Federal.
 Infantry of the Blues,—Federal.
 Grenadiers of the Blues,—Federal,—Capt. Higbee.
 Artillery of the Blues,—Federal,—Capt. Taylor.
 Dunlap's dragoons,—Federal.
 Singer's dragoons,—Federal.
 Morrell's dragoons,—Federal.
 Capt. Hyle's riflemen,—Federal.
 Brig.-Gen. Macpherson, mounted, and his aides, with the staff of the militia.
 Thirty-four of the clergy, of different sects, two and two.

THE BIER,

carried by six sergeants.
 Pall, supported by six sergeants.
 Gen. Lee, the orator of the day.
 A white steed, caparisoned, led, with a crest of plumage and the boots reversed.
 The doorkeepers of the Senate, carrying white staves bound with crape.
 The sergeant-at-arms.
 The clerk of the Senate and assistant.
 The Senate, two and two.
 Doorkeepers of the House of Representatives.
 The sergeant-at-arms, with the mace in mourning.
 The lodge of departments under the Federal government.
 Heads of departments under the State government.
 Officers of militia not under arms.

At the theatre a monody was spoken by Mr. Wiggell on the 28th. The house was crowded. The pillars supporting the boxes, the chandeliers, and the fronts of the boxes were covered with crape. The audience wore badges of mourning. "Washington's March" was played, and was succeeded by a solemn dirge, during the performance of which the curtain rose, displaying a Grecian catafalque in the middle of the stage bearing a portrait of Washington in the centre, encircled by a wreath of oak leaves; beneath, swords, shields, helmets, and military insignia. The top of the tomb rose in the form of a pyramid, and was surmounted by an eagle weeping tears of blood. In the beak of the bird was a scroll with the inscription, "A nation's tears." The sides of the stage were decorated with black banners, on which were blazoned the name of each State. The monody was accompanied by solemn dirges.

The local militia was again reorganized this year by an act passed April 9, 1799, which constituted the city and county one military division,—the city being one brigade and the county one brigade,—the officers then in commission under the former law to remain until their terms expired. In the arrangements made under this act, Lieut.-Col. Gurney's regiment was numbered the Twenty-fourth; Geyer's, Twenty-fifth; Nichols', Twenty-eighth; McLane's, Fiftieth; Scott's, Eighty-fourth. In the county, Lieut.-Col. Shrupp's regiment was the Forty-second; Patterson's, Sixty-seventh; Frank's, Seventy-fifth; Worrell's, Eightieth; Coats', Eighty-eighth. The militia uniform was directed to be blue coats, faced with red; lining, white or red; buttons to correspond with the color of the same. The uniforms of general officers and staff to be blue, faced with buff. The State flag was directed to be of dark blue, "the American eagle supporting the arms of the State, or some striking part of the same." In the upper corner, next the staff, the number of the regiment and the word "Pennsylvania," encircled by thirteen stars; the other color to be of thirteen stripes; in the corner the same decorations as above.

The Legislature passed several other laws of local interest, among them an act authorizing the Governor to appoint an auctioneer for the special purpose of selling horses, cattle, carriages, etc., and an act passed January 16th, declaring Frankford Creek a public highway "from the mouth up to Joseph I. Miller's land, opposite the race-bridge across the Bristol road, or Main Street, in Frankford." Asylums for lost children were established this year at the taverns of Frederick Kelheffers, sign of the Fleece and the Dove, No. 240 North Second, near Callowhill Street, Michael Kitts, Indian King, No. 80 Market Street,

Officers in the Federal army and navy.
 The magistrates of Philadelphia.
 The Grand Lodge of Masons of Pennsylvania.
 Private lodges according to juniority.
 A corps of Republican cavalry from the country.

and at Martin Rizer's, sign of General Lafayette, No. 222 South Second Street, opposite the new market.

The frigate "City of Philadelphia," which, as heretofore stated, had been built for presentation to the United States government, was launched from the ship-yard in Southwark on the 28th of November. The figure-head was a bust of Hercules. The armament consisted of forty-four 18-pounders. As the vessel touched the water salutes were fired from the ship "Ganges" and the armed brigs "Augusta" and "Richmond." Stephen Decatur was appointed commander, and the vessel speedily fitted up. Her career was brief, as she was soon after destroyed in the harbor of Tripoli.

The century which closed with 1799 had been, as we have shown, an eventful one for Philadelphia; which, in fact, had witnessed more stirring scenes and had been the centre of more important actions than any other city in America. At the opening of the nineteenth century she still found herself among the leading cities of the new republic, advancing with steady strides in population, industries, trade, and commerce. The loss of prestige as the seat at once of the Federal and State governments did not affect her material interests, but on the contrary tended to give them freer play and increased vitality. Municipal improvements kept pace with the growth of the city. Among these the most important was the construction of a permanent bridge across the Schuylkill, the corner-stone of which was laid on the 18th of October, 1800, in the presence of the mayor, members of the City Councils, directors of the bridge company, and others. By an act of March 1, 1800, a new division of the city into wards was made. Fourth Street was established as the dividing line. The wards east of that boundary and the Delaware River were: Upper Delaware, from Vine to Race Street; Lower Delaware, from Race to Arch; High, from Arch to Market; Chestnut, from Market to Chestnut; Walnut, from Chestnut to Walnut; Dock, from Walnut to Spruce; New Market, from Spruce to Cedar, or South. West of Fourth Street the wards, which extended to the Schuylkill, were the following: North Mulberry, between Race and Vine; South Mulberry, between Race and Arch; North, between Arch and Market; Middle, between High and Chestnut; South, between Chestnut and Walnut; Locust, between Walnut and Spruce; Cedar, between Spruce and South, or Cedar. An act, passed two days after the former law, directed that the ordinances of the corporations of Philadelphia and Southwark should be enrolled in the office of recorder of deeds instead of that of the master of the rolls, which, by removal of the latter to the seat of government, had now become inconvenient of access.

By act of the 7th of March the town of Frankford was incorporated into a borough. The boundaries began at a corner by the side of Frankford Creek, "between the land of Rudolph Neff, and now or late

of Henry Rover, extending down Frankford Creek one hundred and ninety-five perches, or thereabouts, to the mouth of Tacony Creek; up Tacony Creek, by its several courses, six hundred and ten perches, to a corner of Jacob Smith's land; thence by said Jacob Smith's land and the land of Robert Smith and others; south, thirty-eight degrees fifteen minutes; west, four hundred and nine perches; and south, six hundred and ten perches to the place of beginning." The government of the borough was intrusted to two burgesses, the highest in vote being chief burgess, five assistant burgesses, and a high constable. The title of the corporation was to be "The burgesses and inhabitants of the borough of Frankford, in the county of Philadelphia." The board thus constituted was empowered to improve the streets, regulate the depth of wells, vaults, sinks, etc.; to regulate party walls; with power to assess taxes for local improvements at a rate not exceeding one cent on a dollar.

Congress was now about to establish itself at the new Federal capital, Washington, but before leaving Philadelphia finally, the Senate passed resolutions thanking the commissioners of the county of Philadelphia for the accommodations that had been so long provided for them. The Supreme Court held its last session in Philadelphia in August, and adjourned to meet at Washington. The quarters vacated by the Federal government were occupied by the State authorities, among the first consequences of the change being the removal of the board of health to the State-House.¹

Among the last acts of Congress while in Philadelphia was a resolution recommending that the 22d of February, 1800, should be observed throughout the United States as a day set apart for exercises to express the popular esteem for the virtues of Washington. In accordance with this suggestion the Freemasons of Philadelphia assembled at their hall at the State-House on that day, and from thence marched to Zion Church, at the corner of Fourth and Cherry Streets. In the centre of the procession was exhibited a trophy in honor of Washington, borne by four Past Masters. Its base was five white marble steps, in-

¹ Mention has already been made of the fact that the house intended for the accommodation of the President of the United States was sold to the University of Pennsylvania. By an act of March 17, 1800, the Governor was authorized to appoint three commissioners to sell the building with the ground appertaining, divided into six lots on Market Street, and six lots on Chestnut Street. In July the house and lot adjoining were sold to the University of Pennsylvania for twenty-four thousand dollars. The whole property, including the lots on Chestnut and Market Streets, brought forty-one thousand six hundred and fifty dollars. This sum was paid by installments,—the trustees raising the money by the sale of stock, and by the disposal of a portion of the old college and adjoining premises to a society of Methodists for a place of worship. They were careful, however,—as bound by the title-deeds,—to retain enough of the Fourth Street property to serve for the maintenance of the charity schools and the accommodation of itinerant preachers. The house on Market Street, below Sixth, which had been occupied by Washington and Adams, being now vacant, was leased by John Francis, who opened it shortly afterwards as the "Union Hotel," which soon became a fashionable establishment.

scribed, on the four corners, "Washington Lodge, No. 59." On the platform was a golden urn, surmounted with an eagle with wings expanded, holding in its beak a scroll in the figure of a heart, with the following inscription:

WASHINGTON LODGE.
Honored by the name,
let us emulate
his virtues
whose loss we
deplore.

The three lights usually borne in Masonic processions were upon this occasion extinguished.¹

At Zion Church an appropriate oration was delivered to the order by the Rev. Brother Samuel Magaw. Solemn odes in the German language, composed by the Rev. Dr. Helmuth, and set to music by Messrs. Einrich and Weizaecker, were sung by a select choir. After the ceremonies the lodges moved in inverse order to their hall.

The day was solemnly observed by other citizens. The journals say "the houses were shut and work generally abolished." At eleven o'clock the Rev. Dr. Carr delivered an eloquent discourse to a large congregation at St. Mary's. At twelve o'clock the procession, under the direction of the Society of the Cincinnati, left the State-House. They proceeded up Chestnut to Third, up Third to Race, and along Race to the German Reformed Church near Fourth Street, where an eulogium upon the virtues of the deceased was pronounced by Maj. William Jackson.²

At the church the exercises were commenced by a prayer from the Rev. Dr. Rogers, after which Maj. William Jackson delivered his address. There were

¹ The following "blue lodges" participated:

The French lodge L'Aménité, No. 73; Brother Joseph E. G. M. De La Grange, Esq., Master.
Philadelphia Lodge, No. 72; Brother Christian Sheetz, Esq., Master.
Orange Lodge, No. 71; Brother William Nelson, Master.
Concordia Lodge, No. 67; Brother Henry Voight, Esq., Master *pro tem*.

Washington Lodge, No. 59; Brother John McElwee, Master.

Harmony Lodge, No. 52; Brother George Springer, Master.

Lodge No. 19; Brother Capt. John Coyle, Master.

Lodge No. 9; Brother Capt. Andrew Nelson, Master.

Lodge No. 3; Brother Col. John Barker, Master *pro tem*.

Lodge No. 2; Brother John Phillips, Master.

² The procession moved in the following order:

Capt. McKean and the First City Troop Volunteer Cavalry, dismounted.
Music, in mourning.

Gen. Taylor with the artillery.

Gen. Macpherson.

Capt. Higbee's company of Grenadiers.

The Blues.

Music in the centre, playing "Washington's March."

Germantown Light Infantry.

Second City Troop Volunteer Cavalry.

A led horse, caparisoned in full war-trappings, bearing a portmanteau, holsters, saddle, and having thrown across him a pair of military jack-boots, a uniform coat, a sword, and a cocked hat.

The Society of the Cincinnati, having their badges covered with black ribbon.

Officers of the army and navy.

Officers of the militia of the city and county.

present upon this occasion the President of the United States, John Adams, and the Vice-President, Thomas Jefferson, members of the Senate and House, and His Excellency Robert Lister, the British minister. In the evening Mr. Peale displayed an emblematic transparency at his museum.

Among the ceremonies on this occasion none were more impressive than those which were directed by the French lodge L'Aménité, No. 73. The brethren ordered that an oration should be delivered in open lodge, under the most solemn and impressive forms of the master's lodge. Brother S. Chaudron was chosen to deliver the address. The lodge-room was accordingly completely hung in black. In the centre, on a platform, to which the ascent was by *five* steps, a bier was raised, with the Mason's insignia and military decorations proper to the character of the deceased, surrounding which were several urns suitably decorated. Over and surrounding the bier, which stood ten feet above the lodge, black drapery was displayed from the ceiling, festooned and knotted, and interspersed with suitable emblems. The catafalque was surrounded by more than three hundred lights.

The intemperate language used by Governor McKean in responding on the 6th of November, 1799, to the congratulations tendered him upon his election to the governorship drew forth sharp expressions of feeling. In the House of Representatives a motion to substitute for the usual complimentary reply to the Governor's address a paper strongly censuring the Governor for partisanship failed by a vote of thirty-three to thirty-nine, but in the Senate, where the Federalists had a majority, an address to the Governor was adopted condemning him for having removed from office "a great number of respectable characters, against whom no other blame rests than the exercise of their rights as freemen in opposition to your wishes." The Governor replied, denying the right of the Senate to exercise a censorship over him. With regard to removals of persons from office, he relied upon his right to make such changes as he deemed proper, without accountability to any person or party. A few weeks later he acted upon this principle by removing Joseph Hopkinson from office, and appointing John Beckley in his place. This incident gave rise to an animated controversy, in which Joseph B. McKean appeared on behalf of his father. Governor McKean was also assailed on account of his participation as "Grand Sachem" at the anniversary celebration of the St. Tammany Society, which was held May 12, 1800, at the Buck Tavern, in Moyamensing. The "long talk" was made by Dr. John Porter, and among the other "Sachems" present besides McKean were Israel Israel and Col. John Barker. The ceremony was burlesqued by a writer in the *Philadelphia Gazette* of June 3d, who spoke of McKean as "*him* who rules poor Pennsylvania State." The course of William Duane in the *Aurora* had great influence in embittering the feeling between Federalists and Re-

publicans. His attacks against the administration of President Adams were virulent and unceasing, while the Federalist majority in the United States Senate was narrowly watched and its action frequently denounced.

Upon one occasion Duane stated in the *Aurora* that Mr. Ross had introduced into the Senate "a bill to influence and affect the approaching Presidential election, and to frustrate in a particular manner the wishes and interests of the people of Pennsylvania." The bill referred to provided a mode of deciding disputed elections of President and Vice-President of the United States by the election of six persons by the Senate and six by the House to form a grand committee, with the chief justice of the United States as an additional member, to try disputed questions. On the 19th of February he followed up the subject by printing a copy of the bill which was described as being so mischievous, and asserted that the measure had been perfected in a caucus of Federalist senators. This method of securing concerted action by parties in legislative bodies was denounced as capable of being made an instrument of oppression. The disputed elections bill, continued the *Aurora*, was "an offspring of this spirit of faction secretly working," and would be "found to be in perfect accord with the outrageous proceedings of the same party in our State Legislature, who are bent on depriving this State of its share in an election that may involve the fate of the country and posterity." The publication led to the adoption by the Senate of a resolution to the effect that it contained "assertions and pretended information respecting the Senate and the committee of the Senate and their proceedings which were false, defamatory, scandalous, and malicious," and that it was a "daring and high-handed breach of the privileges of this House." Another resolution was adopted declaring that Duane should be called to the bar of the Senate on a certain day, "at which time he will have an opportunity to make any proper defense for his conduct in publishing the aforesaid false, defamatory, scandalous, and malicious assertions and pretended information." Duane appeared and declared his willingness to answer any questions which the Senate might think proper to ask, but at the same time asked that he might be heard by counsel. Alexander James Dallas and Thomas Cooper were requested to act as his counsel, but declined on the ground that they would not be permitted sufficient liberty of action. In consequence of their answers Mr. Duane informed the Senate that under the restrictions which the Senate had thought fit to adopt he found himself deprived of all professional assistance, and therefore thought himself "bound by the most sacred duties to decline any further voluntary attendance upon that body, and leave them to pursue such measures in this case as in their wisdom they may deem meet." The Senate thereupon resolved that Duane was guilty of contempt, and issued a warrant to the sergeant-at-arms commanding his arrest.

Duane, who is reported to have kept out of the way for a time, was not arrested, possibly because some of the members of the Senate thought that they had gone further than their jurisdiction extended. Remonstrances were presented against their action in Duane's case. On the 12th of May the Senate resolved that, instead of bringing the printer before them, he should be prosecuted in a court of law. A resolution was passed requesting the President of the United States "to instruct the proper law officer" to commence and carry on a prosecution against Duane for the article of 19th February, "intending to defame the Senate and bring them into contempt and disrepute, and excite against them the hatred of the people of the United States."

Cooper's letter in relation to Duane's case gave great offense to the Federalists. He was detested heartily by the whole party, and his free-spoken thoughts and writings involved him in trouble. Shortly after his refusal to act as counsel for Duane he was himself arraigned at Philadelphia in the United States Circuit Court, before Judge Chase, under the provisions of the seditious law, for a libel on President Adams. The article complained of was published in the *Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette*, of which paper Cooper was editor. The expressions seem, at the present day, to be quite moderate in comparison to many that are now used in speaking of public officers. They would now meet with no other reproof than a counter-article in some opposition journal, or be passed over in silence. Cooper had been accused of having sought the appointment of agent of American claims from Mr. Adams in 1797, in which he failed. In referring to some comments upon his position as an opponent of the administration, after having in vain solicited its favors, he defended himself upon the ground that he had not at that time done anything to render his application improper or indelicate. He added a number of charges against President Adams, concluding finally that had Mr. Adams been guilty of all these things in 1797, he never would have been troubled with any application for office from him. Cooper found an unsympathizing bench. Chase was presiding judge, and the law was ruled against the defendant strictly upon all points. After a strong charge to the jury by the judge, Cooper was found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of four hundred dollars and undergo an imprisonment of six months, and to give two sureties for his future good behavior in five hundred dollars each. He suffered the full penalty of this sentence. The Republicans looked upon him as a martyr, and when he was discharged from prison he was met at the jail-door by a deputation of friends, who took him to a fashionable hotel, where a public dinner had been prepared for him. Two tables were set. At one presided the popular Democrat, Dr. George Logan; at the other, Thomas Leiper.

Cooper had been frequently attacked while in

prison by Wayne in the *United States Gazette*. After his term of confinement expired he sent a letter to the latter referring to those attacks when he could not reply to his insolence by a personal challenge. He had been bound over to keep the peace when he came out of prison, but he notified Wayne that he would right himself when he could do it without injury to his friends. This communication was carried to Wayne's office by Dr. Reynolds "and another United Irishman." Wayne ordered them out. A fracas seemed imminent, but the intruders prudently retired without the necessity of a fight.

The friends of Adams were not less strenuous in their opposition to Jefferson, who was denounced as an atheist and a demagogue. Even the pulpit enlisted in the warfare. In a sermon preached at St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church in August, Rev. Dr. James Abercrombie, referring to Jefferson, spoke of the danger to the community to be apprehended from the election of an irreligious chief magistrate, and having been criticised for this declaration, announced that, as a member of the community, he had a right to express his political opinions, and *would* express them, and that as a Christian minister he conceived it to be his duty, when the interests of religion and morality were involved in the prevailing discussions of public policy, publicly and professionally to declare his opinions. This announcement rendered Dr. Abercrombie a mark for newspaper pasquinades and criticism. Rev. Dr. Helmuth, of the Lutheran Church, who in a sermon had lamented the decline of religion, as evidenced by its being disregarded by a "great number of the people of this country in their choice of rulers,"—a palpable hit at Jefferson,—was also attacked by the *Aurora* for interfering in politics. The Philadelphia newspapers dealt in a good deal of fierce invective about this time. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State under Adams, was denounced by the *Aurora* as a defaulter and purloiner, his total peculations at one time being set down at as large an amount as eight millions of dollars. The circumstances attending the delivery of Thomas Nash, *alias* John (or Jonathan) Robbins, to the British government upon a claim that he was a British subject and was guilty of murder, was a subject which provoked a violent controversy. The Democrats claimed that he was an American citizen who had been delivered up to a British naval officer and hung. On the other hand, the government asserted that he was a British subject who had committed murder and had been justly punished. Duane, who led the Democratic assaults upon the administration in this matter, was himself the object of frequent attacks. Among other accusations brought against him was that of being the author of a pamphlet advocating the murder of Gen. Washington, a charge which he felt called upon in December, 1800, to deny. Tench Coxe, to whom many of the articles in the *Aurora* were attributed, was also vigorously assailed as having been a Tory

during the Revolution, and with having guided the British troops from the head of the Elk River to Philadelphia, entering the city at the side of Gen. Howe, etc. In his vindication Coxe relied chiefly on the fact that he had been appointed to office by Washington, who would not have done so unless he had believed him to be a friend to his country. Duane's vigorous advocacy of their cause obtained for him and for his paper great popularity and influence among the Republicans. At New York a dinner was given in his honor, and he was frequently toasted on public occasions.¹

Among other subjects to which Duane devoted special attention was the rivalry between the politico-military organizations, Macpherson's Blues and Shee's Legion. The Blues had been accepted by the President of the United States in 1798 for two years, upon the apprehended danger of French invasion, and it was resolved that the battalion should be dissolved upon the expiration of that time. The friends of the Republican Legion, commanded by Gen. Shee, took occasion to exult at this circumstance. Duane, in an article upon the subject, stated that the Blues had been originated by Samuel Relf for young men between sixteen and twenty-three years of age. It was said to be a partisan organization, the existence of which rendered the creation of the Republican Legion absolutely necessary. The Blues were accused of wearing the

¹ One of the principal topics of discussion among the politicians of the day was the question as to how electors for President of the United States should be appointed. The Senate and House could not agree upon the method in which the choice should be made. One of the bodies was in favor of a general ticket for electors, to be voted for by the people of the State in aggregate. The other chamber favored the choice of electors in districts. All attempts to reconcile these differences by a compromise failed, and when the Legislature adjourned in March no authority had been given to hold an election for electors of President or Vice-President in the fall. The hopelessness of any arrangement between the stubborn parties probably had its influence upon Governor McKean, and admonished him of the uselessness of endeavoring to procure any settlement of the question by the representatives and senators then in power. He waited until the election in October, after which writs were issued calling a special session of the Legislature in November. In his message the Governor adverted to the difficulty whereby the citizens of the State had been deprived of all opportunity of choosing electors. There was no time for holding a general election, and the only manner in which Pennsylvania could exercise any part in the choice of President and Vice-President would be by electors chosen by the Legislature. The dispute between the two branches was now renewed in another shape. Fifteen electors were to be chosen. The House desired to elect the whole of them by joint vote. The Senate refused to sanction such a plan, inasmuch as the greater number of the members of the House would give the latter the settlement of the question. The Senate proposed that each chamber should choose eight electors, but to this the House would not agree. Committees of conference were appointed, and various propositions were made. The House insisted that nine persons should be nominated by each chamber, from among whom the choice should be made. The Senate would not agree that more than eight persons should thus be nominated. On the latter basis the matter was at length compromised. The electors were chosen in joint meeting, the bill having been signed by the Governor December 1st.

The determination shown by the Senate prevented the accomplishment of the object of the House, which was to secure the entire vote of the State to Jefferson and Burr. At the meeting of the electors appointed by the Legislature they voted,—for Adams, seven; for Jefferson, eight.

black cockade in 1798, and of being generally inimical to the country. In reply, *Rel's Gazette* retorted that the Blues had always shown spirit, and had full ranks when the necessities of the country required it. The Legion, it was claimed, on the contrary, in times of danger paraded ten or twelve men to a company, and only filled up after peace. On the 18th of June the Blues, two hundred and two men, paraded and yielded up their arms and equipments at the *Manège* on Chestnut Street. After an address by Gen. Macpherson, the members met at Dunwoody's tavern and adopted an address of thanks to their former commander. After the dissolution of the Blues, Shee's Legion had no longer an excuse for remaining in existence as a political organization. It would probably have soon lost that feature had it not been for the efforts of the State government. In November the feeling in reference to the wearing of cockades was renewed by official orders from Lancaster. The adjutant-general stated that the Governor having observed that the military dress of the militia was prescribed by the Legislature,—consisting of a blue coat faced with red, and the lining white or red,—but that no regulation had been made by law respecting the cockade, “and being desirous of distinguishing the militia of this State from other corps, recommends that in future the colors of the cockade be blue and red, corresponding with the colors of the uniforms.”

On the first parade of the Legion after this intimation Gen. Shee issued orders that the State cockade should be assumed. An endeavor was made to render the wearing of this badge universal among citizens, which was strenuously opposed by the Federalists, who signified their disapprobation by assuming the black cockade. Shee's Legion kept up its organization some time longer, until all pretexts for maintaining volunteer companies of a purely political character had died away, and on the 4th of July eighteen companies paraded, and after exercising dined at various places.

The subject of the abolition of slavery was revived this year by petitions to the Legislature for the unconditional extinction of the system in Pennsylvania. Absalom Jones and seventy-three other blacks of Philadelphia presented a petition against the fugitive slave bill, the Guinea slave trade, and the practice, of which some citizens of the State it was said had been guilty, of shipping off negroes to be sold in Georgia. A number of free blacks also presented petitions for the emancipation of the slaves in the commonwealth, and requested that they (the petitioners) should be taxed to pay for the expense of freeing them.¹

¹ On the 6th of August the schooner “*Prudent*” arrived at the fort in charge of a prize-master, having been sent in by the United States ship “*Ganges*.” Sixteen slaves were on board of the schooner. A few days afterward another slave-vessel, upon which were one hundred and eighteen negroes, was sent in by the “*Ganges*.” An affecting incident which occurred in relation to the human cargoes of these two vessels attracted much attention. The negroes were at first encamped on shore at the fort. When the second lot of slaves were taken out of the ves-

sel Among the local incidents of the year was a deer-chase in the spring. The hunters met at Bush Hill. There were forty horsemen, and so little obstruction did the face of the country present at that time that when the buck was let loose they were enabled to participate in an exciting chase. This was probably the last affair of the kind that occurred near the centre of business. In January a fox-chase was started from the sign of the Liberty Cap, on Coates Street, between Third and Fourth.

From Nov. 1, 1800, dates the practical end among the merchants of Philadelphia of the British or colonial method of computation by pounds, shillings, and pence. The brokers of Philadelphia also gave notice that, as there were no pounds, shillings, and pence coined in the United States, they intended thereafter to buy and sell public bonds for dollars and cents, and they published books for the use of those accustomed to the old way of computation.

CHAPTER XXI.

FIRST YEARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE TRIAL OF THE EMBARGO ACT IN 1807.

POLITICS occupied the greater part of public attention during the autumn and winter of 1800 and the spring of 1801, and the contest was carried on with a vigor hardly surpassed in any political campaign since. The names of Jefferson and Burr were returned to the House, each with seventy-three electoral votes, but many Republicans (afterwards called Democrats) predicted the triumph of the great Virginian. On the 8th of January a meeting was held at the State-House in Philadelphia, at which, in this spirit of prophecy, it was resolved “to commemorate the 4th of March, 1801, as a day of public festivity to celebrate the success of Democratic principles.” The committee of arrangements consisted of Hugh Ferguson, Daniel Boehm, John Smith, Michael Bright, Thomas Leiper, Andrew Kennedy, Peter S. Duponceau, Joseph Worrell, James Gamble, James Ker, William Rush, Robert Porter, Gen. Jacob Morgan, William Coats, Dr. John Porter, Frederick Wolbert,

and a woman who was among those first brought recognized her husband among the new-comers. They had been torn apart and separated in Africa, and by this strange accident were restored to each other. The shock of the meeting was so great that the woman gave birth to a child, but fortunately recovered her health subsequently. The attention of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery was at once called to this circumstance. A large number of the Africans were housed at the Wigwam, on the banks of the Schuylkill, and donations of clothes, blankets, and provisions were solicited. The United States marshal, John Hall, was without means of supporting them, when the first vessel was libeled, condemned, and sold; but no action was authorized in relation to the negroes. In this condition of affairs the marshal took the responsibility of binding them out to service. With the aid of the Abolition Society places were found for them in due time, and, no inquiry having ever been made for them, they obtained comfortable homes, and there was no further trouble in relation to their support.

Caspar Snider, John Dover, Manuel Eyre, Jr., Ebenzer Ferguson, Isaac Hozey, Robert McMullen, Michael Freytag, James Ingle, George Goodwin, Philip Peltz, Heath Norbury, and Nathan Jones. A permanent committee of correspondence, A. J. Dallas chairman, was appointed to correspond on the subject of the pending electoral session. While the question was still undecided, the most lively interest was manifested throughout the city. There were processions, with music, public meetings, immense sleds drawn through the streets, banners, and mottoes. Almost every one took sides, and the pamphleteers waged energetic war against each other. February 11th balloting was begun at Washington, and six days later the struggle came to a close, Jefferson, fortunately for the country, being chosen President. The delay had caused great excitement, as news traveled but slowly, and "rumors had been circulated charging the Federalists with revolutionary intentions." Jefferson was greatly agitated, and the Republicans threatened that the Middle States would take arms to prevent any change in the method of elections. Excited crowds surged up and down the streets of Philadelphia hungry for news from Washington. Though elected February 17th, the news of Jefferson's victory did not arrive till some time on the 19th. Shaw's artillery fired a salute at the arsenal, the bells of Christ Church were rung, banners were displayed, and that night some Republicans illuminated their houses. The mayor had ordered that the bells be rung, and the sarcastic *Aurora* remarked that "they were tolled for the death of the Federal faction." The next night the "young Republicans met and made arrangements to take part in the celebration set for March 4th, resolving, however, to carefully avoid "any marks of insult or defiance" to the vanquished. The general "committee of arrangements" indorsed this, and also decided against bonfires and illuminations. Mayor Inskip, hearing that there was talk of disregarding this recommendation, issued a proclamation enforcing these points, but adding that he would grant permission for the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells at suitable places. The militia were ordered out by Maj.-Gen. Proctor to aid the procession. Col. John Barker, of the Eighty-fourth Regiment, showed his political sentiments with old-fashioned plainness, for in his "orders" requiring their parade he declared,—

"No event has taken place since the glorious Fourth of July, 1776, of such importance or so congenial to the spirit of that day as the present. The capture of Cornwallis is but as a drop in the bucket. That was a victory over a host of foreign mercenaries, acting under the orders of a royal tyrant openly. This is a triumph of Reason and Justice over Folly and Intrigue and a phalanx of domestic tyrants and sycophants acting under the cloak of Republicanism."

March 4th was thus a great day in Philadelphia, and was long remembered by those who either witnessed or took part in the celebration. The city was crowded with strangers. At sunrise sixteen guns were fired, bells were rung, flags floated over rooftops and shipping in the river. The procession

formed at the State-House, marched down Walnut to Second, up Second to Race, up Race to the German Reformed Church, and back to the State-House, after exercises at the church, Robert Porter reading the Declaration, John Bickley delivering an oration, and a song, "The People's Friend," written for the occasion, being sung.

Shee's Legion was the first in the line. It was composed of Leiper's and Snyder's troops of horse, Huff's riflemen, Shaw's and Guy's artillery with brass pieces, the light infantry companies of Denham, Hozey, Potts, Sweeney, and Kessler, and Goodman's and Ashton's artillery with brass pieces. Jones' troop closed the legion. Maj.-Gen. Proctor and Brig.-Gen. Morgan followed, with officers of militia. The civil officers succeeded, A. J. Dallas, secretary of the commonwealth, at their head. The Tammany Society presented the pageant of warriors in costume, some bearing calumets and other emblems. The tribes representing the States were preceded by the Winkinskey with the key. The True Republican Society followed, and the Youth with their new band of music. The schooner "Thomas Jefferson," drawn by sixteen horses ridden by boys dressed in white, closed the procession.

A subscription dinner was given that afternoon at Francis' Union Hotel. At Ziegler's Plains, Spring Garden, an ox and a sheep were roasted. Similar barbecues, public games, and exhibits of skill were attractions at various points in the city. At Germantown, Matthew Huston delivered an oration in the German Reformed Church, the "Declaration" was read, and a dinner was given at the Union school-house. The Federalist newspapers made severe comments upon "the mob honors thus lavished on Jefferson," and the victors were not slow in replying.

Perhaps the severest invectives were poured out upon the retiring President. Matthew Lyon, of Philadelphia, sent him a letter, on the day of his resignation, of which the following extract will show its partisan character:

"Should you stop at Philadelphia, how melancholy must it seem to you. McPherson's band of cockaded boys are dispersed or grown up into Democrats. No Federal mobs there now to sing 'Hail Columbia!' and huzza for John Adams, and to terrify your opposers. Hopkinson's lyre is out of tune; Cobbett and Liston are gone; the Quakers are for the living President; and your old friend Joe Thomas, I am told, can scarcely find duds to cover his nakedness. I am surprised you did not make him a judge!"

Some anonymous Philadelphian printed a song on "The Duke's Return to Braintree," the "duke" being Adams.

One of the strongest Federalist journals was "Oliver Oldschool's" *Portfolio*, a weekly, which first appeared Jan. 3, 1801, and, though its contents were chiefly of a literary nature, yet it often devoted space

to forcible and often acrimonious political articles. Joseph Dennie was the editor, and he took every opportunity to condemn Jefferson and his famous writings. In April some writer, over the signature of "Common Sense," praised the *Aurora's* recent criticism of the "Declaration of Independence," and declared that "the reading of the Declaration of Independence on every anniversary of the American republic is an improper act, as it tends to prolong in the minds of an ignorant and brutal mob animosity and hatred against a nation with which we are united by a similarity of language, laws, religion, customs, and habits, and with which we reciprocate a large and lucrative commerce."

July 4th the *Portfolio* said,—

"To-day Mr. Jefferson's July paper is read by a few, willing to gull the miserable populace. The farce of republicanism is acted with much Bartholomew-fair drollery. Independence is very noisy in the morning, nonsensical orations are pronounced at noon, and patriotism is exceedingly drunk at night."

Duane's pet name for this journal was "The Portable Foolery." Samuel Harrison Smith, former editor of the *Universal Gazette*, Philadelphia, took charge of Jefferson's new organ, the *National Intelligencer*, in point of talent far short of the passionate *Aurora*, which presently called him "the silky milky Smith."

The President's appointments of Federal officers for Philadelphia were soon announced. Gen. John Shee, nominated "marshal of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania," declined, and John Smith took the place. J. Wilkes Kittera was removed from the district attorneyship, and Alexander James Dallas appointed. This gave serious dissatisfaction, because Dallas was already "secretary of the commonwealth," and, resigning that position, was at once appointed by Governor McKean recorder of Philadelphia, an office of a judicial character, its incumbent being presiding officer of the "Mayor's Court." It was argued that the State Constitution forbade any United States officer from holding such an office. Both the Common and the Select Councils were opposed to his taking the recordership. Proceedings being had, the case was argued by Hopkinson, Lewis, and Tilghman for the Councils, and by McKean and Ingersoll for Dallas, but the defendant won the case.¹

Dallas appeared in a libel suit against the *Philadelphia Gazette*, that journal having said, "Everybody laughs at his law opinions." The two proprietors pleaded guilty, and were fined three hundred dollars each, and ordered to give security of one thousand dollars to "keep the peace for one year." Dallas also sued C. P. Wayne, of the *United States Gazette*, and recovered three hundred dollars and costs. Suits for libel were abundant in those days. The *United States Gazette* charged Duane, of the *Aurora*, with having murdered a girl in Connel, Ireland. Duane brought suit, laying damages at six thousand dollars, but offered to withdraw it if Wayne would give the name of the author of the article. About this time Levi Hollingsworth brought suit against Duane charging that he was an "alien and a British subject." The jury found in favor of Hollingsworth, thus denying the jurisdiction of the American courts in the libel case mentioned. The *Aurora* then attacked Hollingsworth in severe terms, and even assaulted Chief Justice McKean. Duane was sent to prison for thirty days, and damages of six hundred dollars laid against him. Edward Burd, then the prothonotary of the Supreme Court, also brought suit against the impetuous Duane for charging him "with packing a jury," but in 1803 an apology was tendered and accepted. The Duane episode is highly interesting, exemplifying to an unusual degree the license of the press on the one hand, not less than the severity of the libel law on the other.²

February 12th the Germantown and Perkiomen Turnpike Company was incorporated. The road was to begin at the corner of Third and Vine Streets. Benjamin Chew was chosen president, and John Johnson treasurer. This improvement had become necessary. The old road to Germantown "was called the worst road in the United States," and travelers often went around by the way of Frankford or across the open fields to escape its deep ruts.

Another important incorporation created in this year was that of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal Company. In January the Pennsylvania Legislature had passed favorable resolutions, and the Governor had

² Of Duane's two attacks on Hollingsworth, the first, "The Age of Revolutions," accused him with being a traitor, a Tory, and a slave-trader; in the second he declared that Hollingsworth was a member of the City Troop during the Revolution, that he had deserted and joined the British, and was saved by McKean, with one hundred and fifty others, from the fate of Carlisle and Roberts. In the succeeding year Hollingsworth published a refutation of these charges. He declared that McKean had denied that Duane had authority to make these charges. Hollingsworth said that he was imprisoned by a lawless mob, in 1779, for refusing to sell a quantity of flour in his store, deposited there by the commissary of the Eastern District of Maryland for the United States army. The people seized upon him at the place where the flour was stored, and took him to jail. He was kept there until the City Court was held, in June, when Plunket Fleeson, who was upon the bench, dismissed him, with thanks for his past services to the country and for his humane conduct to the distressed. He annexed certificates that he was taken prisoner by the British, with certificates by Abram Markoe, Samuel Morris, and others, that he was tried, discharged, and thanked by the court.

¹ The Legislature took up this subject at the next session, and passed a law Jan. 27, 1802, declaring that the holding of an office under the State by a Federal office-holder was an offense. Governor McKean interposed the executive veto. He declared that inasmuch as no complaint had been hitherto made of the practice of uniting Federal and State trusts in the same person, there was no necessity for the law. He alluded to the fact of his appointment of Dallas a few months previous. The Governor said that he could not, by signing the bill, declare that he had done wrong. He also alluded to another case where he had appointed a member of Congress (Dr. Michael Liebl) physician at the Lazaretto. The Governor had himself been a pluralist, holding the office of member of Congress from Delaware and chief justice of Pennsylvania at the same time. The House and Senate passed the bill over the veto January 27th. Dallas then resigned the office of recorder, and Moses Levy was appointed.

appointed Dr. George Logan, John Hunn, and Presley C. Lane to consult with the Delaware Legislature, but the latter body made conditions (1) desiring certain papers relating to lands in Delaware; (2) that certain parts of the health and quarantine laws should be repealed. Pennsylvania agreed to these terms, and February 19th the act of incorporation was passed, though attacked by the *Aurora* and other papers as "a source of vast mischief." One of these writers, after speaking of "the canal mania in Great Britain ten years ago," proceeded to make one of the earliest suggestions in America concerning "wooden railways" for vehicles on common roads. A few weeks later another writer recommended "iron rails" instead of wood. The canal company was not fully organized till May, 1803; Joseph Tatnall, of Delaware, president, and William Tilghman, James C. Fisher, George Fox, Joshua Gilpin, and others directors, with Messrs. Latrobe and Howard as surveyors.

In 1802 the report to Congress showed that the "Arsenal" buildings built on the banks of the Schuylkill had cost \$152,608.02, and were still unfinished. The Navy-Yard property had been purchased for \$37,000 in 1800, chiefly the site of the old "Association Battery," in Southwark, and the citizens of that district met in the Commissioners' Hall in February, Robert McMullin, chairman, Joseph Huddell, Jr., secretary, and passed resolutions urging the Legislature to declare vacant all cross streets which intersected the proposed site.

The water-works, delivering water from the Schuylkill through pipes and at hydrants along the streets, began operation January 27th, and this was made an occasion for great public rejoicing. By February about \$73,000 had been subscribed to the water loans, and an ordinance was passed furnishing water free for three years to these subscribers. The rate for dwellings was five dollars per annum. In April a sad accident happened at the Schuylkill works, two men being suffocated in a large wooden boiler. The committee's report in October showed that \$220,310 had been spent upon the works, and that the first estimate of \$127,000 had been much exceeded, and large sums were still necessary. Of the money spent the loans had brought in \$90,007, the special tax \$49,579.99, the sale of bridge property \$20,238.02, and various minor resources the remainder. The enterprise was at a standstill, the wooden pipes cost more than was anticipated, and affairs looked gloomy. Michael Freytag and John Curtis proposed to make earthenware pipes, but no one believed in them. Iron was proposed by some, and the committee instituted experiments. In 1801 sixty-three houses were supplied with Schuylkill water, also four breweries and one sugar refinery. Thirty-seven hydrants were in various parts of the city.

The year 1801 was marked by beginning the practice of making local nominations by ward committees in conference or convention. The Democrats, as

the Republicans were now called, adopted it in June, and the Federalists followed their example before the October elections. The townships of Blockley and Kingessing had been made a separate election district called Schuylkill. The city and county of Philadelphia and the county of Delaware were made one district, to choose four State senators. Philadelphia sent five representatives to the Legislature and the county sent six.

The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce was organized this year, admission fees eight dollars, and annual dues five dollars. Thomas Fitzsimons was president, John Craig and Philip Nicklin vice-presidents, Robert Smith treasurer. The committee for the first month (February) was Thomas W. Francis, Joseph S. Lewis, John Sülle, Jr., R. E. Griffith, and Archibald McCall. The meetings were held at the City Tavern.

A permanent foundation for a free school among the poor was laid, growing from a little social club started in 1779 by a few young men, who in that winter or early in 1800 organized "The Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys." Beginning with not more than nine members, this society opened a night-school, and taught twenty or thirty pupils; their revenue the first season was but \$16.37, their expenditure was only \$9.27. Others offered help, when, in June, 1801, Christopher Ludwick, of Philadelphia, died, leaving about eight thousand dollars to "the association first incorporated to teach gratis poor children." The trustees of the University of Pennsylvania endeavored to incorporate first, but the above-mentioned society won the victory, and organized under their charter in 1801, choosing as managers Thomas L. Bristoll, Thomas Bradford, Jr., Caleb Cresson, Jr., William Paxson, Robert Coe, Jr., Edmund Darch, William Neckervise, Thomas M. Hall, Benjamin Williams, William Fry, Joseph Bennett Eves, Joseph D. Brown, Samuel Lippincott, Philip Garrett, Frederick Stelwagon, Thomas Smith, Robert McMinn, and Joseph Briggs. Their school-house was back of the Second Presbyterian Church. John Dickinson afterwards gave them a lot in Kensington. In 1803, Chambers Wharton left them four thousand dollars. In April, 1801, there were eight day or evening day-schools and two Sunday-schools open, free, for colored children.

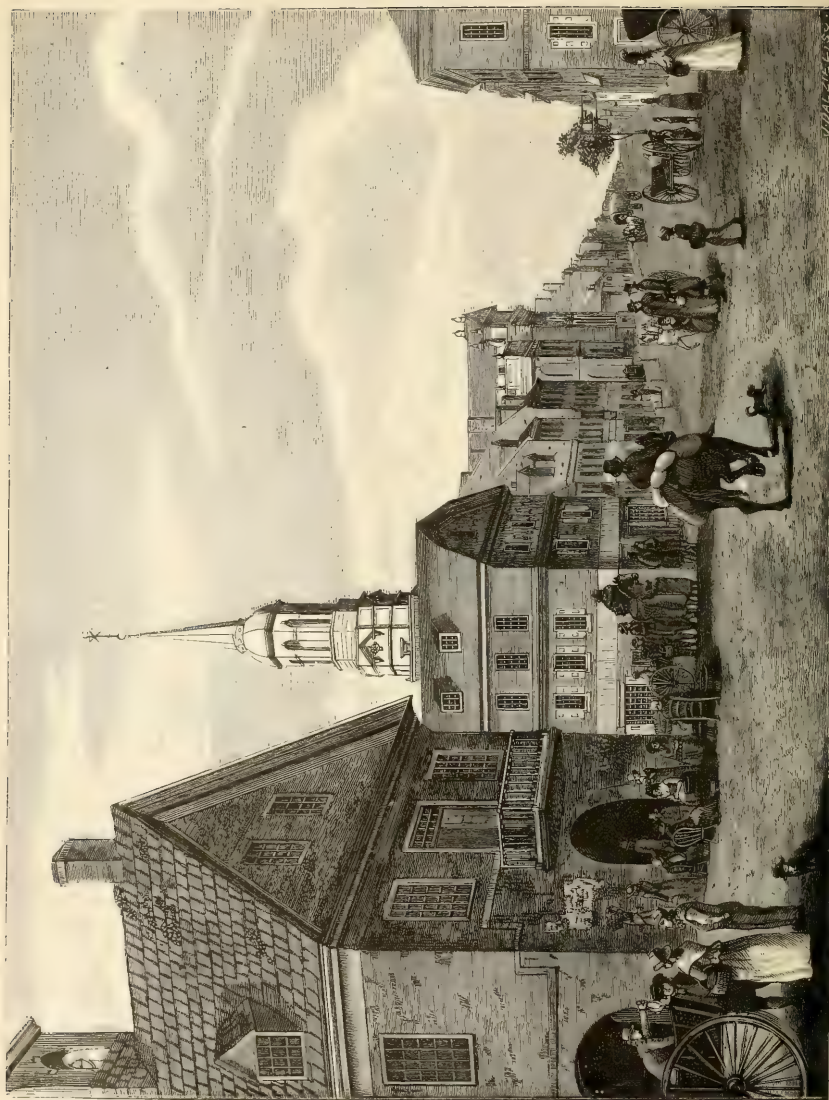
The city had brought a suit against the German congregation which was using a part of the Northeast Square as a cemetery. In February the Councils agreed to stop the suit on the following conditions, which were accepted:

"1st. That the congregation yield possession of all of the square in which interments had not been made.

"2d. If they will accept a lease from the corporation of that part of the lot in which interments are made, but for which they hold no patent.

"3d. That they do not erect buildings on the lot for which they have a patent, and length of possession shall be no bar to the city's rights."

At that time John M. Irwin, the auctioneer, used to sell cattle and horses on stated days on the west



From Birch's Views.

VIEW OF SECOND STREET, NORTH FROM MARKET STREET, ABOUT 1800.

W. H. B. 1800.

side of this square, also on the Southeast Square. February 19th the German Reformed Church was granted by the Legislature a lot on Mulberry Street, between Schuylkill Sixth and Fifth, "for a burial-place, and for charity schools."

In April the United States frigate "Constellation," then lying at anchor in front of the city, capsized at the change of the tide, being thrown suddenly on a rocky shoal, heeling over so far that the lee guns were under water. The vessel was, however, righted in a few days without much loss. Late in June the Pennsylvania Bank took formal possession of its beautiful new building, erected on Second Street above Walnut, Benjamin H. Latrobe, architect.

The various improvements of 1800 and 1801 in the way of buildings were matters of much congratulation. The first row of houses on a uniform plan was erected by or for Mr. Sansom, and were on Walnut Street, north side, between Seventh and Eighth, and in the street between Walnut and Chestnut, from Seventh to Eighth, afterwards called Sansom Street.



CHESTNUT STREET, SOUTH SIDE, FROM THIRD STREET TO WHALEBONE ALLEY (NOW HUDSON STREET).

[From 1803 to 1808.]

Some of them rented at only two hundred dollars per year. A few years later it was announced that the rent would be raised, because from being remote and lonely the houses had become eligible residences. Business men in 1800 said they were "too far from their business." Walnut Street not being paved west of Sixth, Mr. Sansom applied to the Councils for permission to have two more blocks paved, and offered to advance the money.

Dr. Michael Leib early in this year was dined and toasted at John Snyder's, in Poplar Lane, "for his patriotic services." One toast was, "The Northern Liberties, the rallying-point of Democracy," a sentiment that, at a later period, was changed to "The Cradle of Democracy." Late in February a dinner was given to Oliver Wolcott, former Secretary of the Treasury. It was in the rotunda of the new bank building, lit by nine chandeliers. John Nixon presided. The sixteen toasts were marked by unusual mildness and freedom from political passion. July 4th, in Harmony Hall, Irish Tract Lane, Thomas Condie and others gave a dinner, at which a toast of unique and somewhat famous expression was first

given,—"American Manufactures,—blast all their furnaces, dam all their canals, sink all their coal-pits, and consume all American manufactures."

The first public announcement of Cape May attractions for visitors was extravagantly made on July 1st, by an advertisement in the *United States Gazette*.

Some time in 1801 a society was started called "The Philadelphia Premium Society," instituted "for the purpose of fostering American industry, by giving premiums for improvements in arts and manufactures," but it was soon proved that there was little need of any such effort. American artisans and tradesmen were sufficiently energetic and ambitious without any such artificial stimulus.

On the 1st of January, 1802, a meeting was held at the District Court room, to form a company, "The Pennsylvania Improvement Company," devoted to inland communication and to banking. Thomas Leiper was chairman, and the subscription committee consisted of Thomas Leiper, A. J. Dallas, Matthew Lawler, John Hunn, Samuel Carswell, Guy Bryan, William McFadden, Robert Patterson, Samuel Clark, James Vanuxem, William Devitt, and Andrew Pettit. The Legislature was petitioned to grant a charter to the company, and also to subscribe for shares to the value of ten thousand dollars, but did neither.

Early in this year the "Company for the Improvement of the Vine," long talked of by enthusiastic horticulturists, was fully organized. They laid out a vineyard near Legaux's farm, at Spring Mill, and employed Peter Legaux to tend it. Dr. Benjamin Say was president; Isaac W. Morris, treasurer; Jared Ingersoll, John Vaughan,

Dr. James Mease, Frederick Heiss, and Elisha Fisher, managers. At that time the following vineyards were in the city: Montmollin's vineyard, on the Ridge road, four miles from Philadelphia, having one thousand plants; Peter Kuhn's vineyard, about a mile from Montmollin's, with Lisbon, Malaga, and Madeira grapes; Dr. James Mease chose an excellent situation in the centre of the ground-plan of Philadelphia, on the line of Cherry Alley, and had three thousand plants; Paul Labrousse's vineyard was about a mile from Philadelphia, by way of South Second Street, between Second and Third Streets, near Mr. Crousillat's tavern; Crousillat's was four miles from Philadelphia, on the banks of the Schuylkill. He had fifteen hundred plants. North of it was Dance's vineyard; south of Crousillat's was Thunn's, with many young plants; Stephen Girard's, also near Thunn's, had only forty or fifty plants.

Late in 1801, Mathew Carey, of Philadelphia, proposed a series of "Literary Fairs," like the book fairs of Germany, and the project was carried into effect in 1802. Carey's circulars, issued in December, 1801, asked all the booksellers and printers of the United

States to meet in New York, June 1st, to "buy, sell, and exchange" their goods.

The "fair" was formally opened at Bardin's, New York, and Hugh Gaine, the oldest bookseller in the United States, chosen president. Among the New Yorkers present were Evert Duyckinck, William Falconer, and James Oran; Philadelphia sent S. F. Bradford, W. Bradford, Mathew Carey, William Duane, Patrick Byrne, William T. Birch, Abraham Small, John Bioren, and Jacob Johnson. Samuel Trumbull came from Stonington, Conn., and Charles Pierce from New Hampshire. It was decided to hold a fair in New York each April, and one in Philadelphia each October; but the presence of the yellow fever caused the postponement of the latter till December, when it took place at the Franklin Hotel, Mathew Carey presiding, and Samuel F. Bradford and Samuel Campbell being vice-presidents. It closed with a "booksellers' dinner, at which there were seventeen toasts." For a year or two the "fairs" were successful, but the market "was flooded with inferior editions," and the city booksellers withdrew. The fairs "dragged along for four or five years more, and then sank into oblivion."

Jan. 4, 1802, the "sufferers by the spoliations of France on American commerce" met at the City Tavern, and drafted memorials to Congress. Stephen Girard, Joseph Ball, Charles Pettit, James Cox, Thomas Fitzsimons, Henry Pratt, and John Craig were appointed a committee. They corresponded with other sufferers, to secure united action, and they also prepared a "memorial" to the United States Senate and House of Representatives, worded as follows:

"The memorial and petition of the subscribers, citizens of the United States, dwelling in Philadelphia, respectfully sheweth: That your memorialists and divers others, in the regular course of their trade, in the years 1793, 1794, and 1795, invested very large sums of money in provisions and other merchandise suited to the West India market, and sent them thither, where many cargoes were sold to the officers of the colonial administration of the republic of France, to be paid for in cash or colonial produce. Many others were taken by force by the said officers from the supercargoes and consignees, at prices arbitrarily fixed by themselves, to be paid for in produce at rates and terms of credit fixed at their pleasure, and that others have been arrested on the high seas, carried into their ports, and taken for the use of the republic without any stipulated price or contract; that your memorialists confidently believe that the amount of property belonging to the citizens of the United States, thus delivered to and taken by the administrative bodies of the French republic in the West Indies, exceeds two millions of dollars now in arrears, for which your memorialists and others concerned have no mode of obtaining payment, satisfaction, or redress; that the usual course is, after taking the cargo by force and duress, to detain the vessels under pretense of paying in produce, until the masters and crew are wearied with idleness, sickness, delay, and insult, so as to be willing to return either altogether without payment or with such small portions thereof as scarcely to pay the freight and charges occasioned by these long delays, whereby in most instances the whole capital has been left behind, and in those instances where a considerable part of the cargo has been paid for in colonial produce, the expenses of demurrage have consumed almost the whole, as by vouchers ready to be laid before the House or a committee thereof, will abundantly appear.

"Your memorialists further show, that some of the earliest sufferers among them applied personally and by memorials to citizens Genet, Fauchet, and Adet, the first and succeeding ministers of the French republic, for redress, without obtaining it; they also applied by memo-

rial to the President of the United States, who referred them to the Secretary for the Department of State, whose advice they pursued in committing their claims to James Monroe, Esq., Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the republic of France, at the time of his embarkation; that although your memorialists are perfectly satisfied that the executive authority of the Union hath done all within its power to procure redress to your memorialists, yet it has not had the desired effect.

"Your memorialists further represent that they had hoped that some arrangement would have been assented to, whereby the debts due from the republic of France to the citizens of the United States might have been discharged out of the debt due to her from the United States, and under this expectation they exercised patience; but finding that money funded and transferred to an agent of the republic, all hope from that resource is vanished, your memorialists feel the more concern that while provisions have been made by the Executive of the Union for obtaining from other nations a redress for spoliations committed on their commerce, no measures hitherto adopted have been successful for procuring satisfaction from that nation which the merchants of this have shown so decided an affection to, by supplying their islands with provisions and necessities at a greater risk than attended any other branch of their trade,—supplies that were absolutely necessary to their colonies, and which they could from no other place nor in any other manner be furnished with.

"Your memorialists therefore pray that the Legislature will take their suffering case into consideration, and afford them such relief and protection as to their wisdom shall seem consistent with right and justice.

"Montgomery & Newbolds.

Nathan Field.
William L. Sonntag & Co.
John Steinmetz.
William Bell.
James Yard.
James Vanuxem.
Sumner & Brown.
Grubb & Mather.
Daniel V. Thuma.
Pettit & Bayard.
Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co.
George Davis.
Nathaniel Lewis & Sons.
John Clark.
Thomas Fitzsimons.
Philip Care.
Charles White.
Clement & Taylor.
Joseph Brown.
John Taggart.

Walter Stewart.

David H. Conyngham.
James McCurch.
Edward Dumont.
Isaac Hazl-hurst & Son.
For John Wilcocks, George Armroyd.
Nallro' & John Frazier.
E. Dutill & Wachsmuth.
James Gamble.
Amb. Vaffe.
John McCulloch.
Capt. J. Rutherford.
Charles Massey.
John Maybin.
John Gardner, Jun.
John Savage.
Edward Carroll.
Maddock, Jackson & Co.
Philip & Thomas Reilly."

A "Tammany celebration" on March 4th was marked by the presence of a number of Indian chiefs. Shee's Legion and the Tammany Society took part in the procession, and the latter had obtained the help of the Indians. A few days later one of them, a counselor of the Wolf tribe of the Shawanese, died, and was buried by the Tammany Society with Indian ceremonies. The "Great Wigwam" was at No. 85 Race Street. In April "Father William Coats," of the Northern Liberties, an old Revolutionary officer, died, and was buried by Tammany; the members "wearing buck-tails, tied with black ribbons, in their hats."

The return in this year of the yellow fever scourge was the most serious event to be recorded. As before, it came from the West Indies, this time by the ship "St. Domingo," from Cape François. Some of the crew died while the ship was yet at anchor in her West Indian port, and the steward died on the voyage. Being quarantined on her arrival below Philadelphia, one of the crew was taken to the hospital and died

there. Her quarantine was extended, but when it expired she was allowed to moor above Vine Street wharf. John Edwards, a carpenter, who had been temporarily employed on the ship, was taken sick July 4th, and died in three days. About the same time numbers of persons who lived near the wharf were taken with the epidemic; some had worked in the vessel, some were children who had played about the wharf, some were visitors who had ventured on board. July 17th the Board of Health reported "nine dead and twelve sick." The infected district was about Vine and Water Streets, and from thence to Callowhill along Front. An attempt was made to quarantine "the Northern Liberties," but failed, and the Lazaretto hospital was prepared for the poor who fled from the scene of contagion. August 2d the citizens of the district met, Frederick Wolbert, chairman, and Daniel Groves, secretary, and appointed a committee to aid the Board of Health. August 5th an alarming increase marked by most malignant characteristics was reported, and citizens were begged to withdraw from the infected district. The mayor, Matthew Lawler, requested that "those about to leave would send their fire-buckets to his office." One of the newspapers published a letter begging them "not to lock up dogs and cats in their houses" to starve, as had occurred at previous departures of the kind. August 4th the City Hospital, at Race Street, on the Schuylkill, was opened. Drs. Proudfit and Church presided, Heath Northbury was steward. Southwark citizens met on the 4th, William Linnard presiding, and James Rolph secretary; committees were appointed, but two days later they reported "no fever." Moyamensing citizens met August 9th, Michael Kuhn, chairman, and Michael Freytag, secretary, but found little to do. The post-office was removed to Dunlap's building, on Twelfth Street below Market, and the bank officers, on the 7th, decided to remain at their posts. On the 9th an additional patrol was authorized, and a loan of fifteen thousand dollars was negotiated by the city to meet extraordinary expenses. But the mortality was less than in previous years; admissions to the hospitals were but five or six a day; deaths during August were from seven to nineteen daily.

The Southwark people were "proud of the salubrity of their district," and assailed the Board of Health for an erroneous report. They resolved that "no contagious disease exists or had existed in Southwark," and "dissolved their Committee of Safety." October 6th the Board of Health suspended daily reports; October 14th, the City Hospital was closed; November 1st, the board began to grant clean bills as usual. The deaths from all causes in city and liberties were eight hundred and thirty-five. Governor McKean, in his message, estimated the yellow-fever deaths at three hundred. Remembering past epidemics, John Bleakley, April 19th, had willed one thousand pounds to the city to relieve the indigent in times of yellow

fever, but this aid was not utilized until the subsequent visitations of 1803 and 1805. Bleakley also left one thousand pounds as a fund to buy fuel for poor widows.

The commencement of the public-school system, that has since developed so marvelously, was in 1802, an "Act to Provide for the Education of the Poor gratis" being passed, and approved by Governor McKean. It provided that the guardians and overseers of the poor in the city of Philadelphia, and the districts of Southwark and the Northern Liberties, and of every township and borough in the commonwealth, should ascertain the names of all children whose parents they should "judge" were unable to give them educations. It was provided that they should give notice to such parents that provision had been made for educating their children; that the said parents should have a right to subscribe for their education at the usual rates, and send them to any school in the neighborhood, giving notice to the guardians and overseers that they had done so. The names were to be properly registered, and the cost of the schooling was to be levied for in the taxes, and collected in the usual way. This act was restrained to an existence of three years only. This experiment was the result of a long series of efforts by private persons, by church and college organizations, to educate the poorer classes. Ten years before the "Society for the Establishment of First-Day Schools" had memorialized the Legislature on the subject of "free schools." Men like Albert Gallatin and Governor Mifflin had become interested in this important subject.

Politics were somewhat exciting in the fall of 1802, but the Democrats had an easy victory. Governor Thomas McKean was warmly supported by the Administration, received a unanimous renomination, and in October beat James Ross, of Pittsburgh, by 30,000 majority. The vote in the city stood: McKean 1943, Ross 1517; in the country, McKean 2965, Ross 779. A banquet was held to celebrate this victory, at Hamburg Tavern, on the Schuylkill; Dr. Leib was president, and Dr. Betton vice-president. Governor McKean was the honored guest, as also at another banquet given in November at Francis' Union Hotel, A. J. Dallas and William Jones presiding.¹

¹ Dr. Michael Leib controlled the party at this time, and some malcontents had previously met at Duwoody's tavern, in Market Street, to devise measures to dethrone him. Though Leib, Richards, and Clay, Democratic candidates for Congress, were elected, still the quarrel kept simmering, and afterwards led to the formation of a third party, thus dividing the Democracy.

One of the Democratic songs of rejoicing, "The Election Ground," that became very popular is full of personal allusions. We quote a few stanzas:

"There were oystermen bawling aloud;
There were fruit lasses sweetly inviting;
Oh! the music and din of the crowd,
'Twould have done your heart good, so delighting!

Some time in February a farmer, Peter Bachkerker, was murdered and robbed by three footpads on Market Street, between the ferry and the Centre House. His companion escaped. Large rewards were offered, but without avail. A petition was thereupon presented to the Councils stating:

"That since the late unprecedented and atrocious murder and robbery, committed on the highway in Market Street, numbers of country-people are terrified, and neglect attending the market. Those who live so distant as to render it necessary for them to arrive at the city or its vicinity in the evening or night are under peculiar apprehensions. At the bridge, on Schuylkill, it is remarked that no travelers, market-people, or others of character pass after dusk, though it has heretofore been customary to travel in all seasonable hours of the night. The increase of dissolute and desperate vagabonds is notorious. This state of things is attended with great detriment to the citizens, by keeping away supplies from our market, and is dishonorable to the police of the city. It is on all these accounts thought right that some lamps should be placed between the built parts of the city and Schuylkill, in High Street."

From this suggestion grew the proposal to light the streets with gas. Benjamin Henfrey came forward as an "inventor," and published an address saying that his system of extracting gas from coal was "applicable to light-houses for the sea-coast, and, in an octagon light-house, for the use of towns." To manufacturers, on principles of economy and safety, his plan would be useful, and for domestic purposes, for the same reason. "As to expense, it will cost nothing (first cost of apparatus and attendance excepted), as the coal will be of more value after the gas and tar are extracted than before." He proposed that towers should be erected in certain parts of the city, so that the light would not only illuminate the streets, but the back alleys. The principle was "easy, and the flame regulated by the turning of a cock." He appended certificates from the citizens of Richmond, Va., where the light was tested. But he had to encounter opposition and prejudices. Scientific men

There was Bobby, the *ci-devant* mayor,*

With tickets crammed full in each fist;

Old scape-gallows Levi was there,†

And one with the black Tory list,‡

"And there was old goosified Tom,§

With his noted scurrillity scraper;

A scavenger, better there's none,

And a foul common sewer his paper.

Portfolio likewise was there,||

With three lads of the same resolution;

To be sure, they're not paid by the farce on,

For abusing our blest Constitution.

"And there was that F-deral back

Long dubbed the Political Parson,¶

He once preached a sermon, good lack!

When the gospel he made but a farce on.

He'd talk about bishops and kings;

But the people him well understood,

Of what blessings to nations it brings

To be blest with a dignified priesthood."

* Robert Wharton, mayor in 1798-99.

† Levi Hollingsworth.

‡ A list of the Tories proclaimed in the Revolution was published before this election, and was called the "Black List."

§ Thomas Bradford, printer.

|| Joseph Dennie, editor of the *Portfolio*.

¶ Rev. James Abercrombie, of Christ Church and St. Peter's.

and government officials objected, and the scheme of this unappreciated pioneer was ignored.

One of the important events of 1802 was the exhibition by Charles Wilson Peale of his splendid collection of curiosities and works of art. The State-House had been vacated by the Legislature, and Peale in February petitioned for the use of the building. The American Philosophical Society and Councils indorsed his petition, and an act was passed March 17th granting permission to use the upper story, and the eastern end of the lower story, under reasonable restrictions. The collections were soon after arranged and opened to the public. There were about two hundred stuffed animals, a thousand specimens of birds, four thousand specimens of insects, a collection of minerals, cabinets of serpents, fishes, etc. In one room were over a hundred portraits of famous statesmen and soldiers, painted by Mr. Peale and his son, Rembrandt. The greatest curiosities were the famous Ulster County, N. Y., mastodon skeletons, dug from a marl-pit in 1801 by Mr. Peale, and joined together with infinite labor. The first was finished before the museum was opened; when the gigantic frame-work of the second was united a unique banquet was given, Rembrandt Peale and twelve others dining within the skeleton, seated around a table; room was also found for a piano within the bony mammoth.¹ Shortly after this skeleton was taken to England and exhibited there by the Peale brothers.

One of the laws passed this year regulating the militia introduced changes in the Philadelphia troops. The city and county at this time had ten thousand two hundred and ninety-two militiamen, in one division (the First) and two brigades. The appointment of Gen. John Shee as major-general was severely attacked by the Federalists. The *Gazette* character-

¹ The toasts given at this curious entertainment deserve remembrance for their oddity. They were as follows:

1. The biped animal, Man—May peace, virtue, and happiness be his distinguishing character.

2. The American people—May they be as pre-eminent among the nations of the earth as the canopy we sit beneath surpasses the height of the mouse. Music—"Yankee Doodle."

3. Agriculture—In constituting the pride and riches of our country, may its rewards be as abundant as this fruit was unexpected.

4. The Constitution of the United States—May "its ribs be as ribs of brass, and its backbone as molten iron." Job, chap. xl. "Hail Columbia."

5. The Arts and Sciences—Nursed in a genial soil, and fostered with tender care, may their honor prove as durable as the tower which surrounds us.

6. The Brains of Freemen—May they never be so barricaded by the jackass bones of Opposition as to crush their native energy.

7. The Friends of Peace—To all else such bones to gnaw as, dried by ten thousand moons, may starve their hungry maws.

8. All Honest Men—If they cannot feast in the breast of a mammoth, may their own breasts be large enough.

9. The Ladies of Philadelphia—Ere their naked beauties prove as horrible as bare bones, may Virtue behold them clothed in the garments of Modesty.

10. The Present Company—May their second birth, though from the womb of the beast, be followed with every blessing in life.

Volunteer—Success to these Boney-parts in Europe.

ized it as an instance of a pernicious system of favoritism, unguided by talents, services, or respectability. Gen. Shee challenged Relf, the editor, but the affair ended with publications from both sides.

The city authorities continued street improvements, opening Cherry Street to Eighth, partly by private subscription, citizens contributing six hundred and thirty dollars to help buy the right of way. Additional public walks were laid out in the Potter's Field, and rows of trees planted there. These and other improvements ultimately led to the opening of another public square.

In January, 1803, the two Councils sent a memorial to the Legislature urging the return of the capital to its ancient seat, but failed in their effort. The means of the city government for paving and improvements were limited, and times were dull. Edward Pennington advanced one thousand dollars to pave Crown Street. The Councils were notified that "the two paviors employed by the city" were "going to move to Baltimore in search of occupation." January 15th, Mayor Lawler sent a message to the Councils speaking of two attempts in one night to fire the city. Twenty-eight patrols were appointed, and a reward of four hundred dollars offered for the arrest of any incendiary.

The destructive fire at Portsmouth, N. H., in January, caused much sympathy, and committees were appointed at citizens' meetings, who collected seven thousand seven hundred and twenty dollars in the city, seven hundred and twenty dollars in Southwark, and enough from the Northern Liberties and suburbs to raise the total to over nine thousand dollars.

In January also there occurred on Third Street above Arch, at "Mrs. Cameron's, sign of the Golden Swan," a meeting, the first known to the public, of those interested in an important enterprise, the "Lehigh Coal Mining Company." Gentlemen of means and energy were the stockholders, and they had faith in the future, though previous experiments with coal as a fuel had not prospered.

In February the "Pennsylvania Society for the Encouragement of Useful Arts and Manufactures" began reorganization, having been inactive for years. In March they received an incorporation act from the Legislature, and elected Dr. Benjamin Rush president, and Tench Coxe, John Kaighn, Dr. Caspar Wistar, and Anthony Morris as vice-presidents. Samuel Wetherill was chairman of the "Manufacturing Committee."

Washington's birthday was celebrated by a public dinner at Kitchen's City Tavern. Thomas Willing and John Nixon presided, and Samuel Fox and Joseph Ball were vice-presidents. The officers of the City Brigade dined on the 4th of March at the Franklin Hotel.

February 28th, Thomas Passmore, of Philadelphia, went to the Legislature with charges against Supreme Justices Shippen, Yeats, and Smith of illegal and

oppressive conduct and illegal imprisonment of himself. Passmore, in 1802, had insured a vessel, and two of the underwriters, Pettit and Bayard, refused to pay their share of a loss incurred. Passmore then issued execution upon his judgment in the Supreme Court, but Pettit and Bayard entered exceptions. Passmore then prepared a paper denouncing their conduct, which he put up at the Coffee-House. The defendants then applied to the Supreme Court and secured an attachment against Passmore for contempt, and ultimately he was fined fifty dollars and imprisoned thirty days. March 9th the legislative committee reported that "summary proceedings by contempt were contrary to the genius of our laws," and "a step towards establishing an aristocracy." The necessity of the passage of some law to define the powers of courts in cases of contempt was declared to be urgent, and the draft of a bill for that purpose was reported; but the time for the adjournment of the session then being near, the whole subject was recommended to the attention of the next Legislature.

March 28th the Legislature passed "An Act creating a corporation to be styled 'the commissioners and inhabitants of that part of the Northern Liberties lying between the west side of Sixth Street and the river Delaware and between Vine Street and Cohocksink Creek.'" It directed that fifteen commissioners should be elected by the citizens at the town-house in the evening of the first Saturday in May, by ballot, five for three years, five for two years, and five for one year, and five annually thereafter upon the first Saturday in May. They had power in local enactments, street matters, wharves, etc. Their first act, July 14th, was to provide for an extension of the market on Second Street; Michael Baker, Daniel Miller, and Daniel Groves being appointed superintendents.

In March also the Legislature changed the poor laws and health laws. The "Guardians of the Poor" was to be a board of thirty members, sixteen chosen by the City Councils, six by the commissioners of Southwark, and eight by the justices of peace in the Northern Liberties. One-half retired each year, and their places were filled by elections. The act was lengthy and full of minute specifications. The new health law authorized the Governor to appoint a board of five, three from Philadelphia, one each from Southwark and the liberties, serving one year, at a salary of four hundred dollars apiece. He was also to appoint health, quarantine, and lazaretto officers.

Transportation improvements continued to develop. March 24th the incorporation act of the "Cheltenham and Willow Grove Turnpike Company" was passed. Their route was "from the Rising Sun Tavern through Shoemakertown to the Red Lion Inn, on the Old York road." Another company was on the same day incorporated to build a turnpike "from Front Street through Frankford and Bustleton to the Morrisville Ferry, Bucks Co." This company engaged to bridge

the Delaware between Morrisville and Trenton, and secured the services of Timothy Palmer, who was contractor for the bridge at High Street, Schuylkill. Petitions for a turnpike along the Ridge or Wissahickon road were refused, "because the Germantown turnpike was parallel, and only a mile and a half distant." The projectors of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal had by this time secured two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in subscriptions, and May 9th they completed their organization at Wilmington.

April 1st the Legislature decided to sell certain vacant lots and build a new prison in Philadelphia, the Walnut Street prison being far too small. Since 1790 the State had been using the city prison, having previously appropriated five hundred pounds to erect cells, and hence was bound to contribute towards the new prison. The lots were sold and the building commenced "on Arch Street, south side, between Broad and Schuylkill Eighth." Funds were insufficient, and the prison was unfinished for years. In 1812 the Legislature appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars, and declared that the building "should be considered the exclusive property of the commonwealth," an announcement that caused great dissatisfaction, as the State was still using the Walnut Street prison. The building, however, proved so unsuitable that no State convicts were sent there.

Another enactment made in April secured "mechanic liens" in certain specified cases in Philadelphia and its suburbs. Bricklayers, lime merchants, stone-cutters, carpenters, painters, and glaziers were entitled to this benefit.

In May the admirers of Thomas Paine, the pamphleteer and free-thinker, gave a banquet in his honor at the Franklin Hotel, which had been opened in Franklin's old mansion, in the court south of Market, between Third and Fourth Streets.

May also witnessed the most extensive militia parade since the Revolution, under the command of Brig.-Gen. John Barker. The City Brigade turned out five regiments, three thousand men in all; there were twelve flank companies, an artillery regiment, and two corps of cavalry. July 4th the Legion paraded, in two divisions, under Majs. Jonas Simmons and Thomas Willis, and several new infantry companies also paraded. In October the Legion had a "sham battle" at the old race-ground, between Pine and South Streets.

July 25th the Health Board called public attention to the falsity of "reports that yellow fever existed in Philadelphia, though it was raging in New York." August 10th non-intercourse with that city was ordered, vessels were examined at the Lazaretto, and persons were subject to detention. September 12th the board was forced to acknowledge that "a disease of malignant character" had appeared in the part of the city between Market and Walnut, and from Front Street to the Delaware. They investigated the subject, and declared that neither had any suspicious

vessel landed a cargo, nor had any sick person from New York or elsewhere gained admission. A correspondent of the *Aurora* contradicted this, stating that yellow fever patients had entered from New York, by way of Baltimore and Lancaster, and that one had died in Spruce Street, and one in Water Street, near Market. But the disease was not thought violent, and the board, September 13th, after declaring that it had done its whole duty in the matter, prohibited visits to the infected districts. The quarrel of several years' standing between the contagionists and the non-contagionists was renewed, the latter controlling the Board of Health. Indeed, as early as June citizens had met at the court-house and censured the board for not enforcing a quarantine, Col. Thomas Willis being president and William Duane secretary. After the fever fairly broke out the *Aurora* became the organ of the "contagionists." It accused the board of incompetence and of making unfaithful reports. "New York," they said, "had the yellow fever July 17th; no protective measures were taken here till August 9th." The first cases were near the Arch Street wharf, where the New York packets lay, also at South Street wharf and along the Delaware. The hospital was opened September 13th and closed October 16th, receiving eighty-eight patients, of whom thirty-nine died. The city reported one hundred and forty-five cases, and the deaths were about one hundred and twenty, though the exact number is not stated.

The entire year seemed to be more or less occupied with endeavors to improve the arrangements for extinguishing fires. Public attention was called to this by the increasing number of fires, some of them incendiary. February 8th the old Quaker school-house in Fourth Street, below Chestnut, said to be the first school-house built in Pennsylvania, was destroyed by fire, and few of the books and apparatus were rescued. August 25th, at P. Daniels' shot and lead factory, on Water Street near Market, a disastrous fire occurred in which John Clark, Richard Naylor, and Thomas Riley were killed, and several persons were severely injured. At this time water was handed in buckets along lines of men and poured into the hand-engine. The suggestion was now made that "hose might be attached to the hydrants," and a standard of uniform size for the fire-plugs was also proposed. But nothing was done till after a costly fire, December 13th, in a row of unfinished houses on Sansom Street, near Eighth, eight of which were destroyed, and three partially burned. Subscriptions for the relief of the sufferers were taken up, and the "Fire Committee" and "Watering Committee" were spurred to renewed efforts. December 15th, Reuben Haines, Roberts Vaux, Joseph Parker, Samuel N. Lewis, Abraham L. Pennock, William Morrison, Joseph Warren, and William Morris met at the home of the first named, No. 4 Bank Street, and organized "The Philadelphia Hose Company."

Charles E. Smith joined at the second meeting, and age for new members was fixed at between seventeen and twenty-one. They estimated cost of hose and incidentals at three hundred and fifty dollars, and proposed to subscribe it themselves, but the citizens at once raised over seven hundred dollars, and they built a house on lot No. 17 North Fourth Street. The cost of the hose-carriage was seventy-eight dollars. March 3, 1804, Israel Israel's stables in Whalebone Alley (afterward Hudson's) caught fire, and the hose company did such service that they received a donation of seventy dollars, and two more companies were soon organized.

Politics were very quiet, except that Dr. Michael Leib was still accused of being "Dictator of Philadelphia County." July 27th the dissatisfied Democrats met at the "Rising Sun," but Leib's friends attended also, and a fight occurred, in which Manuel Eyre, the chairman, was thrown from his seat, and the meeting broken up. In August the County Committee required written pledges to stand by the nominations, but the anti-Leib party put up a separate ticket. Col. John Barker, the regular candidate, was elected by 171 majority over William T. Donaldson, and Leib remained in control of things. The address this year called Pennsylvania the "keystone of the Democratic arch," probably the first instance of this use of the comparison.

Manufactures were growing rapidly. Of calico-printing establishments near Philadelphia there were Hewson's at Kensington, Stewart's at Germantown, and Thorburn's at Darby, the three turning out two hundred thousand yards in 1803, and employing seventy persons. Oliver Evans had commenced the manufacture of steam-engines. Mr. Eltonhead had begun to make cotton machinery,—carding-engines at four hundred dollars, drawing and roving frames at two hundred dollars, mules with one hundred and forty-four spindles at three hundred dollars each. "The Association of Artists and Manufacturers" was organized this year to collect statistics of domestic industry, and to promote arts and manufactures. Everywhere in Philadelphia County the germs of the great industrial enterprises of the present day were taking firm root. These diminutive factories and engine-shops were vast creations, if we consider the difficulties under which they had been developed.

Political excitements formed the staple events of 1804 in Philadelphia. We have spoken of the Thomas Passmore affair in 1802-3,—his complaints against Chief Justice Shippen and Associate Justices Yeates and Smith. When the Legislature of 1804 again took the case up it caused a commotion that involved every one, from city ward politicians to the Governor himself. A committee report on March 13th recommended "that the judges should be impeached for high misdemeanors by arbitrarily and unconstitutionally fining and imprisoning Thomas Passmore." After due debate the House, March 20th,

resolved to impeach the justices by vote of 57 to 24, and three days later articles were sent to the Senate for action. Then occurred an extraordinary event. Justice Hugh Henry Brackenridge, hitherto not involved in the case, intruded himself upon the Legislature, and March 24th wrote requesting that he also be impeached in the interests of the Democratic administration. The genuineness of the letter was doubted, but it was proved authentic, and a special committee reported that it contained "evidence of a premeditated insult to the House, by insinuating in a manner neither to be mistaken nor palliated that the House was actuated in their proceedings against the other judges by party motives." They added, "Such unfounded and unwarrantable insinuations (and more especially by a citizen to whom a trust of administering the laws is confided) must naturally tend to general suspicion among our constituents that the laws are the offspring of corruption and caprice, and not framed by the unbiased will of their representatives;" and, in conclusion, they thought he "was not a proper person to discharge the important duties of a judge." Impeachment was not advised, and being afterwards moved in the House was lost by a vote of 8 to 68. A motion to address the Governor and ask that he remove Judge Brackenridge was adopted by a vote of 54 to 24, and also passed the Senate, but Governor McKean disregarded it altogether, which caused a storm among his adherents. Duane's energetic journal, the *Aurora*, had been criticising the Governor's veto of the "Adjustment Bill" (to extend magistrates' jurisdiction in civil cases), and it took up the new *casus belli*. May 10th and May 18th this lately official organ made seven assaults on McKean's course as "lending himself to traitors, Tories, and Apostate Whigs." But since there was at this time but one Federalist in the Senate and five in the House, the impeachment of three out of the four judges of the Supreme Court had all the aspects of a partisan proceeding. Several projects for changes in legal jurisdiction adopted by the Legislature were vetoed by the Governor as unconstitutional. The quarrel thus begun extended throughout the party.

It was a golden opportunity for the anti-Leib party, determined to prevent that gentleman's renomination. Their organs were the *Freeman's Journal* (established by McCorkle as the *Evening Post*) and Maj. William Jackson's *Political and Commercial Register*. Dr. Leib in August declined nomination, but the city and county convention forced him to take it, and a hot campaign followed. The *Aurora* termed the anti-Leib men "*Tertium Quids*," a phrase invented for them in 1802-3 by Tench Coxe, now one of their leaders, and a former writer for the *Aurora*. Coxe held a government office, "Purveyor of Supplies," worth two thousand dollars per year. The Federalists made no nominations this year, and the factions had the field to themselves. The anti-Leib men indorsed the names of Richards and Clay from

the regular ticket, but nominated Penrose for Congress instead of Leib. In the October election Clay received 7427 votes, Richards 7021, Leib 3992, and Penrose 3685. A celebration was held over this victory at Vogdes' Inn, Chestnut Street; Mayor Lawler presided, Thomas Leiper, Frederick Wolbert, Gen. Barker, and Ebenezer Ferguson were vice-presidents.¹ The Presidential election in November went almost by default, Jefferson receiving 3300 votes in the city out of 4000 votes polled.

Market space was contracted, and the Legislature gave the Councils power to erect and regulate market-houses as they saw fit, provided the stalls for country people were free. In August the South Second Street market was improved by a two-story brick building added at the north end, Joseph Wetherill loaning one thousand dollars, and subscriptions being also taken to aid the work. A market, so petitions said, was needed on Dock Street, and one on Southeast Square, and the High Street market needed an extension, but nothing further was done this year.

Early in January the Legislature had desired to give Abraham Baldwin, Thomas Gibbs, and Nathaniel Nichols special privileges for carding- and spinning-machine, but the Senate refused. William Copeley, of Shippensburg, an inventor, wanted one thousand dollars to complete a machine for carding and spinning, but the bill to that effect failed to pass. Moses Coats, having patented an apple-parer, desired to sell it to the State, but was not encouraged. The Philadelphia Society, mentioned as organized in 1803, favored John Biddis' processes,—his potato starch, sago powder, and "wool from old clothing" (or shoddy). January 7th "an act for the inspection of butter" was passed, and inspectors appointed at Philadelphia. April 3d a similar act relating to black-oak bark was passed, but petitions begging for inspection of gypsum and plaster were neglected.

Philadelphia, as at the Portsmouth fire, showed her benevolence in case of need on March 20th; a great meeting was held at the State-House, George Latimer presiding, and \$3000 was collected for the sufferers from a destructive fire in Norfolk, Va. The total collections in the city were \$4999.34.

Very important financial matters were brought

before the Legislature of 1804, but that of greatest moment was the struggle over the charter of the Philadelphia Bank, organized in August, 1803, with a capital stock fixed at \$1,000,000. When its representatives appeared before the Legislature, its charter was opposed by the Bank of Pennsylvania, and offers and counter-offers were made by both sides. The struggle was long and doubtful, but the new bank was incorporated March 5th.

The effort was made this season to secure the extension of the Lancaster turnpike to Pittsburgh, or to build a road from Pittsburgh to Harrisburg, then to connect with turnpikes already finished. The matter was laid over till another Legislature. Up to this time all travel to Pittsburgh was either on horseback or by private vehicles, usually rough farm-wagons. On rare occasions, and in time of political excitement, special stages and relays of horses were provided. In the month of August the first regular line of stages was established. It started weekly (Friday mornings) from John Tomlinson's hotel on Market Street. The agreement was that the journey should not exceed seven days, and the fare was twenty dollars per passenger, twenty pounds of baggage allowed; extra baggage twelve dollars per hundred.

The new line was praised in all the journals as a marvel of enterprise and celerity. Those who tried it wrote back from Pittsburgh that the cost of meals "was eight dollars and twenty-one cents per passenger, at good country inns. The time of passage from Pittsburgh to New Orleans was twenty or twenty-five days by boat." Thus painfully and slowly were the links with the broad region west of the Alleghenies knit together. A stage-line to Lancaster had for some time been in operation. Minor extensions of turnpike enterprises went on steadily. One company incorporated to build from near Bustleton to Southampton, Bucks Co.; and another "from Chestnut Hill through Flourtown to the Spring-House Tavern, in Montgomery County." This year the Trenton Delaware Bridge Company was incorporated.

When Louisiana was acquired, the friends of Jefferson gave a celebration (May 12th), and the well-known Legion took part. Capt. Powell's artillery fired seventeen guns at daylight, in Centre Square, and Christ Church bells were rung. The procession consisted of Leiper's, Holgate's, Hill's, Jones', and Connelly's troops of horse; of the artillery companies of Shaw, Goodman, Powell, Cash, and Forepaugh; of the rifle companies of Huff, Snyder, Fessmire, Seyfert, and Wagner; and of the light infantry companies of Irwin, Rush, Lyle, Lloyd, Hergesheimer, Waterman, Fottorall, Ebberly, Dalzell, Stern, Sweeny, Duane, Mintzer, Montgomery, Vogdes, Fox, Marshall, McKellar, Symington, and Altemus. There were six pieces of artillery and twenty-three standards in the parade. The Tammany Society paraded with "the tribe of Pennsylvania" and sixteen others. The True Republican Society, the Cincinnati, and the Demo-

¹ Among the toasts on this occasion were the following:

"The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Nature's keystone in the arch of the Union; may she continue the keystone in the arch of Principle."

"Genuine Democratic principles honestly enforced, that, like a *Dutch fan*, they may separate the wheat from the chaff."

"Tertium Quids, a new order of Jesuits, whose creed is

RELIGION, (which consists in worshipping an un-	} THE LOAVES AND FISHES."
LIBERTY, restrained monopoly of filching the	
AND good name of all who stand between	
LAW, them and	

The Tammany Society at Rowland Smith's new Wigwam adopted as toasts:

"The Tertium Quids: May those fond of this quid find it a quiddity."

"The advocates of a third party in Pennsylvania: May they learn experience from Burr's defeat, and by early repentance escape a similar fate."

cratic Republican Benevolent Society were present, and also St. Patrick's, Union, Cordwainers', United German Beneficial, incorporated St. Tammany, Provident, Friendly, Victuallers'. The route of the parade was down Second Street, through the new market, to Lombard, thence up to Third, passing the house of Governor McKean, up Third to Chestnut, along the latter to Sixth, thence to Market, and to Centre Square, where an oration was delivered by Dr. Michael Leib.

The *Philadelphia Gazette* of May 21st said, satirically, "This military procession, in celebration of a peace measure, in due time straggled out to that precise part of the common where in more wholesome days—when a gallows was a part of the regimen of our penal code—atrocious criminals were wont to be executed," and "the celebrated Dr. Leib mounted the platform."

In July news reached Philadelphia that "Hamilton was no more," and the particulars of the fatal duel created a profound sensation. The citizens met, Thomas Willing chairman, and William Meredith secretary, and passed appropriate resolutions. Arrangements were made for the tolling of bells on the next Sabbath. Shipmasters were asked to raise their flags to half-mast, and clergymen were requested to "preach upon the custom of dueling." Such citizens as "could consistently with their religious principles" were asked to wear crape for thirty days. One of the last resolutions was,—"In imitation of the pious example of the deceased in the closing scenes of his life exhibiting an illustrious proof of the benign influences of the religion of our forefathers, the citizens, in their respective places of worship, on Sunday next, will render their prayers of thanksgiving to God for His goodness in having blessed our nation with men of talent to discern, and of virtue to pursue, her safety, her honor, and her welfare, and especially for having thus long continued to us the eminently useful talents of the deceased."

Members of the bar met,—Jared Ingersoll chairman; also the law students, John E. Hall chairman, both assemblies passing resolutions. A number of ministers met, resolved that they "were always opposed to dueling," and thought such prayers as suggested in the resolution above quoted "would be for various reasons inexpedient."

Philadelphia escaped the yellow fever this year. The Board of Health not liking the location of the City Hospital bought a lot "in Hickory Lane (Coates Street), one and three-quarter miles from the old courthouse," and hidden from the view of travelers.

September witnessed a riot begun by several Spanish sailors, who stabbed and dangerously wounded William Barry, a young American sailor. His friends went to a Spanish house, and tore it nearly to pieces. Several persons were severely hurt during the riot.

Jan. 1, 1805, marked the practical completion and opening to the public of the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge after many difficulties and delays. Its corner-

stone had been laid Oct. 13, 1800, and many new problems had arisen in the course of its construction.

The winter of 1804-5 was one of great distress. It was stated that since 1780 there had not been as much suffering, want, and penury among the poor. In order to raise the means of relief, a meeting of citizens was held at the State-House, in January, at which committees were appointed to make collections. John Inskeep was chairman, James Milnor secretary, and Robert Ralston treasurer. They obtained contributions from the citizens amounting to ten thousand and eighty-three dollars and sixty-four cents, which were properly distributed. In this sum was embraced six hundred dollars obtained by a benefit given at the theatre. The female association opened a soup-house at the corner of Ninth and Cherry Streets, where soup was sold at two cents per quart. Unfortunate individuals incarcerated in the debtor's department underwent such privations that the grand jury indicted the keeper for neglect of his duty.

Nicholas Roosevelt had a contract to supply the city with water, but he sent a communication to the Councils in March, saying that he had lost forty-seven thousand dollars by his contract to build steam-engines. The watering committee complained that the engines did not furnish the quantity specified, and did not work evenly; disputes which followed lasted most of the year. The watering committee proposed in August to pay him ten thousand dollars for the extra power and for his right, title, and interest in the machinery. In the ensuing month negotiations were opened for the purchase of the unexpired lease of lots on the Schuylkill where the engine-house was erected. A writ was at last issued against Roosevelt, who locked the gates against the sheriff. That officer broke open the doors and delivered the engine to the watering committee, who put Frederick Graff in charge. The committee, in December, reported in favor of giving Roosevelt fifteen thousand dollars in compromise of all claims.

In March, Capt. Preble, of the United States navy, the gallant commander of the famous assaults upon the pirates at Tripoli, received a public dinner, tendered him by leading citizens of Philadelphia, at Mrs. Hardy's hotel. Thomas Fitzsimons and Gen. Francis Gurney presided, and much enthusiasm prevailed.

The famous "impeachment of the Supreme Court Judges" came to a final vote in the State Senate early in the year, and stood,—guilty, thirteen; not guilty, eleven; lacking the required two-thirds majority, the accused were therefore acquitted. But party feeling ran higher than before. The *Aurora's* head-lines were, "The common law everything, the Constitution nothing." It denounced the minority that had supported the judges, it accused lawyers as freedom-haters, and it called for a revision of the Constitution. Shortly after Duane, Dr. Leib, and others organized in secret

to prevent Governor McKean's renomination, and to agitate changes in the Constitution. In February they presented memorials for the latter purpose. Their platform was,—Senators elected annually; limitation of executive patronage; reforms in the judiciary; and the cheapening of justice. Early in March the "Constitutional Republicans" organized, with Dr. George Logan as president; Israel Israel, vice-president; Samuel Wetherill, Jr., secretary; and A. J. Dallas, J. B. Smith, Isaac Worrell, Samuel Wetherill, Jr., and Blair McClenachan as committee. The Anti-Constitutionalists then reorganized under the name of "Friends of the People;" Matthew Lawler, president, and James Carson and George Bartram, secretaries. Messrs. Carson, Clay, Lawler, Leib, Duane, Wolbert, and Bartram formed the committee; all had been warm supporters of McKean. Several of the Governor's vetoes, as also his interference in the case of Joseph D. Cabrera, a young Spaniard, charged with forgery, added strength to the discontented party. A caucus of members of the Legislature was held at Lancaster, and Simon Snyder had forty-two votes; McKean, seventeen; and Maclay, one. Messrs. Mitchell, Ferguson, and Boileau drew up a violent "Address to the People," setting forth McKean's "austerity and aristocratical habits," his "years of professional contention and domination in courts," his "ungracious distribution of offices among relatives," and his present intimacy "with those who had been his former libelers."

The entire document was highly characteristic of one of the most heated political campaigns that Pennsylvania had ever witnessed. The strongest charge it made was that the Governor had said, "There is a shameful and base prejudice now existing against lawyers, which proceeded from ignorance, for it was absurd to say lawyers were not the wisest and best men in the community." And then he said, "The memorial for calling a convention is a base libel, and the authors of it are rascals and villains, and the supporters of the measure are a set of stupid geese. The present Constitution was formed by a set of the wisest and best patriots that were ever collected; and shall a set of ignorant clodhoppers in this way overturn that Constitution formed by a set of gentlemen so extensively learned in the law? No! it never shall be. I will not suffer such a thing to take place." The charges made in this address were of too grave a nature to be allowed to rest without some attempt at explanation. Alexander J. Dallas addressed a letter to the Governor, asking him to explain the circumstances connected with the conversations which were referred to. The reply substantially admitted the truth of the charges.

The terms "clodhoppers" and "geese" immediately passed into the political controversies of the time, the Anti-Constitutionalists satirically adopting them, and losing no opportunity to keep alive the odium which such epithets must have excited.

The assaults of the Anti-Constitutionalists were largely directed against Dallas, who was stigmatized as the holder of three lucrative offices. Duane published a sarcastic pamphlet, "Samson against the Philistines." The officers of the militia, so high ran the tide of political feeling, even refused to pay the Governor the honor of a marching salute on the Fourth of July. The Federalists preserved entire neutrality for a time, though many were at last drawn into the controversy, chiefly on McKean's side, as he had been forced into the position of a conservative. When the votes were counted, Thomas McKean had a majority of nearly 5000 over Simon Snyder. In Philadelphia City and County McKean had 4100 votes, and Snyder 3893. The Senate and House were strongly for McKean. This result was caused by Federalist votes, they holding the balance of power. The Governor, thus vindicated, began separate libel suits against John Steele, William Dickson, Matthew Lawler, Thomas Leiper, Dr. Leib, Jacob Mitchell, and William Duane for various publications and utterances. Samuel Bryan was removed from the comptrollership, and Gen. John Shee was deprived of the flour inspectorship.

An important act relating to the opening of streets in Philadelphia passed the Legislature March 25th. It gave the Court of Quarter Sessions power to appoint twelve freeholders as "viewers," seven being a majority capable of laying out a proposed street. Another jury of twelve were to assess damages. The authority of the Councils over streets was enlarged, and the jurisdiction of the city was extended. In April the Board of Wardens of the port were granted a duty of four cents per ton on vessels clearing for foreign ports, to improve navigation on the Delaware River. Complaints were made of the pilotage charges and the stringency of the quarantine as impeding commerce. The wardens were granted authority respecting the building of wharves on the Schuyl-kill.

During the early part of the year there was great fear of fires, and the watchmen were ordered to examine the hydrants every hour during the night in cold weather, and to let the water run a moment from each to prevent freezing. If there was an alarm of fire a watchman in High Street was to notify the operators of the Centre Square engine, for which extra service he was "paid two dollars per year."

The anniversary of the evacuation of Philadelphia by Sir Henry Clinton, June 18, 1777, was celebrated by Col. Willis' Twenty-fifth Regiment, Capt. Marshall's "Volunteers," and Capt. Duane's new "Republican Greens." The militia Legion had commemorated the 4th of March by their usual parade and banquet of the officers.

The City Councils defeated the Dock Street Market project. Additional improvements were made at Southeast Square; a building there was removed and a water-course walled over. The University of Penn-

sylvania wished to erect a medical school building in this square, but permission was refused.

In Rembrandt Peale's studio in the State-House the plan of an Art Society was perfected some time during August. The building committee was George Clymer, William Poyntell, William Rush, John R. Cox, and John Dorsey. This organization was incorporated March 17, 1806, as the "Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts," and soon began exhibitions.

In August, Gen. John Victor Moreau, one of Napoleon's marshals, victor of Hohenlinden, banished from France for complicity in the Pichegru plot against Napoleon, came to Philadelphia, on his way to Morrisville, Bucks Co., where he resided for a number of years. Some time in December of this year a number of his friends and admirers tendered him a public dinner in Philadelphia.

The epidemic of 1803 returned again in this year, appearing in Southwark, between Shippen, Almond, and Swanson Streets, August 20th, when two persons were taken to the Lazaretto, and ten others reported sick. September 2d, the Board of Health, David Jackson president, William Binder secretary, began publishing names and residences of those taken sick. September 7th, persons were forbidden to remove from the infected district under a penalty of two hundred dollars. Any vessel which remained more than an hour at any Southwark wharf was not permitted to land elsewhere under the same penalty. September 9th the district as defined was between South Street and the navy-yard and west to Fourth Street, in which space seventy cases existed. The City Hospital was opened on the 8th, under the charge of Drs. Samuel Duffield, J. Church, and Joseph Parrish, with Samuel Goodman as steward. Two hundred tents were pitched at Rosemont, where many poor were kept out of the reach of contagion. Though the hospital was busier than in 1802, there being three hundred and fifty-nine persons sent there from September 27th to October 31st, of whom one hundred and seventy-two died, there was less alarm manifested in the city than in former years. At one time the board recommended the desertion of South Street from the Delaware to Fifth Street, in hopes of checking the spread of the disease, but the interval suggested

was too slight to be of much benefit. After October 1st the epidemic lessened in violence; bills of health were again issued after the 21st, and November 5th the board officially declared the fever at an end. From August 16th to October 26th nine hundred and forty-three deaths occurred in the city, but how many of these were from yellow fever is not ascertained. Southwark had reported six hundred and seventy-six cases, and the city and Northern Liberties reported one hundred and forty-seven cases. Later investigation showed that in July there were six vessels from the West Indies lying in quarantine down the river, and that Peter Young, Tobias Smith, and other persons living at Samuel Chrisman's, Southwark, had been boating, and had unlawfully visited these vessels.

The greatest mechanical improvement of the year

was that of Oliver Evans, whose efforts to manufacture steam-engines have been alluded to. In an article in *Poulson's Advertiser*, ten years later, he speaks of having suggested steam as a motor on land as early as 1773, and for boats in 1778. He adds,—



OLIVER EVANS.

"In the year 1804 I constructed at Philadelphia a machine (of my invention) for cleaning docks,—a heavy mud flat, with a steam-engine of the power of five horses in it to work the machinery. And, to show that both steam-carriages and steamboats were practicable (with my steam-engines), I first put wheels to it and propelled it by the engine a mile and a half, and then into the Schuylkill, although its weight was equal to that of two hundred barrels of flour. I then fixed a paddle-wheel at the stem, and propelled it by the engine down the Schuylkill and up the Delaware, sixteen miles, leaving all the vessels that were under sail half-way behind me (the wind being ahead), although the application was so temporary as to produce great friction, and the flat was most illly formed for sailing, done in the presence of thousands."

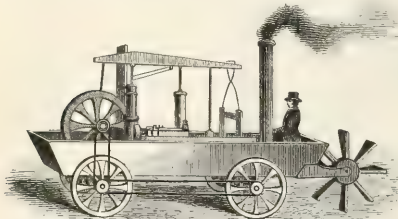
Before the boat was thus taken to the water, Evans exhibited it upon the circular road at Centre Square, as the following advertisement from the *Philadelphia Gazette* of July 13, 1805, shows:

TO THE PUBLIC. In my first attempt to move the Orukter Amphiboles, or Amphibious Digger, to the water by the power of steam, the wheels and axletrees proved insufficient to bear so great a burden, and having previously obtained the permission of the Board of Health (for whom this machine is constructed), to gratify the citizens of Philadelphia by the sight of this mechanical curiosity, on the supposition that it may lead to useful improvements, the workmen who had constructed it voluntarily offered their labor to make, without wages, other wheels and axletrees of sufficient strength, and to receive as their reward one-half of the sum that may be received from a generous public for the sight thereof—half to be at the disposal of the inventor, who

pledges himself that it shall be applied to defray the expense of other new and useful inventions which he has already conceived and arranged in his mind, and which he will put in operation only when the money arising from the inventions already made will defray the expenses. The above machine is now to be seen moving round Centre Square at the expense of the workmen, who expect twenty-five cents from every generous person who may come to see its operation. But all are invited to come and view it, as well those who cannot, as those who can conveniently spare the money.

"OLIVER EVANS."

Even before this experiment was made, in September, 1804, Evans had proposed to construct a road-carriage for freight. He thought the engine would cost \$1500, the carriage \$500, and allowed \$500 for unforeseen expenses. He thought his carriage when built could carry one hundred barrels of flour at an average speed of two miles per hour, thus doing in two days (on the trip from Philadelphia to Columbia) the work that required the work of twenty-five horses and five wagons for three days at a cost of \$3304. The turnpike company refused to enter into a contract



OLIVER EVANS' STEAM-CARRIAGE.

with him. Evans then wagered \$3000 that he "could make a carriage go by steam on a level road faster than any horse," but found no takers; he also announced that he could build carriages to "run on a railway" at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. To show how well this shrewd genius, who fairly divides the honor of successful steam experiments with Fitch and Fulton, understood the entire subject we have only to quote from a letter of his some years later in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. Parts of the passage have become almost classic because of their long-ago fulfilled prophecy. Said Mr. Evans,—

"The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam-engines at fifteen to twenty miles an hour. A carriage will leave Washington in the morning, breakfast at Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia, and sup at New York on the same day. Railways will be laid of wood or iron, or on smooth paths of broken stone or gravel, to travel as well by night as by day. A steam-engine will drive a carriage one hundred and eighty miles in twelve hours, or engines will drive boats ten or twelve miles an hour, and hundreds of boats will so run on the Mississippi and other waters, as was prophesied thirty years ago (by Fitch); but the velocity of boats can never be made equal to that of carriages upon rails, because the resistance in water is eight hundred times more than that in air. Posterity will not be able to discover why the Legislature or Congress did not grant the inventor such protection as might have enabled him to put in operation those great improvements sooner, he having neither asked money nor a monopoly of any existing thing."

Manufacturing enterprises continued to be established. The largest undertaking of the sort in this

year was the Seth Craige cotton-mill, or factory, at the old Globe Mills, Kensington. This favored location had formerly been the site of a flour-mill belonging to the Penns, and called "the Governor's grist-mill." It was easily reached by boats by the way of the Cohocksink Creek, also by roads from city and country. But there had long been an abundance of grist-mills, and the enterprising Mr. Craige, as has been stated, led the way in a new industry, his factory being the first extensive one of the kind in Pennsylvania. His first contracts were for "girth-web" for a saddlery hardware establishment at No. 110 Market Street. As time progressed the factory developed extensive business connections. It struggled through various trade depressions, and by 1816 was enlarged, then taking rank as the most extensive concern of the kind in the Union. Mr. Houston was then taken into partnership, but died soon after. The firm was then increased,—Thomas H. and Seth Craige, Jr., also John Holmes were admitted,—and the firm of Craige, Holmes & Co. invested over two hundred thousand dollars in new and improved machinery, manufacturing not only cotton goods, but also woolen fabrics and yarn.

Allusion has been made in the last chapter to the American difficulties with France, so threatening at one time that war was imminent, and peaceful traders armed for their own defense, particularly in the West India trade, found so lucrative by the hardy sailors of Maine and Massachusetts. Jefferson had, early in 1805, called the attention of Congress to the trade with the San Domingo revolutionists, urged to this by the protests of Gen. Turreau, the French envoy extraordinary. The carrying trade of the United States had increased to an extraordinary extent, never since equaled in degree, until Americans seemed about to take the commercial dominion of the seas from England herself. The cruisers of the warring nations, however, treated the "Yankee" vessels as fair prey, making unjust captures, and maltreating officers and crew, besides taking in their courts more stringent views of the "rights of neutrals." The difficulties with the French, though still existing, were overshadowed towards the close of the year by prospects of immediate hostilities with Spain. Leading ship-owners and merchants met in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other cities, and called upon the government for protection.¹ Spain had also allowed

¹ The merchant marine of Philadelphia in these times made a creditable showing, though the newspapers complained now and then of "commercial decadence." Ports along the Atlantic coast now seldom or never heard of were then rivals of Boston and New York. The following first-rate ships were in 1805 owned in the port of Philadelphia:

In the China trade—Ships "Woodrop Sims," Captain Hodgson, 500 tons; "China" (packet), Rosseter, 350 tons; "Bingham," Ausley, 340 tons; "Bengal," Cooper, 340 tons; "Oriental," —, 350 tons; "Pekin," Waters, 340 tons; "Dorothea," Hays, 450 tons; "Hebe," Otto, 350 tons. East India trade—"Rosseau," McLevan; "Montezuma," Ashmead, 270 tons; "William Penn," Daley, 350 tons; "Pennsylvania" (packet), 270 tons.

her officers to make military aggressions, and her refusal to ratify the convention of 1802, and fix the boundaries of Louisiana, excited public indignation. The President sent a message to Congress on the difficulties with Spain; it was read with closed doors, referred to a committee, and the report denounced Spain's conduct as ample cause for war. While these steps were being taken, public feeling grew greatly excited, and abundant offers of aid were sent to the government. In Philadelphia, a special meeting of

the First Light Infantry, Capt. Francis Shallus, was held on December 22d, to consider the threatening state of public affairs.

Early in January, 1806, the citizens of Philadelphia marked their appreciation of the heroism of the American army and navy by splendid banquets at Vogdes' Hotel, January 2d and January 9th, to Gen. Eaton and Capt. Stephen Decatur. Eaton, of Connecticut, Revolutionary soldier at the age of sixteen, graduate of Dartmouth College, captain under St. Clair and Wayne in the West, American consul at Tunis, and ally of Hamet, fugitive bashaw of Tripoli, had led a band of four hundred adventurers, including but nine Americans, across the desert, and had captured Derne, after difficulties so great that his expedition ranks high on the list of soldierly achievements. Capt. Decatur was the hero of Tripoli, the pride and honor of the nation's navy, then unconsciously training for the coming struggle with England. At the dinner of January 9th, Capts. Bainbridge, Stewart, Shaw, and other officers of the navy were present. James Milnor presided; Joseph Lewis and Thomas Hale were vice-presidents.

A fire occurred January 21st at Howland's tavern, "near the Permanent Bridge," west side of the Schuylkill. The landlord, his wife, and four children were rescued, but their colored servant perished, and the building was reduced to ashes. Though the weather was excessively cold and the hour 3 A.M., upwards of five thousand persons hurried to the fire along the slippery streets, being very anxious about the safety of the bridge, but the wind rose, blowing from the west, and saved that structure. Another fire of unusual extent broke out on Dock Street, and by a curious coincidence on May 9th, the anniversary of the disastrous fire of 1791 in the same street. It began about 8 P.M. in a trunk-maker's shop on the north side, between Third Street and the Bank of Pennsylvania, and spread for two hours despite the efforts of firemen and citizens. The flames traveled from where they originated along Dock Street to Third, and up the latter street nearly to Chestnut. Eastwardly the fire was carried down Dock Street to Go-forth's Alley, and up the latter to Carter's Alley, and along Carter's Alley to a point near Third Street. Thirty-two buildings, about twenty of which were dwellings, were destroyed. Embers and sparks flew over a large area, setting fire to a three-story brick house on Front Street and to vessels at anchor in the Delaware. The strong wind carried them across the river, and the citizens of Camden were obliged to watch their roofs assiduously till the flames lessened. When the burnt district was rebuilt, Carter's Alley was extended to Third Street. A meeting was called at the City Hall for relief of the sufferers by the fire, many of whom were destitute; some had been injured by falling timbers and brick, one, Lewis Breimer, dying from his burns. John Inskeep presided, Thomas P. Cope was secretary, and sufficient was

Antwerp trade—"Helvetius," Bower, 350 tons; "Commerce," Ray, 320 tons.

Marseilles trade—"Ocean," Gordon, 300 tons.

Leghorn trade—"Sally and Betty," Evans, 240 tons.

Liverpool trade—"South Carolina," Tubbs, 260 tons; "Liverpool," Quandal, 300 tons.

Lisbon trade—"Voltaire," Earl, 300 tons.

Amsterdam trade—"Little Cherub," Brewton, 240 tons; "Amsterdam" (packet), —, 30 tons.

London trade—"London" (packet), McDougal, 330 tons.

Bordeaux trade—"Union," Jacobs, 300 tons; "Zulema," Aftan, 250 tons; "Bordeaux" (packet), Hedelius, 200 tons.

The owners of these vessels were Joseph Sims, Lewis Clapier, Willing & Francis, Savage & Dugan, Stephen Girard, Snowden & North, J. & R. Wain, Joseph Brown & Co., G. & H. Colhoun, W. Crummond, Morton & Wilson, A. Piesch, Faussat & Mann, and T. & L. Gilpin.

Beside the above, there were a large number of second-class ships, but stanch and strong, which undertook and performed extensive voyages. Some of these were as follows:

China trade—"Delaware," Moore; "China," McPherson; "Dispatch," Benners; "Mount Vernon," Kerr; "Ganges," Phillips; "New Jersey," Cooper; "Columbia," Dixon.

East India trade—"Benjamin Franklin," Weeks; "George Washington," Farris; "Monticello," —; "Fabius," Norris.

Bordeaux trade—"Mars," Wilson; "Charleston" (packet), Silliman;

"Andrew," Watkin; "Sheffield," Cowper.

Amsterdam trade—"Fair American," Fraley; "America," Lelar; "Robert," Alcorn; "John Buckley," Clay; "Happy Star," Cox; "Swanwick," Penrose; "Atalanta," Tucker.

Antwerp trade—"Neptune," Scott; "Connecticut," —; "Diana," Mingle; "James," Skinner; "Philadelphia," Cushing.

Liverpool trade—"Rose," Hamilton; "Prosperity," Burk; "Bristol" (packet), Day; "Rebecca," Low; "Annawan," Holmes; "Hercules," Bradford; "Cleopatra," Arundel; "Pigeon," Collet.

London trade—"Columbia," Elder.

West India trade—"Active," Vernon; "Maria," Calvert; "Charles," Sites; "Louisiana," —; "America," Jones; "Three Sisters," Lillibridge; "Peace and Plenty," Boland; "Thomas Chalkley," Eldridge;

"Mercury," Patterson; "Fanny," Kitchen; "Mayville," Ryan;

"Clothier," Dandelot; "Two Brothers," Ellis; "Temperance," Reilly.

Geneva and Messina trade—"Matilda," Strong.

Leghorn trade—"Good Friends," Thompson; "Hannah," Yardley.

Tonningen trade—"Pittsburg," Brown.

Belfast trade—"Edward," Craig.

Londonderry trade—"Brutus," Craig.

New Orleans trade—"Cleopatra," Arundel.

Charleston trade—"William," —.

Ships for general freight or charter—"Sally," Hunt; "Margaret," Gardner; "Louisa," Wilson; "Columbian" (packet), Hunt; "Active," Statesbury.

The owners of some of these vessels were T. & L. Gilpin, Barker & Ansley, M. Eyre, Jr., S. Meeker, J. Baker, W. & J. Steel, Vanuxem & Clark, Samuel Coates, Francis & Curwen, J. Hollingsworth & Co., J. W. Fousat, Robert Bines, B. & I. Bohlen, Nixon, Walker & Co., Dale & Rienholz, Stephen Girard, and William Brown. When we remember that there were many brigs and schooners also engaged in the foreign trade which were owned in Philadelphia, we may estimate that our commercial marine was in 1805 in a flourishing condition.

The arrivals from foreign ports in 1805 were 547; clearances, 617. Coasters arrived, 1169; cleared, 1231; total, 3564. The tonnage in 1800 was 103,663 tons. In 1805 it was probably 110,000 tons.

raised to care for the sick and relieve the necessities of the destitute.

Manufacturing interests occupied the attention of legislators. In January the inventor, John Biddis, of whom mention has been made, was granted privileges in the nature of a lottery for selling rights to make potato-starch, sago, hair-powder, and shoddy, he having represented that the secrets were so simple that his only hope of remuneration was by this plan, and seeming to lack faith in making money in the manufacture of those articles. A more promising scheme was suggested in an address published in January by Walter Franklin, Archibald Binney, and Abraham Small, stating that the difficulty in selling goods would be lessened by establishing a central warehouse, where manufactures might be concentrated instead of being scattered about various markets. They proposed the establishment of a company "for the encouragement and sale" of woolen, linen, and cotton goods of home manufacture. Two months later this resulted in the formation of the Philadelphia Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, and Stephen Girard was chosen the first president. There was evidently a growing desire to get rid of middlemen methods. Merchants were separating into wholesale and retail classes, and manufacturers also were adopting different business habits. Philadelphia was becoming a commercial metropolis. This year, too, the manufacture of flannel was commenced in Philadelphia.

February 1st witnessed the formal opening of the fine bridge over the Delaware at Trenton, built by Theodore Burr. Formerly passengers from Philadelphia to New York went by boat to Burlington and Trenton, thence by stage. But now the course of travel changed, and stages ran all the way. Turnpike tolls were high, and by October the stage-line owners raised the fare. Each stage paid \$5.50 in tolls between Philadelphia and New York. Four lines ran daily (except Sunday), the "Diligence" at 8 A.M., and the "Industry" at 9 A.M., charging \$5.50 per passenger. The "Mail Pilot" left at 10 A.M., fare \$8.00, and the "Mail," at noon, only carried six passengers, fare \$8.50. Each person was allowed fourteen pounds of baggage. Though the roads to New York were in tolerable condition, those to Baltimore were miserably cared for, and turnpikes were advocated. Meanwhile, and to avoid land carriage, a new packet line was established, with connection by stages. The boats left Paul Beck's wharf, Philadelphia, every week-day. At New Castle stages took passengers over the Peninsula to Court-House Point, on the Chesapeake, where connections were made with another packet line. The Delaware line had three boats, commanded by Capts. Milnor, Robinson, and Whilldin; the Chesapeake line, of four boats, was commanded by Capts. Trippe, Taylor, Owens, and Ferguson. Wharves and warehouses were built at the termini of each route. Petitions continued to

reach the Legislature regarding the proposed Pittsburgh road by the Juniata route, and February 24th a company was given the right to incorporate and build a turnpike from opposite Harrisburg to Pittsburgh *via* Bedford. The shares were to be fifty dollars each. The subjects of internal improvement and connection with the West were treated of in various journals. A writer in the *Aurora* estimated that the cost of each trip by a wagon to Pittsburgh and back was two hundred and fifty dollars, which amount could be very much lessened by the construction of a good road. He suggested that wagons should be provided to run regularly to Pittsburgh, and depicted the advantages that would arise from the establishment of a line of packets on the Ohio between Pittsburgh and Louisville. At the latter place there would be a portage of two miles; and from here to St. Louis and New Orleans the water-course would be unobstructed. This writer foreshadowed many improvements that have since been made. He suggested the feasibility of a canal between Louisville and Shippingsport (now called Portland), to pass the rocky portion of the river at the falls of the Ohio, and the erection of ship-yards below the rapids.

In February also a company was incorporated to bridge the Schuylkill at Gray's Ferry. The height, after much discussion, had been fixed in General Assembly at seventy-five feet above low water. At that time the highest mast of the largest schooner owned in Philadelphia, the "Unity," was sixty-three feet, and so sixty-five feet was by many thought a sufficient height for a bridge. The interests of Gray's estate were carefully guarded, and two hundred shares of bridge-stock at one hundred dollars per share were ordered to be transferred for the franchise of the floating bridge and for toll-rights, roadway, etc. The enterprise seemed premature, and sufficient subscriptions were not obtained. March 31st, the upper bridge and the Lower Ferry on the Schuylkill were regulated by an act providing that the skipper of every vessel should blow a horn on crossing the Schuylkill bar, again near the Lower Ferry. The penalty for failing to open the floating bridge without delay was fixed at twenty-five dollars.

The judiciary system was altered by an act passed February 24th, and the Nisi Prius Courts established. Cases were no longer tried by the Supreme Court in banc, but only at Nisi Prius, and by one judge. There were two districts in the State, and the eastern one comprised the city and county of Philadelphia, and the counties of Bedford, Somerset, Westmoreland, Fayette, Greene, Washington, Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Crawford, Erie, Warren, Venango, Armstrong, Cambria, Indiana, Jefferson, Clearfield, and McKean. The court was to sit at Philadelphia on the second Monday of December and the third Monday of March. By the same act the courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas were assigned to districts, the city and county of Philadelphia

being the first district. By act of March 1st the provisions of the mechanics' lien law, which were found beneficial in the city of Philadelphia, were extended to the county.

The Philadelphia Bank, which had agreed to pay the State a bonus of one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars besides other inducements, found it hard to pay up their stock within the term allowed, and applied for an extension of the charter. The Assembly passed an act extending it until May 1, 1824, and the State reserved the right to, at any time, subscribe for stock of the value of two hundred thousand dollars.

Early in May the City Councils changed the method of assessing personal property, hoping to be able to relieve real estate of some of its taxation, and to reach property that had heretofore escaped. According to the new plan, two assessors were appointed for each ward, to ascertain, within their respective jurisdictions, property of the following descriptions: all wrought plate, merchandise, stock of any description, bonds and mortgages, coaches, chariots, phaetons, chaises, riding-chairs, other carriages, and horses, kept by any person for his or her own use, for the purposes of traveling or pleasure; and all offices and posts of profit, trades, occupations, and professions (ministers of the gospel of every denomination, mechanics, manufacturers, and schoolmasters, only excepted). The assessors, together with the treasurer and the city commissioners, were to value the property for what they thought it would sell for in ready money; and at their discretion rate the offices, occupations, and professions, having due regard to the profits arising from the same, and estimate the income of all persons who did not follow any trade, occupation, or profession. Provided, that household furniture in any one house was not to be taxed unless the valuation of the same exceeded eight hundred dollars. A tax of two hundred dollars per annum was also directed to be levied on theatrical entertainments, and fifty dollars per annum on all articles "used at any public show or exhibition, for which payment is required from those who use the same." These provisions were looked upon as very burdensome, and their existence was made a strong ground of opposition to the re-election of those members of the Councils who voted for the ordinance.

The Chamber of Commerce in May passed resolutions approving of a proposed exchange. The capital stock of "The Philadelphia Tontine Exchange" was to consist of one thousand shares, at not more than two hundred dollars each. It was intended that the shares should lapse, as the subscribers died, until the last Monday in December, 1845, when the whole estate should be sold and distributed among the survivors. As soon as seven hundred and fifty shares were subscribed for, the managers were to call a meeting and organize the institution. John Inskeep, Timothy Paxson, Henry Pratt, William Montgomery,

Robert Ralston, John Craig, John Clement Stocker, Thomas W. Francis, Daniel W. Cox, James C. Fisher, John Stille, James W. Fisher, and Robert Waln were on the committee, but the project was not successful. Meanwhile James Kitchen, who kept the old City Tavern on Second Street above Walnut, which was now called "The Merchants' Coffee-House," proposed to satisfy the mercantile convenience by keeping it for the purposes of an exchange. William Renshaw, who had leased the elegant mansion-house of William Bingham in Third Street above Spruce, opened subscriptions for the purpose of maintaining the premises as "The Exchange Coffee-House." He proposed to keep a marine diary, a register of vessels for sale, accommodations for auctions, ships' letter-bags, etc. An attempt was made, after the failure of the Tontine enterprise, to obtain subscriptions to "The Philadelphia Exchange Company," fifteen hundred shares at one hundred dollars each, but this plan also was a failure. Renshaw soon found that "The Exchange Coffee-House" was not remunerative, and abandoning that part of his plan kept the same establishment as "The Mansion-House Hotel."

The difficulties with foreign cruisers, chiefly this year, with those of the English caused energetic appeals to the government. At a meeting of merchants and ship-owners of Philadelphia, held at the Coffee-House above alluded to, a memorial to the President and Congress was adopted. It was signed by Thomas Fitzsimons, chairman, R. E. Hobart, secretary, and in behalf of the whole by Joseph Sims, James Yard, John Craig, Thomas W. Francis, Thomas English, Robert Waln, Robert Ralston, W. Montgomery, Thomas Allibone, Manuel Eyre, Jr., Abraham Kintzing, George Latimer, Joseph S. Lewis, Philip Nicklin, Daniel W. Cox, Chandler Price, Lewis Clapier, and Jacob G. Koch.

The "new doctrines" of the British Court were declared to be not only novel and hostile to neutral rights, but inconsistent with the former declarations of the ministry, and extraordinary in the time and manner of their annunciation. Complaints were also made of aggressions by Spain and violations of the treaties made by that power. The license of pirates and plunderers in the West Indies had become almost unbounded, "and the defenseless and unprotected state of our shipping exposes it to the most outrageous ravages of the daring and unprincipled."

Work upon the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal was suspended because of the slowness with which subscriptions were paid. The Susquehanna and Schuylkill Canal was also greatly delayed by financial difficulties.

The City Councils memorialized the General Assembly in regard to the powder-magazine at Walnut Street, Schuylkill, near the thickly-settled part of the city, and urged its removal. The Councils ordered that "each watchman should carry a tin trumpet to spread

fire-alarms." Later in the year there was a curious difficulty between the two Councils relative to the firing of guns during the holidays. Common Council desired the repeal of the law prohibiting their use at this season. Select Council wished the mayor to enforce that law, and, after a long wrangle, the subject was tabled.

First and last, throughout 1806, political questions were pre-eminent. A resolution was introduced in the Legislature in January by Holgate, of Philadelphia, who offered a resolution censuring Thomas McKean Thompson, Secretary of the Commonwealth, for a breach of privileges of the House, perpetrated while a committee was examining the accounts of Samuel Bryan. A resolution was attached declaring that it was the duty of the House to protect persons attending committees, and that Thompson's conduct was a breach of privilege. Sergeant and Milnor offered a counter-resolution declaring that the motion of Holgate was presented "in a manner novel, unprecedented, and extraordinary, and may cause the people of Pennsylvania to suppose that the House is arrogating powers vested by the Constitution in other branches of the government."

Holgate's resolution was lost. The Federalists, joined to the Governor's faction, had a majority in the House, and they defeated Duane, who had been a director in the Pennsylvania Bank. In July the Governor appointed Dr. George Buchanan, his son-in-law, as physician at the Lazaretto. Dr. Buchanan had for seventeen years been a citizen and resident of Maryland, not arriving in Pennsylvania until after the appointment was made. Such nepotism created a stir. The *Aurora*, a few months later, under the title of "The Royal Family," gave the following list of the persons connected by blood or marriage with the family of the Governor, who held office in the State, with their remuneration, viz.: Thomas McKean, Governor, \$5333.33; Joseph B. McKean (son), attorney-general, \$5000; Thomas McKean, Jr. (son), private secretary, \$400; Thomas McKean Thompson (nephew), Secretary of the Commonwealth, \$2150; Andrew Pettit (son-in-law), flour inspector, \$5000; Andrew Bayard (brother-in-law to Pettit), auctioneer, 2500; Dr. George Buchanan, of Baltimore (son-in-law), Lazaretto physician, \$2500; William McKean (brother-in-law of T. McKean Thompson), prothonotary of Washington County, \$1000; Andrew Henderson (cousin to the Governor), prothonotary of Huntingdon County, \$800; William Henderson (cousin to the Governor), brigade-inspector of Huntingdon County, \$150; John Husted (father-in-law of T. McKean Thompson), clerk in the comptroller-general's office, \$850; Joseph Reed (a near relation of Pettit and Bayard), prothonotary of the Supreme Court, \$2500. Even before this list was published the *Aurora* was being sued by the Governor on three libel cases, and by Marquis D. Yrujo, another son-in-law, on three more charges. Before the close of July

Duane was the defendant in sixty or seventy libel suits, and kept the staid old city in a state of turmoil, wondering what he would publish next. Governor McKean turned out all the "friends of the People" from office, as far as possible, and gave a chief justice-ship to William Tilghman, a Federalist. The progress of national events combined to render the local animosities in Pennsylvania more bitter. Burr, the arch apostate, overlooking the stormy political field north and south, deemed that State cohesion was rapidly decaying, and studied with greater zeal the region beyond the mountains. Some time in April Governor McKean added materially to the quarrel by attending the annual dinner of the St. George's Society, Philadelphia, at which a toast "To the King" was drunk. The "True Republicans," a few days later, at their annual meeting, adopted the following toast: "William Pitt, the common pest of mankind, and Thomas McKean, the pest of Pennsylvania, alike the admiration of the Sons of St. George and alike entitled to the *plaudits* of freemen."

The Tammany Society, at its meeting in May, "proceeded in great state to the wigwam, at Rowland Smith's, Spring Garden, bearing the general flag of the General Council of Sachems, the appropriate flag of each tribe, and the peculiar insignia of the society,—the great key, the bugle horn, the calumet, and the sheathed tomahawk." The affair was rendered more imposing by the appearance of a new band of music, composed of performers upon six clarionets, four flutes, two horns, two bassoons, one bass-drum, a psaltery, and some violins. Dr. Michael Leib was Grand Sachem. Among the toasts adopted was the following: "The Clodpoles of Pennsylvania: they scorn tyrants. May their next efforts be as successful in resisting them as they were in resisting Thomas McKean's friend, George III., and the Sons of St. George."

Dr. Leib declined a renomination to Congress, but was in October elected a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, there to lead the opposition to the Governor. The Federalists and Constitutionalists (or "Quids") made a coalition ticket in the First Congressional District, but the regular Democratic nominees, Dr. John Porter, Jacob Richards, and Joseph Clay, were elected. Their candidate for sheriff, Frederick Wolbert, received the highest number of votes, but charges that 97 illegal votes had been polled led the Governor to interfere. He appointed John H. Brinton and Samuel Wetherill, of Philadelphia, Dr. Joseph Strong and Richard Renshaw, of Southwark, Manuel Eyre and Thomas Barnes, of the Northern Liberties, and Joshua Sullivan, of Frankford, commissioners, under the act of 1799, to investigate the vote for sheriff. They reported "that 91 illegal votes had been cast," and the Governor set aside the election, Gen. John Barker, the then incumbent, holding office till the 1807 election. The attacks of the enemies of the Governor grew so fierce that

his message, sent to the Legislature in December, contained pointed allusions to them.

The Governor also recommended a consideration of remedies for this evil, and suggested the passage of a law to compel every printer who assailed a citizen to publish his defense, also a registry of the names of printers and editors of newspapers and periodicals, and that whenever a grand jury should present a press as a public nuisance, the editor must be bound in sureties for his future good behavior, and the court be authorized to suppress the paper for a limited time. The committee to which the Governor's address was referred reported in the House a reply, general in its terms, in which no reference was made to the suggestions upon this topic. When this report came up for consideration, Dr. Michael Leib moved the adoption of a substitute which took strong grounds against the views of the Governor. This address then referred to the Constitution of the United States securing the liberty of the press, the odium excited by the sedition law, and it concluded with quotations from the inaugural speech of President Jefferson in favor of the liberty of the press. The House avoided a contest on the subject by postponing both the original address and the proposed substitute. According to modern views, the libel law was pretty effective as then administered. About this time the grand jury of the Mayor's Court indicted Duane for publishing a toast given at a celebration: "General Arnold and Governor McKean: both beans of one kidney."

On the 15th of November the regular Democrats celebrated their triumph, and also the new non-importation law, which prohibited certain manufactures from being sent abroad. It was an exceedingly stormy day, but the Tammany Wigwam meeting was a success. Dr. Leib presided, and the toasts were hailed with shouts and with salutes from artillery placed under shelter. Stephen Girard "gave a barrel of gunpowder" towards this noisy indorsement.

Some time during 1806 a new scientific organization, the "Philadelphia Mathematical Society," was established, Robert Patterson, president; Samuel Wylie, secretary; Joseph Clay, treasurer; and Messrs. Clay, Wylie, and Delmar, corresponding committee. It was decided to give premiums for the best treatises on mathematical subjects, and early the next year they announced an offer of fifty dollars to the author of the best system of practical surveying, and thirty dollars to the author of the best essay on the theory of arches to support weight or pressure.

The business outlook was dark indeed at the beginning of 1807. Everything depended upon commerce, but Trafalgar had been fought and Napoleon had issued his Berlin decrees. The mighty whirlwind that had toppled thrones into the dust was surging in wider and yet wider circles till not a fishing-smack off Gloucester, not a factory in Pennsylvania, not an industry of the active American people, on land or sea, but was threatened with immediate de-

struction. Rates of marine insurance rose to ruinous heights, commercial enterprise seemed paralyzed. Throughout the year impressments and unwarrantable aggressions, such as the affair of the "Chesapeake," caused the greatest indignation against England, and every current set steadily towards war. One after another hopes of negotiation were destroyed, and the vexatious, harassing, indirect war of regulations calculated to hamper and ruin our commerce went on with unabated vigor. Congress endeavored to retaliate, and the country was slowly prepared for defense. These national issues tinged all public meetings, and indeed predominated everywhere until the actual outbreak of hostilities.

Philadelphia's income suffered with her commerce, and many needed improvements were delayed. In January, 1807, persons living west of Broad Street petitioned to be separated from the eastern part of the city, and exempted from the Councils' taxes. They wished to tax themselves for paved streets, for pumps, and for other improvements long and grievously denied them. Their memorial said, "Our situation now is deplorable. Our streets are worked into a mere quicksand; our footwalks are destroyed, so that communication with the market seems almost impossible; and we are insulted by the calls of the tax-gatherer for moneys from which we derive no benefit." A communication upon the subject in the *Aurora* stated that in 1806 there had come up the Schuylkill one hundred and thirteen vessels, with cargoes of plaster, flour, lumber, etc., to the amount of four thousand two hundred and fifty tons, which had to be transported over the miserable roads of that section. The City Councils issued a counter-memorial recounting what they had done in previous years for that section, calling attention to its sparsely-settled condition, whole squares being without a house or fence. In conclusion they pleaded lack of means to do all that was desirable, and asked leave "to tax auctions, concerts, and theatrical exhibitions," but this request was denied. The city commissioners a month or so later were ordered to pave High Street from Ninth to Twelfth "to a width of eighteen feet on each side, measuring from the curbstone." The middle was filled in with earth for a roadway. A license of twenty-two dollars per year was required upon private street-lamps. The Court of Quarter Sessions was applied to for leave to bridge Minnow Run, in Schuylkill Front, north of Market Street.

In April the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company was made, by act of Assembly, a perpetual incorporation.

A new bank, the "Farmers' and Mechanics'," was formed in February; capital stock \$700,000, in shares of fifty dollars each. When, some time later, they applied for a charter, though offering a large bonus to the State, their petition was rejected.

This Legislature incorporated the "Philadelphia Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Manu-

factures," established, as already described, in 1803. Their capital stock was \$10,000, in two hundred shares, and for five years they were allowed to make advances on goods stored in their warehouse at No. 6 North Third Street. Here the society, in June, advertised silk-worms for sale, and did all they could to encourage sericulture, probably one of the earliest efforts made to this end in America. The society also established a floor-cloth factory on Chestnut Street above Twelfth, in a building afterwards called the Gothic Mansion. Two looms were placed in it "for making a cloth of strong quality, between sail-duck and Russia sheeting." The largest loom would make the stuff seven yards wide, and one man could weave from thirty-five to forty-two yards in a day. The proprietors advertised to sell the best quality at two dollars per square yard. They also gave notice that they were ready to take "worsted carpets, worn or otherwise, even if unfit for use, if neatly darned, so as to be flat and free from lumps or holes," and "ground" them on one side, and without ornaments, for seventy-five cents per square yard. Carpets, it was announced, were "*coated for mourning*" in four days, at thirty-seven and a half cents per square yard. About this time Robert Gibbs established a fulling-mill upon the banks of the Schuylkill, about two miles from the city, near the Upper Ferry, where "all colors" were dyed on silk, cotton, and linen, finished in the same manner as those imported from Europe; and John Harrison established an important business, having succeeded in making oil of vitriol.

Some time in February an alarm over an incendiary fire in "Budd's Alley" caused official correspondence between Mayor Wharton and the Councils, and five hundred dollars reward was offered for the capture of the villains. Anxiety to further protect the city continued for some time. In November the "Union" and "Hand-in-Hand" fire companies urged additional protective measures, and also offered the city a bell. Common Council decided to hang it in the City Hall cupola, but Select Council refused to accept the gift, and it was presented to St. James' Episcopal Church, where it yet remains. This bell had had a checkered career. In 1750 the fire companies gave it to the academy on Fourth Street, and it passed into the hands of the university, but when that institution was removed to Ninth Street the authorities returned the bell to the firemen.

Military elections, pledges of aid to the government, patriotic meetings and addresses were the most prominent features of the summer of 1807 in Philadelphia. At the election late in June, Michael Bright was elected brigadier-general of the First Brigade, and Dr. Michael Leib brigadier-general of the Second Brigade. Hugh Ferguson was elected colonel of the Eighty-fourth Regiment; Jonas Symonds, of the Fiftieth; — McLloyd, of the Twenty-eighth; William Duane, of the Twenty-fifth; Daniel McCaraher, of the Twenty-fourth; Philip Lowry, of the Forty-

second; John Thompson, of the Sixty-seventh; Robert Kennedy, of the Seventy-fifth; John Northrop, of the Eightieth; George Fagundus, of the Eighty-eighth; Samuel Hergesheimer, of the One Hundred and Fortieth.¹

June 28th, intelligence of the "Chesapeake" outrage reached Philadelphia. The story is a familiar one. The British man-of-war "Leopard," supported by the frigate "Melampus" and the seventy-four "Bellona," fired into the "Chesapeake," June 23d, outside of the Virginia Capes, killed four of her crew and wounded eighteen, and seized three men who were claimed as deserters. The nation felt humiliated beyond expression, and a wave of intense indignation swept over the country. Patriotic Philadelphia was not last to denounce the affair. A meeting held July 1st in the State-House yard, Matthew Lawler presiding, Joseph Hopkinson secretary, resolved to support the government, and pledged themselves that the citizens of Philadelphia would discountenance all intercourse with the vessels of war belonging to Great Britain, and would withhold from them all supplies or assistance that might be necessary to their aid and subsistence. The Committee of Correspondence appointed to carry out the objects of this meeting was composed of Matthew Lawler, Charles Biddle, Paul Cox, David Lenox, Thomas Forrest, Richard Dale, Walter Franklin, George Clymer, Michael Leib, Thomas Leiper, Francis Gurney, James Engle, Joseph Hopkinson, George Bartram, Edward Tilghman, William Linnard, and Michael Bright.

The next day the Philadelphia Militia Legion offered its services to the government, and they were accepted. The Legion at this time contained only eight hundred and sixteen men, and recruiting was recommended. The addition of *pikemen* was suggested by Gen. Shee, with espontoons for officers of the line. A number of volunteer companies were organized, one of which bore the cumbersome title of "The Young Men of Correct Democratic Principles." The President called for 100,000 militia, and Pennsylvania's quota of the draft was 15,600, of which Philadelphia City and County were required to furnish 88 artillery, 177 cavalry, and 1500 infantry. Gen. John Shee was superseded in the command by Gen. John Barker, dubbed by the *Aurora* "Maj.-Gen. Nightcap," and in August he called upon Gens. Bright and Leib for the required contingent. His address on this occasion was characterized by the *Aurora* as "a piece of rhodomontade." In December the First Brigade paraded two thousand uniformed men, and the County Brigade had three thousand in line.

¹ The numbers of these regiments were according to the military order, which did not give consecutive numbers to the regiments of each brigade. The militia were, by act of April, 1807, to consist, in city and county, of one division in two brigades. Each brigade was to contain four or more regiments of eight companies, of from sixty-four to one hundred men each. Volunteer companies must contain at least forty men.

State and local politics were in their chronic condition of excitement. The virulence of the opposition to Governor McKean took every conceivable form. Representatives Leib and Engle desired a committee to investigate his conduct; but the motion was lost, January 31st, by vote of thirty-nine to thirty-three. His enemies, however, rallied to another assault, this time upon his conduct in setting aside the election for sheriff of Philadelphia. In this case, by vote of forty-three to thirty-eight, the committee of inquiry was ordered. March 19th, Governor McKean, through Joseph B. McKean, attorney-general, attempted to have Michael Leib and William Duane arrested for conspiracy, but the Supreme Court refused to grant the warrants, Leib being a member of the Legislature.¹ The committee reported seven charges against the Governor, and in April they were, by vote of forty-three to forty-one, referred to the next Legislature. A bill was then passed to prevent Moses Levy, recorder of Philadelphia, from practicing in any court, but was promptly vetoed, and failed to pass over the veto. In May, Thomas McKean, Jr., who had the previous autumn challenged Dr. Leib, was arrested, and in October the grand jury found indictments against both young McKean and his second, Maj. Dennis. Indictments against Leib for accepting the challenge were ignored. The friends of Simon Snyder, long an aspirant for the governorship, in February persuaded John Binns, proprietor of the *Northumberland Argus*, to remove to Philadelphia and establish a newspaper. It appeared May 27th, *The Democratic Press*, as a tri-weekly, but within a month was published daily. This was the first newspaper in America which bore the title *Democratic*, and Duane, who was at first friendly to the enterprise, thought the name impolitic. By September Binns had lost this good will by advocating a scheme of Nathaniel B. Boileau, of the Legislature, and by favoring district meetings instead of county meetings for nominations. Binns was thereupon expelled from the Tammany Society, and from the "Society of the Friends of the People." Duane had his usual crop of libel suits to gather,—Daniel Clark, Congressional delegate from New Orleans, Marquis Yrujo, and Joseph Lloyd sued him for various alleged libels. He was nominated in the fall to the State Senate, "hoping," said the *Gazette*, "to be made president of the Senate and *pro tem*. Governor should the proposed impeachment succeed." But the union of Federalists and "Quids" was too much for Duane. They elected Edward

Heston, defeated Wolbert, sheriff nominee, electing Donaldson, his old opponent, and were generally victorious in the autumn elections in city and county.

The enmity between the opposing parties was nowhere more manifest than in the consideration of national affairs. They battled long in the Legislature over "an address to Thomas Jefferson" begging him to be again a candidate. It was finally passed, but he transmitted a firm refusal. In December in the State Senate it was resolved,—

"That the late outrages committed on our sovereignty as a free and independent nation have not, perhaps, been exceeded in the history of civilized nations;" and that a joint committee should be appointed to address the general government, with assurances of our support and co-operation in such measures as Congress may think proper to adopt. On the 31st was presented the draft of an address to President Jefferson, declaring "that warlike reparation should be demanded" of Great Britain, and pledging the Legislature to sustain the measures of the general government to effect that object, "at the hazard of everything dear and valuable to man." The consideration of this address came on in January, 1808. A motion was made in the House to strike out the words, "Resolved to die like freemen. Rather than submit to become vassals of Great Britain, they are ready to offer up their persons and their fortunes on the altar of the country." This was lost by a vote of thirty-two yeas to fifty-four nays. Several amendments proposed by the Federalists were lost, and the address was eventually carried by a vote of sixty-one yeas to twenty-five nays."

A few other events of 1807 deserve mention. John Dunlap, Thomas Leiper, Matthew Shaw, Stephen Decatur, and John Singer were appointed commissioners "to sell the powder magazine at Walnut and Asheton Streets" (before reported as dangerously near other buildings), and to build one less than a mile from the city, to hold ten tons of powder, and one or more over four miles distant, to hold larger quantities.

Late in November Daniel Clark, of New Orleans, a noted merchant and Congressional delegate, was given a dinner at Renshaw's Mansion House hotel. Thomas Fitzsimons presided, assisted by Robert Wharton, and Messrs. Jackson Pratt, Biddle, and Bayard were managers. Clark had helped to save the officers, passengers, and crew of the ship "Argo," of Philadelphia. "The wreath of honor belongs to him who saves his fellow-men" was the first of the seventeen toasts.

Some Federalist merchants of Philadelphia appealed during 1807 to Congress for the repeal of the non-importation act, and were charged with British sympathies. December saw the passage of the embargo act against all vessels in the United States destined to foreign ports, and "the grass began to grow on the wharves, and ships rot at their moorings." The issue had been raised over which parties fought for many weary months. Within a few weeks after the embargo act was passed the British Orders in Council of November and Napoleon's Milan decrees reached America, and deepened the feeling of gloom in commercial circles.

On the last day of 1807, resolutions were introduced into the Councils suggesting that, since Congress was dissatisfied with the miserable accommodations of Washington City, and since resolutions favoring the

¹ The *United States Gazette* of March 30th copied a paragraph from the *Lancaster Journal* in reference to this application to the effect that Duane said, "If the warrant had been granted, in less time than twice twenty-four hours we would have had seven hundred men at Lancaster. The thunder and blitzen of the Northern Liberties, the wild Irish of Irish-town, and all the butchers of Philadelphia would have turned out. We would have pressed all the wagons and carriages in Philadelphia, and made the cartridges and cast the balls in the wagons coming up."

removal of the seat of government would soon be offered, a committee ought to be appointed to see what provisions Philadelphia could make. The county court-house was offered for this purpose, and a very lively debate in Congress followed, but the removal bill was lost by a few votes.

The Board of Health in this year began the City Hospital on a lot south of Coates Street and east of Schuylkill Fourth Street, intended for receiving patients from the city and suburbs who had malignant fever. The main building was fifty feet front and forty-two feet deep, and was three stories high. There were wings two stories high, and each one hundred and eight feet long by twenty-two feet deep. Piazzas extended the whole length, inclosed with Venetian blinds. The accommodations were for four or five hundred patients, and the building was ready for occupancy some time in the following year.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE EMBARGO TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR OF 1812-15.

THE injurious effects of the embargo act, that remarkable experiment never before tried by any nation, began to be felt very early in 1808. January 16th the discontented, hungry, and penniless sailors then in Philadelphia assembled, and marching to the City Hall, under the folds of the Stars and Stripes, made an appeal to the mayor, Robert Wharton, and respectfully wished to know what they should do. He replied that they "constituted an unlawful assembly," and ordered them to lower the flag under which they had marched through the streets. Having done this, he spoke to them further, expressed his pity for their condition, and said it was not in his power to give them immediate aid; that the government thought the embargo was necessary, and that they ought to disperse peaceably, but added that the Chamber of Commerce had the matter under consideration. The sailors appear to have gone home quietly to await events, and the Chamber of Commerce hastening its deliberations, appointed a committee of five, Thomas W. Francis, Robert Ralston, Manuel Eyre, Samuel Keith, and Daniel Smith, who reported in favor of assisting the distressed sailors. Subscriptions were taken up among the merchants in their behalf. In the State House of Representatives Thomas P. Cope tried to obtain an appropriation of five thousand dollars, but failed. For a time, however, they were cared for, but by April subscriptions ceased, times were hard beyond conception, and men really wealthy had little ready money. The sailors, after further appeals, went to other places, many of them to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where they entered the British service, and helped to fight England's battles

on the high seas. Thus our commercial policy lost us many a strong arm that would gladly have been found on the side of the United States when, four years later, the long-smouldering fires burst forth into flames of war. The embargo act met with the most violent opposition in many parts of the country, and infractions of its provisions became frequent, particularly along the New England coast, also by way of Lake Champlain. Satires and caricatures of the administration became numerous and bitter. One of the most remarkable ones was "The Embargo," a poem written by William Cullen Bryant, then a lad of thirteen, and was aimed at what he called the "terrapin policy" of the government. The precocious youth wrote,—

"Curse of our nation, source of countless woes,
From whose dark womb unreckoned misery flows,
Th' embargo rages like a sweeping wind,—
Fear lowers before, and Familee stalks behind."

It was found necessary to pass supplementary acts to prevent evasions of the law, and increasing its stringency. Petition after petition was sent to Congress, but without avail. Propositions to repeal the act and let merchants arm their own vessels were voted down. The leaders of the Federalists denounced the whole policy; they said that America sadly over-rated her own importance if she supposed that by holding herself aloof from commercial intercourse with the world she was hurting any one but herself. It was in vain that Quincy, of Massachusetts, Dana, of Connecticut, Gardiner, of New York, and Philip Key, of Maryland, led the opposition. February 20th, in Congressional debate, Gardiner exclaimed that the embargo was but a cunning scheme to aid France; it was "forging chains to fasten us to the car of the imperial conqueror." Meanwhile, however, the unjust "Orders in Council" of England, which had chiefly roused the wrath of America, had been attacked by a powerful minority in England itself. Lords Erskine, St. John, Lauderdale, and Holland made unanswerable arguments against the legality and the expedience of such measures; petitions from merchants of Liverpool, London, and many other cities were presented and argued for by the famous Henry Brougham, afterwards peer and lord chancellor. One eminent merchant, Alexander Baring, in his able "Inquiry," said that more than three-fourths of all vessels engaged in commerce in America had suffered from aggressions of British cruisers. But the classes of intelligent thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic, who urged the total and immediate abandonment of the policy of orders, decrees, and embargoes, failed to convince the majority. In March, Napoleon issued his Bayonne decree, "directing the seizure of all American vessels, because none could be lawfully abroad since the passage of the embargo act." To appeals from America the surly conqueror returned only a disdainful silence; to similar appeals the English ministry answered with

bitter sarcasm, and the charge that the embargo was intended to aid France.

Throughout the States of the Union the influence of the embargo was felt, during the spring and summer of 1808, in every department of trade, in politics, social life, and industries of every sort. The approaching Presidential election roused all parties to put forth their strongest efforts. Madison, Monroe, and Clinton were candidates in the Democratic party. The Federalists nominated Pinckney and King, but Madison and Clinton were elected. Meanwhile the agitation continued to increase. In September letters which the officers of merchant ships lying idle at Philadelphia had written to President Jefferson and his courteous but firm reply were published. The officers said that they were out of employment, and were without financial resources; the President said that the embargo was for the good of the country, was necessary, and was successful. The captains and first, second, and third mates of a large number of vessels then met at the White Horse Tavern, Capt. Richard O'Brien presiding, and Capt. Samuel Peacock as secretary. They showed the most patriotic feelings, resolving "not to adopt political measures, but to leave each person to exercise his own judgment." They resolved further that British and French depredations upon commerce and persons on the high seas demanded the adoption of wise measures; that the only alternatives were the embargo or war; that America was in an unprepared state for the latter measure; that seventy thousand citizens and nine-tenths of the commercial capital of the nation had been exposed to the depredations of the enemy; that the embargo laws were the least of these evils. The Legislature of Pennsylvania in December adopted resolutions declaring against the measures of Great Britain and France. An amendment declaring that the embargo was approved as a surety for the maintenance of the freedom of the ocean was carried by a vote of seventy-two to twenty. A protest was filed by nineteen members declaring that they did not think that the embargo was a measure of wisdom, and that they could not consent to express unlimited confidence in the wisdom or patriotism and integrity of any administration. On the 12th of December a motion was made by Banks, declaring that the embargo was actuated by the purest patriotic views, "yet inasmuch as certain evils, which it is expected will be partial in duration, do exist—to wit, the great scarcity of the circulating medium in almost all parts of the commonwealth, by reason of the reduction of prices of staple commodities—that a committee be appointed to consider what measures ought to be adopted to stop the distress and sale of property for the payment of debts in this commonwealth." This resolution was adopted. Similar resolutions supporting the principle of the embargo were passed by a majority of the State Legislatures, and aided to support the adminis-

tration through the partisan conflicts, the struggles, animosities, assaults, and various manoeuvres that characterized the second session of the Tenth Congress. Eminent lawyers of the New England States began to declare that the act was unconstitutional, transcending the powers delegated by the States to Congress. "The arguments used by the Virginia nullifiers and secessionists in 1798 against the alien and sedition laws were used in New England in 1808 against the embargo laws." The measure which, it was believed, would starve English manufacturers and West India plantation-owners into recognition of American rights brought far greater evils upon our own industries than it inflicted elsewhere. Yet here, as in most economic experiments on a large scale, there was another side to the story. Some of the results of the embargo act were highly beneficial to the United States. It greatly helped the development of many industries; it stimulated inventive genius, and hastened the progress of manufactures to a degree before unknown. Importations of foreign goods were necessarily stopped, the energies of a restless and ingenious people were forced into new channels. In October the *Aurora* said in justification of the administration,—

"The embargo has built, or nearly built, ten thousand houses in this city. The embargo has erected two manufactories of shot in this city, which forever secures the circulation at home of about two hundred thousand dollars, hitherto sent abroad to pay for shot. For shooting birds alone we sent two hundred thousand dollars abroad. Philadelphia now, from the two towers erected for casting patent shot, can, after supplying all America, supply all Asia besides! . . . We have two manufactories of red lead already established, whose capacity is competent to supply the whole country with red lead and with litharge. A manufactory of white lead is also going on."

Early in the year the Philadelphia Manufacturing Society was established, with a capital of fifty thousand dollars in one thousand shares. Israel Israel, Elisha Gordon, Tench Coxe, Mathew Carey, William Y. Birch, A. Philson, David Jackson, Samuel Wetherill, Jr., and Joseph Jones were the managing and subscription committee, who, in April, published an address saying that they meant to use water-power and erect buildings and machinery for making cotton, woolen, and linen cloths and other goods. In July the "Premium Society" offered premiums in money for broadcloths, fancy cloths, dressed flannel in imitation of Welsh, flannel of cotton-chain filled in with wool, the best cotton goods twilled and raised on one side to imitate flannel; for the first thread-mill set up to make gray and colored thread; for cotton cloth suitable for clothing of working persons; for the best sheeting of linen chain and cotton filling; for the best imitation of Russia iron sheeting, and for

¹ These shot-towers were both completed about the same time. On the 20th of October, Bishop & Sparks advertised that they were ready to furnish American patent shot at the factory, in Southwark (it was on the north side of Carpenter Street, between Swanson and Front), or at No. 49 South Wharves. On the 27th, Paul Beck advertised that he had erected "a patent shot-factory, upon as large a scale as any in Europe." This factory was situated between Arch and Race Streets and Schuylkill Front and Second Streets.

Raven's duck. It turned out that there was no competition for more than a few of these premiums. Col. David Humphrey, of Connecticut, "importer of one hundred merino sheep," received an award for the best piece of broadcloth. Premiums were awarded to the managers of the almshouse and of the house of employment in Philadelphia for the first thread-or throwing-mill set up, to Daniel McGinnis for cotton shirting, to Stoddart & Gilbert, of Connecticut, for cotton cloth, and to the managers of the almshouse for cotton sheeting.¹

The improved prospects of industry were celebrated by the manufacturers and mechanics of Philadelphia, November 17th, by a dinner, which was given in the room formerly occupied by the United States Senate, at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets. Col. Humphrey, of Connecticut, was present. John Dorsey, president of the festival, appeared in a suit of American broadcloth made from merino fleece. The vice-presidents were Abraham Small, John Harrison, Samuel Smith (currier), John Miller, and Joseph Strong. A toast was drunk, "The Best Mode of Warfare for our Country—the artillery of carding and spinning machinery, and the musketry of shuttles and sledges." In the State House of Representatives, in December, Gordon moved that a bounty ought to be paid by the State for every full-blooded merino ram and ewe, and for full-blooded rams of the Leicester breed, which might be brought into the commonwealth in the next ten years; that sheep ought to be exempted from taxation: that one dollar per head for each sheep owned ought to be deducted from the valuation of the property of such owner previous to assessing the value of the same for tax purposes; that ten sheep ought to be secure thereafter to every person from attachment or execution for debt; and that any military company clothed in an entire uniform of homespun cloth should be completely armed and accoutred at the expense of the State. This year also saw the secure establishment of the manufacture of artificial mineral waters. Messrs.

Cohen & Hawkins had begun it in 1807, at No. 38 Chestnut Street, imitating seltzer, soda, Balston, Saratoga, and Pymont. In 1807 they also tried to establish a company, the "Philadelphia Mineral Water Association," capital twenty thousand dollars in four hundred shares, but failed in the scheme, and dissolved partnership.

The value of the waters was certified to by Drs. Benjamin Rush, Thomas Parke, William P. Dewees, John Monges, John Syng Dorsey, René La Roche, James Mease, Philip Sing Physick, Adam Seybert, and Isaac Parrish. Cohen carried on the manufactory in 1808 at No. 31 South Second Street, afterwards at No. 35 South Second Street, and later in the same year at Dock and Second Streets. The water was furnished from fountains or in bottles; and during 1808, George Shaw, at No. 98 Chestnut Street, Robert Harris, at No. 196 Market Street, and perhaps others, supplied it to customers.

Allusion has been made to national politics and to the excited condition of local and State politics also. The entire year 1808 was marked by deeply interesting events in Pennsylvania politics. The stubborn and aristocratic old Governor McKean, as soon as the Legislature assembled, was greatly assailed by his enemies. The committee appointed to investigate his conduct made their report, and sustained most of the charges made against him. In regard to the appointment of Dr. George Buchanan as lazaretto physician, the report stated that he had been an inhabitant and a citizen of Maryland for seventeen years preceding his appointment in Pennsylvania, and that his commission bore the date of July 4, 1806, three or four days before his arrival in this State. Concerning the practice of stamping public documents, the committee said, "The fashion which has been introduced by the Governor of having his name stamped upon the evidences of property by means of a *fac-simile*, and that, too, before they are completed by the proper officers and passed through the necessary forms, is calculated to produce endless strife and contention, and to render uncertain the tenure of property conveyed by the State."

In reply to this report, and to the accusations generally urged against him, the Governor sent a long communication to the Legislature justifying or explaining the circumstances complained of. In regard to the appointment of Buchanan, it was argued that the position of lazaretto physician was not a county office, and that it was not within the prohibitions of the Constitution. Upon the charge of "stamping" his name, he said that the charge seemed "to be predicated upon a supposition that there exists some constitutional rule or some statutory direction requiring the use of a quill dipped in ink to legitimize the Governor's signature when affixed to any official document. But all that can be gathered from the Constitution on the subject is the use of the word 'sign' when the Governor approves a bill or grants a

¹ The *Aurora* of November 15th contained a list of the principal manufactories in Philadelphia, as follows: "John Dorsey, Chestnut Street above Twelfth (Gothic mansion), floor-cloths and carpets; John McAnley (near the permanent bridge), ditto; John Thorburn & Co., North Third Street, printed calicoes; John Hewson, Jr., Third Street, calicoes and pocket-handkerchiefs; W. E. Lehman, W. E. Smith & Sons, South Third Street, Windsor and fancy soaps; Dr. Joseph Strong, South Second Street, white and red lead, litharge, etc. (The factory was at No. 486 North Third Street, opposite the Globe Mills.) Binney & Ronaldson, South Street, letter-founders; Harrison & Co., South Second Street (factory at South Street wharf, Delaware); Thum & Bitters, South Third Street, ditto, glassware, bottles, etc.; Paul Beck, Bishop & Sparks, shots; R. Hovenden & Co., South Second Street, red lead; Dr. Smith, Second Street, annatto; Joseph Lehman, Market Street, refining camphor; Capt. Towers, twine, bagging, thread, etc." To these may be added the Mars Works of Oliver Evans & Co., on the angle bounded by Ninth Street, Wood Street, and the Ridge road, south by Vine Street, which were extensive, comprising an iron-foundry, pattern-shop, steam mill for turning and boring heavy iron and grinding plaster, and for making machinery for steam-engines, and for manufacturing wool, flax, cotton, etc.; a playing-card manufactory, by Thomas De Silver, No. 162 South Sixth Street.

commission; and although many acts of Assembly mention the Governor's signature, and sometimes require that he shall *sign* particular instruments, the form of the signature and the manner of signing are nowhere designated and prescribed." The Governor then proceeded to argue that a *fac-simile* stamp may be a signature, that it is not more susceptible of forgery than a written one. "Deprived of the use of both his hands by a sudden and severe disease, it is inconceivable in what other mode the attestation of his name could be given to a public document." To the reception of this protest the enemies of the Governor objected. When first received the House refused to place it on the journal by a vote of forty-two ayes to forty-three nays. But this vote was soon changed by the defection of one of the anti-McKean party, and the protest was therefore inserted by a vote of forty-three to forty-two. Since a majority for impeachment could not be obtained, and since at the Democratic caucus at Lancaster soon after Simon Snyder was nominated for Governor, the McKean fight was dropped by all parties. Duane and Leib were not enthusiastic over Snyder, and said that a "junto," or, as we should now say, a "ring," controlled him for selfish purposes. At this time the Pennsylvania Democrats were divided into two great parties, the "Friends of the People" (Leib and Duane) and the "Society of Independent Democrats" (Boileau and Binns). The Federalists again nominated Ross, of Pittsburgh; the "Quids," or Constitutional Democrats, John Spayd. "Free trade and no embargo" was the Federalist war-cry. The old issues were broken up by Governor McKean's retirement as not eligible under the Constitution; all McKean's friends hastened to rally to Madison's support. By the new election law passed in March the city and county of Philadelphia were made one senatorial election district, entitled to four senators; the city had five representatives and the county six. Dr. John Porter and William Anderson were elected to Congress, and Dr. Benjamin Say took Joseph Clay's place in that body. The returns showed that Ross had 2737 votes in the city and Snyder had 2047; that Ross had 2897 votes in the county and Snyder 3860. Stephen Girard had more votes for a seat in Councils than had any other man on the ticket. The Democrats controlled the Councils and elected Gen. John Barker mayor. The whole State vote was: Snyder, 67,975; Ross, 39,575; Spayd, 4006. Dr. Leib ran behind his ticket, but was returned to the Legislature, and elected by that body United States senator.

As soon as the political campaign closed, Duane, of the *Aurora*, was pelted with libel suits, and several of the old ones were brought to a trial. The case against Leib and Duane, in relation to means taken to force the Governor, in 1806, to commission Wolbert as sheriff of Philadelphia, was decided for the defendants. Gouverneur Morris obtained a verdict for four hundred and twenty-five dollars damages from Duane, for a

libel published Dec. 8, 1800. In the McKean cases, on one count, that Duane had charged the Governor with improperly withholding a major's commission, the plaintiff won; on another count, of charging the Governor with despotic conduct, the verdict was for the defendant. Duane's suit against Joseph B. McKean (the Governor's son) for alleged assault by defendant and thirty others of the City Troop resulted in acquittal. Peter Miercken's suit against Duane failed. Duane had been so sturdy and unhesitating a friend of the administration, that President Madison now appointed him lieutenant-colonel of a rifle regiment in the regular service, a place which for some time was in effect a *sinecure*.

Just before the election in Pennsylvania, which resulted in Snyder's triumph, an article which caused much excitement appeared (July 28th) in the *Democratic Press*. It was signed "J. B.," and was believed to have been written by John Binns, the editor. The *Federal Republican*, of Baltimore, published an offensive parody, copied into the *Freeman's Journal*, of Philadelphia, and Binns sued McCorkle, of the latter paper. On the trial it was shown that Gen. John Barker wrote the first article.¹

¹ This article was entitled "The Political Creed of an Old Revolutionary Officer." It contained thirty-one items and specifications, the most important of which were the following:

"I believe our prosperity, growing strength, and unparalleled increase of commerce hath filled the cabinet of St. James with jealousy and envy.

"I believe one million of guineas are annually distributed in this country among British subjects, old Tories, traitors, and apostate printers, for the purpose of deceiving and dividing the people, for that is their last hope.

"I believe the guineas are now flying through Pennsylvania for the election of Mr. Ross, in which, if they succeed, I shall set it down as the first step towards, not a Federal, but a British triumph; for I believe Pennsylvania to be the keystone of the great arch of Democracy, —take away the key, and the arch must fall.

"I believe what is falsely called Federalism, —I call it Toryism, because all the traitors and English agents fall into their ranks, —if that kind of *ism* should succeed throughout the Union, their first steps would be to force on a war with France, not that they love fighting, but to furnish them with a feasible plea to become the friend, ally, and partner of a cruel, unjust, tyrannical, bloody, profligate, and bankrupt government.

"I believe James Madison possesses every qualification requisite and is fully competent to discharge the duties of President of the United States, and that he will pursue the line laid down by Mr. Jefferson. I hope he will be elected.

"I believe James Ross to be a scholar, a statesman, and a gentleman, but very wrong in his politics, better suited to London than Philadelphia, and therefore I think ought not to be Governor.

"I believe that Simon Snyder possesses a strong mind, good natural talents, inflexible integrity, uncontaminated Republicanism, and a sound judgment, and therefore ought to be Governor.

"I believe there has not been an election since we were a nation of more importance or which called more for republican candor than the approaching one; for Toryism, Traitorism, Englishism, and Federalism (so called), aided by lies, intrigue, and gold, will be played off against honest Democracy.

"I believe that while the councils of this country are governed by the principles of 1776, do justice to individuals and to nations, prefer peace to war, the saving of blood to the shedding of it, sustain the same character abroad and at home as they now have, pursue the same course that they have for now eight years past by maintaining the strong neutral ground they have taken, making Justice their guide, Peace their path, and Mercy their citadel, the navy of England and the armies of France combined may attempt but cannot shake it."

After the Democratic State victory in October the "Young Democrats of Philadelphia" met at the Shakespeare Hotel and celebrated the event. Samuel Keemie presided, and George Bartram was vice-president. After the Presidential election they held "a Whig festival" at Mrs. Saville's, in Spring Garden, Gen. Leib presiding, assisted by Judge Wolbert, John Dorsey, and Michael Bright. Lieut. Cake fired salutes from two pieces of artillery. Fotteral's band played patriotic airs. Among the toasts was the following, by Matthew Lawler: "A head wind and a chopping sea, a lee shore, both pumps going, and a short allowance to any person that would pay tribute to a foreign nation for permission to carry on the commerce of the United States."

The parades and meetings of the soldiers were more frequent in 1808 than for several years previous. Drilling in convenient halls took place throughout the winter, and when spring opened a series of sham fights was instituted to train the volunteers. The first occurred in March, near Mrs. Saville's tavern, in Spring Garden, Capt. Fotteral's "Independent Blues" and Capt. Graves' "Philadelphia Volunteers" taking part. In March an act of Assembly recognized the "Philadelphia Legion," up to this time a volunteer association of uniformed flank companies, as a military body capable of choosing its own officers. They elected lieutenant-colonel and other field-officers, and in May made their first parade under the new system in an elaborate expedition to train the volunteer troops.¹ The plan included an embarkation by water, a landing, a march of manoeuvre, an attack, the defense of a town, the incidental movements of light troops, and all the evolutions of modern tactics which the nature of the ground and the force would admit of. In this affair the companies of Fotteral, Graves, Boyle, Morris, and Col. John Thompson participated. Boats were volunteered by shipmasters in port, and were formed into two squadrons, with Capts. Benners and Webb respectively as commodores. The troops embarked in three divisions at Market Street Ferry, at the old ferry, and at Arch Street Ferry. Twenty-five boats held the contending forces. They were rowed to Smith's Point, N. J., where a landing was made, and a forced march ordered to Woodbury. The first corps retreated, the other pursued, and brisk skirmishing, followed by a sham battle, took place. June 22d the whole legion took part in another affair on a grander scale. Col. Jonas Symonds was commander of the day, and appointed as his staff Capt. S. E. Fotteral, Col. William Duane, Maj. Peter Christian, and D. Sharp, acting quartermaster-general. The first bat-

talion of artillery was under Maj. Shaw. The cavalry was under Maj. Leiper. The flotilla, in three squadrons, commanded by Commodores Benners and Webb, was composed of sixty boats, respectively manned by the following shipmasters, who had volunteered for the occasion, viz.: Capts. Kitts, Cranston, Hartwell, Norton, Grevy, Sellers, Tully, Rowe, Wing, Stanley, Gillespie, Sloan, Williams, Smith, Watkins, Park, Barclay, T. Kennedy, H. Kennedy, McGinnis, Burns, Roberts, Warner, Martin, Singleton, Mingle, Whitehead, Shedaker, Bingham, T. Ray, G. W. Williams, Calhoun, Winnemore, H. Ray, Robinson, Peacock, Bunker, Brewton, W. Johnston, Crow, Phillips, Handy, Remington, Riddle, Dehart, Kitchen, Molony, Browne, Wade, Devereux, Wallington, Davenport, Herod, Garwood, Gardener, Brewer, Rennolds, and Pickle.

The first division consisted of Binney's light infantry as flankers, Capt. Shaw's artillery with a field-piece, a company of lansquenets, formed of militia officers, under Capt. Moore, Fotteral's light infantry, Boyd's new company of artillery with field-piece, Morris' light infantry flankers of the reserve, Graves' infantry as reserve, and Fiss' riflemen. The second division, commanded by Col. Duane, consisted of Leiper's cavalry, Uhle's rifles, Fidler's artillery with field-piece, Hill's flying artillery with two pieces and two tumbrils, Cress' artillery with field-piece, Thompson's, Boyle's, and Walters' light infantry, and a corps of militia officers with firelocks, acting as infantry. The reserve division was composed of the Frankford company (Maj. Duncan), Fiss' rifles, and Norton's artillery.

According to general orders it was proposed "that one division should be considered as an invading enemy and the other a defending army;" that the first division should land from the boats under a fire protected by water-batteries and a resistance; "the passage of a river in retreat and its defense against pursuers; the defense of defiles; the attack in flank and rear, and on a flank by ambuscade at the same time; the loss of cannon of an advance-guard, and the retreat covered by riflemen; the retreat through a long defile to a cover and occupation of a strong position, and there the retreating party to make a stand; a pitched battle, in which should be displayed the special uses of a rifle corps in action, flying artillery, pikes in the charge of a line and in defense of artillery, and charge of cavalry, and the use of a reserve in deciding a battle." The place chosen for these evolutions was at the mouth of Frankford Creek, and from thence to Frankford, where the reserve was stationed. Over twenty thousand people witnessed the sham battle, and it was pronounced a great success. But the opposition journals, particularly the *Philadelphia Gazette*, insisted that it was held for the purpose of rejoicing at the disgrace of the American flag by the attack upon the "Chesapeake" frigate. "The repose of the city," it was said,

¹ The uniform of the Independent Volunteers was thus described: "A long blue coat, red lapel-facings, white lining, and to show a blue front, with silver lace. Chapaneau brass, with red feather and black top. White pants in winter, blue in summer." The estimated expense per uniform was twenty-six dollars. This company had the gayest uniform among the volunteers of that day.

"was disturbed at an early hour by Irishmen assembled to commemorate the affair of the 'Chesapeake.' This proceeding is in the genuine spirit of blundering. We have heard of nations celebrating their glories, but never till now of their perpetuating the recollection of disgrace." The affair was called "The Battle of Point-no-Point," and long was a stock subject with the song-writers of the time, as the "Battle of the Kegs" had been a generation before.

While political struggles and military evolutions occupied the public attention, quieter but no less important forces were at work modifying society and influencing the times. One of the most important events of the year was the opening of "The Hollow School," on Pegg's Run, in the Northern Liberties, January 11th. In 1807 the "Philadelphia Association for the Instruction of Poor Children" had organized, afterwards incorporated, with membership limited to forty-five. William Sansom and Thomas Scattergood gave them two lots of land near Pegg's Run (on the line of Margaretta Street below Second). Here the society built "The Adelphi School," with two rooms and accommodation for six hundred pupils, on the Lancaster system, then in use in New York, and promising great results. Children between the ages of five and fifteen were admitted. Subscribers paid four dollars a year and fifty dollars for a life membership. This was the noted "Hollow School" of which, in 1860, a gentleman wrote, describing its appearance in 1818. He says,—

"The population of Philadelphia at that day was comparatively small,—scarcely a tenth of the present number,—while field and meadow, running stream and woodland, with but an occasional farm-house, mill, or factory greeted the eye as far as it could range north and west of Sixth and Coates Streets. Even at the time of which I speak, Philadelphia could boast of five or six public schools, under the management of a board of directors, with Roberts Vaux, Esq., as president. The majority of those directors were of the Society of Friends. They were much respected and loved by the pupils, for whom they always had a smile or word of encouragement. The school in which it was my fortune to be placed was situated on Pegg Street, the boys' front resting on Adelphi Alley, the entrance for the girls being on New Market Street. The building was of two stories, substantially erected with brick walls, and was capable of accommodating three hundred boys and as many girls. The seats were generally all occupied, the vacancies being filled up as fast as they were made. The hollow, from which the school derived its cognomen, was the general play-ground of the boys, lying on a level with the banks of the stream known as Pegg's Run, which is now arched over by Willow Street. The descent to the hollow was in winter a great resort for boys to sled down hill; while in rainy seasons the creek, which the Indians called Cohoquinogue, was often so swollen that its waters would submerge the entire hollow, affording many an adventurous embryo navigator a fine opportunity to display his skill in paddling the logs and timber which drifted down, or were carried up by the tides. In the summer seasons the bed of the creek would often be left nearly dry; and frequently have I joined juvenile exploding parties, who, armed with clubs to resist the attacks of tanners' dogs,—of which a goodly number infested the banks,—would thread its dark and tortuous ways in search of it, to us, mysterious source. Add to all these advantages of locality the reputation that the hollow bore as a favorite night haunt for 'unclean spirits and pale ghosts,' and you have a spot as well calculated to develop the organ of marvellousness or idylity as the most imaginative mind could desire."

He proceeds to describe the mild régime of Mr. Ely, the teacher in charge in 1818, but two years

later Joseph Ketler, of Lancaster, took his place. He was a severe disciplinarian, and his name became a terror to evil-doers. The gentleman from whose reminiscences we have quoted describes the punishments in use as follows,—

"The 'cage' I have, with other victims, occupied many a time and oft. There was nothing particularly objectionable in it save that it was rather close in warm weather, though it had several doors with venetian blinders slats for ventilation; and had it not been for the certainty of the flagellation which awaited us when called upon to come forth, which anticipation would always keep the neighborhood of the doom rather clear from what otherwise might have proved an obstruction, we would have considered our incarceration rather in the light of a pleasant little relaxation from the incessant round of duties we were obliged to perform. Whipping upon the bare feet with a rattan—to receive which the culprit was required to lie on his back, while the master slipped a noose around his ankles to facilitate the operation—was one of the modes of punishment resorted to with transient players. A strong oaken paddle about fourteen inches long, having a termination about the size of the palm of the hand, was used on all ordinary occasions of punishment. This was applied to the bare palm, and was varied on extraordinary occasions by being brought in lively contact with the ends of the digits, grouped so as to receive, such one, its appropriate share of the invigorating influence. It was no uncommon thing for mothers to bring their refractory children to school, when their own harsh treatment had failed to produce the desired effect, and earnestly entreat Mr. Ketler to try his modes of punishment upon them; such was the custom of the times, and so universal was the resort to corporal torture but a third of a century ago. The gag was very seldom brought in requisition, though I have often seen it out of use. It was intended to curb the boisterous demonstrations of those who were wont to vent their indignation in threats, curses, or loud cries. A leaden cover for the mouth, with a block of wood attached to enter between the teeth and strings to secure it in its place, made up the entirety of this formidable instrument. The story of suspending a boy by the thumbs has doubtless been much exaggerated. I am not aware of such a thing having been done while I remained at school, though it may have happened during my absence, as I was often sick for weeks and months during the latter part of my Hollow School career. I am cognizant, however, of this fact, namely, that Mr. Ketler retained his position until some time after the school was removed to the new building in Third Street above Brown, a few months prior to which my good mother had thought proper (for some apparent injustice) to withdraw my name from his list of pupils."

In January, 1808, the Legislature received a report from the commissioners who were to locate a site for a new powder-magazine. They had chosen a suitable spot four miles outside of the city, and an act passed February 25th appropriated five thousand dollars for the building.

It was in January, also, that the directors of the "Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank," for some time a copartnership, again applied for a charter, and made several proposals. They offered to the State two and a half per cent. upon the net profits; or ten per cent. upon the excess of profits above six per cent. on the capital; or to pay fifty thousand dollars and loan the State fifty thousand dollars for ten years, at five per cent. interest; or to subscribe one hundred thousand dollars to the Northern Turnpike Company to Pittsburgh, forty thousand dollars worth of the stock to be the property of the State; or to subscribe to one-third of the stock of the turnpike company, provided it did not exceed two hundred thousand dollars; or, if the State would subscribe to one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the stock of the bank, fifty thousand dollars of the sum to be assumed by the bank, the State should have a right to elect four directors,

and the bank to extend the capital to one million two hundred thousand dollars; or to pay the State seventy-five thousand dollars in installments, if the capital allowed was two million dollars. The committee of the House reported in favor of the one hundred and fifty thousand dollars subscription. In the report it was said that the banking capital of Pennsylvania was not increased in a ratio with the wants of the community, in consequence of which paper money of other States came in. The arguments of the friends of the bill were not sufficient, and it failed to pass. The opponents of paper money determined to check such proceedings, and Mr. Lacock introduced a bill into the House for preventing the formation of associations of individuals for the purposes of banking and stock-jobbing. It passed both chambers, and was approved by the Governor March 28th.

The Philadelphia Bank this year completed its

particularly interesting because exhibiting in a strong light the feelings with which staid Philadelphia then regarded such things. It seems that Messieurs Epervil and Hipolite, in December, 1807, had given one or two concerts and masked balls on a small scale, and received encouragement to enlarge the scheme. So, January 28th, Epervil advertised in the *Aurora* that, "in consequence of an earnest invitation from a numerous circle of genteel and friendly persons," he had been induced to give three masquerade balls in the city, "having previously taken all the necessary precautions to insure an agreeable, decent, and select assembly." The number of subscribers was limited at two hundred and fifty, at the price of six dollars for the series. The religious community was indignant, and took immediate steps to prevent them, and John Sergeant introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution declaring that the tendency of masquerades was demoralizing. The matter was pushed through both Houses without delay; and upon the 15th of February an act was passed declaring masquerades and masked balls to be common nuisances, and directing that the persons who allowed masked balls to be given in their houses, the persons who set them on foot, and those who attended them, should each be subject to imprisonment not exceeding three months, and to a fine between fifty dollars and one thousand dollars, besides giving surety to be of good behavior in future. This law prevented masquerade balls from being given in the city for half a century.

The first race-course in Philadelphia was established early this year. It was in the Northern Liberties, on the old York road, "at the corner of Nicetown," and a number of races were held there in the summer for small stakes and purses.

The ministers preached against it, and some efforts were made to put an end to its public use, but public taste was changing, and the races were well attended. The place was afterwards known as Hunting Park. A number of years ago some public-spirited citizens bought it, and afterwards presented it to the city of Philadelphia for a public park.

Street improvements progressed rather better than in 1807. March 26th a legislative act was passed referring to that part of the township of Moyamensing bounded by Passyunk road, Federal Street, Passyunk township, and Cedar Street, and declaring that the freeholders thereof were erecting buildings and making improvements, but for want of some general regulation the buildings were irregularly placed, and it had become necessary that the lines of the streets and alleys should be laid out and surveyed. Philip Peltz, John Kessler, and John Maitland were appointed commissioners, the plans of new streets to be



THE OLD PHILADELPHIA BANK.

new building at the northwest corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets. It was sixty by forty-three feet square, built of brick and stone. There was a dwelling for the cashier south of it on Fourth Street. The space north to Chestnut Street was inclosed by a low wall and an iron railing, and was handsomely laid out with graveled walks and shrubbery. Amid the shades of the latter, on the western side of the garden, were lodges for the watchmen, built in Gothic style, to correspond in appearance with the main building. This banking-house was said to have been the first specimen of the pure fourteenth century style of architecture ever built in the United States, and was one of the finest works of its architect, Mr. Latrobe. It was demolished in 1836, to make room for the marble building of the Philadelphia and Western Banks.

One of the excitements of the early part of 1808 grew out of concerts and masquerade balls, and is

filed in the Court of Quarter Sessions, and subject to the approval of that court. Provision was also made for the election annually thereafter of three regulators, who, with the supervisors, were to see to paving the footways, fix the depth of lots, provide pumps for use in case of fire, etc.

Early in April a delegation of Oneida Indian chiefs was shown over the public buildings and banqueted at the expense of the city.

May 7th an unsectarian "Bible Society" was established to distribute the Bible to the poor. It was resolved that its field of labor should be Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. The design of the association was "to distribute the Bible in the native speech of those who may be disposed to read it." English and German Bibles were printed for this society during the year, and preparations were made for a translation of the Scriptures into the Welsh and Gaelic languages. The copies printed were without note or comment. The entrance-fee was five dollars, and annual fees two dollars. The first president was Bishop White. The society grew, and Jan. 10, 1810, was incorporated as "The Bible Society of Philadelphia." In 1840 the name was changed to "The Pennsylvania Bible Society."

In May of this year Roman Catholic citizens assembled, and choosing Mathew Carey president, and Thomas Hurley secretary and treasurer, founded "The Roman Catholic Society of St. Joseph," for the maintenance and education of orphan children. They secured a house on Sixth Street, above Spruce, next to the Church of the Holy Trinity, and here the asylum remained for many years.

The noted Naglee-Brouvard case occurred this summer, and excited strong public interest upon its trial in the Court of Quarter Sessions. John Naglee, of Philadelphia, was there arraigned for an assault on Capt. Brouvard, the commander of a French privateer schooner, lying in port. The facts of the case, brought out on the trial, created much sympathy for Naglee. Two years before, a Swedish schooner, of which Naglee was supercargo, had been captured on a voyage from Philadelphia to Cuba, by the privateer "Dolph," of which Brouvard was then commander, and taken into Baracoa. While proceedings were pending there in a prize court, one-half of the cargo, of which Naglee had the care, was stolen from the vessel and taken on shore, to avoid a restoration, if it should be decreed. Brouvard, with a file of Spanish soldiers, also attempted to arrest Naglee. The latter applied to the governor of the port for protection, and the schooner was ordered to St. Domingo. Naglee followed in another vessel and found, upon his arrival, that his schooner and cargo had been condemned and his personal property taken by Brouvard. In his anger he told the latter, "I am now in your power, and must submit; but if I ever catch you in any part of the United States, except Christ Church, I will have my revenge!"

In 1808, Brouvard came to Philadelphia to refit and take in supplies. His privateer was at the shipyard, and he and the French vice-consul were examining her, when the forgetful and unforgiving Naglee appeared on the scene. He made no parley, but struck Brouvard, pushed aside the vice-consul who tried to interfere, and in a few minutes more had knocked Brouvard down, tore the epaulettes from his shoulders and the cockade from his hat. Turneau, the French minister, complained to the government, and the United States district attorney began prosecutions against Naglee in two courts for an assault on Brouvard and the vice-consul "against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" and "in defiance and contravention of a treaty made between the United States and Napoleon, emperor of France, king of Italy," etc. Naglee pleaded guilty to the assault on Brouvard, and not guilty to the other. Mr. Dallas appeared for the government and Bradford and Hopkins for the defendant. The jury acquitted Naglee of the assault on the vice-consul, but on Brouvard's indictment he was sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred dollars and costs. This amount was made up voluntarily by collections among the citizens, and the officers of the courts gave up their fees.

A census of the city proper was taken in 1808, being authorized by both Councils, and the returns enable us to realize how small, as compared with what are called cities now, this energetic and thriving Philadelphia was then. With a total population of less than fifty thousand persons, over five thousand of whom were negroes, the city made its influence widely felt in science, literature, and the useful arts. The full census report was as follows:

	White Males over 16.	White Males under 16.	White Females over 16.	White Females under 16.	Free Persons of color.	Slaves.	Total.
Locust Ward.....	1,089	589	943	629	241	1	3,975
North Ward.....	1,142	821	1,320	789	350	3	4,425
Newmarket Ward.....	1,108	809	1,461	805	613	5	4,801
Middle Ward.....	614	377	624	350	224	1	2,189
North Mulberry Ward.....	613	582	773	579	268	0	2,816
Lower Delaware Ward.....	870	573	943	544	133	4	3,067
South Mulberry Ward.....	1,191	939	1,659	1,118	407	4	6,238
South Ward.....	513	327	659	368	324	1	2,192
Dock Ward.....	583	353	694	432	210	2	2,274
Walnut Ward.....	746	454	705	430	173	0	2,508
Chestnut Ward.....	789	514	763	470	163	1	2,691
High Street Ward.....	764	511	821	521	141	1	2,759
Cedar Ward.....	1,225	783	1,391	751	1355	4	5,489
Upper Delaware Ward.....	885	645	1,046	652	131	3	3,302
Total.....	12,123	8337	13,702	8338	5256	30	47,786

A new charitable institution, the "Female Hospitable Society," was organized in the autumn by a number of ladies. They had a visiting committee, a governess, a treasurer, and a secretary. One object was to procure old clothes, cloth remnants, etc., and make them over for the use of friendless orphans,

also to become acquainted with such, and give them sympathy and help. They afterwards bought flax and gave it out to poor women to spin, hiring a wareroom at No. 1 Appletree Alley. For this work the making of garments for sale was afterwards substituted.

The year 1809 opened with increased bitterness of feeling between the Democrats and the Federalists over the embargo act. January 9th Congress passed the new enforcing act, exercising hitherto unheard-of and despotic powers over trade. Throughout New England, as soon as the news was received, public meetings were held, and handbills were circulated calling on citizens to stand firm and refuse to obey the act. As a temporary expedient the embargo might be borne, but as a permanent policy it was, New England and New York said, cowardly, indefensible, and intolerable. Even the hated "Orders in Council" of the English cabinet were far preferable. Federalist newspapers clothed their columns in black, and headed them with the words, "Liberty is Dead." Gen. Lincoln, port collector of Boston, and many other custom-house officers, resigned their positions. January 24th a Boston town-meeting memorialized the Legislature, denouncing the enforcing act as arbitrary and unconstitutional, and resolved that all who helped to carry it into effect should be considered "enemies of the State of Massachusetts." The patriotism of the American people never suffered a severer test than during the ruinous stagnation and disastrous fluctuations that marked business from 1808 to 1812. Yet patience and obedience to law ruled everywhere. In the Southern and Middle States the evil results of the embargo act were much less felt than in New England. Philadelphia, however, was crowded with idle sailors and with suffering merchants. January 23d the friends of the embargo met in the State-House yard, Capt. William Jones chairman, and Robert McMullen secretary. Speeches were made and resolutions of support sent to the President. The "Friends of the Constitution, Union, and Commerce" immediately announced that they would meet at the same place, January 31st. But the Democrats, at a meeting at George Grubbs' Sorrel Horse Tavern, agreed that they also would attend this Federalist meeting, "in order to express their approbation of the late measures of the government." Other and similar Democratic meetings in other wards showed that an organized attempt would be made to break up or nullify the Federalist meeting on the 31st, and political excitement ran very high during the few intervening days. When the time came the Federalists marched to the State-House yard, and organized their meeting.

Commodore Thomas Truxton was called to the chair, and George Clymer was appointed secretary, supported by a strong body of sailors, who acted summarily towards those who attempted to disturb the meeting. Resolutions were passed which heartily supported the Union. They denounced publications

calculated to foment discord, and to deceive foreign nations as to our internal divisions. They resolved that the continuance of laws imposing an embargo would be unjust, impolitic, and oppressive; and they declared that the embargo, as a means of coercion, was weak, inefficient, and useless. The enforcing law they denounced as a direct invasion of the principles of civil liberty. The committee appointed to draft a memorial to Congress consisted of Thomas Truxton, Thomas Fitzsimons, George Clymer, Timothy Paxson, Joshua Humphreys, Robert Waln, Benjamin R. Morgan, James Milnor, and Charles W. Hare. Among others present were Commodore Richard Dale, Col. James Read, Gen. Francis Gurney, Capt. John Dunlap, Samuel Wheeler, and Moses Levy. During the entire afternoon efforts were made to break up the meeting. Several hundred Democrats came upon the ground with drums beating and colors flying, and made a violent attempt to get possession of the stage, but they were driven off by the sailors. They then stood back, as near the stand as they were allowed to come, and by the beating of drums and by hissing they attempted to prevent the resolutions from being heard when read. After the objects of the meeting were accomplished, the sailors (estimated by the *United States Gazette* to be one thousand in number) crowded around the stand, and, taking the chair from the stage, placed "their adored Truxton" in it, and carried him in triumph to the Coffee-House, where he addressed them in a short speech, "after which they made the air resound with their acclamations, and marched off in good order and in high spirits." The *Aurora* spoke of the meeting as of British sympathizers, and, February 1st, said, "For two or three days exertions were made to bring out as many dependents upon the British merchants as possible. Sailor boarding-houses were resorted to. They were told that the meeting was to remove the embargo, and that there would be plenty of good grog for them at the Coffee-House. Some landlords of sailor boarding-houses promised one day's board paid for each man brought. Money was promised and a subscription. Two hundred persons in sailor uniform were brought forward. The mob was conducted in British style at elections, where the minority try to put down popular rights.

"The people were hired;
They huzzaed as they were bid;
They marched in the van of the
Ladylike and fine-dressed folks;
They took possession of the place before the time;
They shouted and huzzaed when ordered,
And they struck any one who came near them.

"When necessitated to retreat they tore up tables and chairs and threw them among the crowd. Many received violent wounds. At Phineas Bond's house (the British consul's) they huzzaed for Mr. Bond and King George," said the *Aurora*. The latter spiteful assertion was untrue. The *United States Gazette* says that seven hundred dollars "was contributed for

relief of distressed seamen." As soon as the Federalists retired the Democrats took possession, organized another meeting, and passed resolutions condemning those already passed. Col. John Barker, then mayor, violently denounced the Federalists, particularly Timothy Pickering. Then a procession was formed and marched through the principal streets. The *Aurora* said there were eighteen thousand men in the ranks; but Poulson's newspaper said there were not four thousand, and that the whole procession, walking three abreast, passed a given point in eighteen and a half minutes; this, if true, shows the number to have been much less than four thousand. A week later Pickering was hung in effigy in front of the town hall, in Second Street, Northern Liberties. This proceeding is said to have been led by Col. Barker.¹

February 10th the Federalists had a dinner at the Mansion House "in honor of Col. Pickering and the minority." Two hundred and fifty persons took part. Thomas Fitzsimons presided in the first room, Commodore Truxton in the second, and George Latimer in the third. There were present Messrs. Dana, Livermore, Gardener, Milnor, and Jenkins, members of Congress, Judge Griffiths, of New Jersey, Bishop White, and others. Among the toasts were several aimed at Jefferson, such as these: "A Philosopher in Dignified Retirement: may he find full employment in forcing exotics, coercing bullfrogs, and pinning beetles by the side of butterflies;" "the Embargo Acts of the Terrapin Congress: the worst they ever cooked in the legislative caboose;" "the Sword of Independence: may American blades never have French handles."

The State Legislature, as strongly Democratic as ever, passed a resolution recommending the members of the next Legislature "to appear in clothes of domestic manufacture." Various resolutions, passed at different times during the year, supported the administration in all particulars, but the factions of the party in Philadelphia continued to quarrel. Duane and Leib did all that lay in their power to injure Governor Simon Snyder; Binns and the "Associated Friends" were not slow in their replies. The contest over the method of nominating candidates for county offices was renewed, and what the *Aurora* called an "apostate ticket" was run, but without success.

National affairs were sufficiently gloomy. Adams, DeWitt Clinton, and the *Boston Patriot* made charges of the existence of the "Essex Junto plot" to form a new confederacy under British protection. Quincy, Story, and other leading Federalists strug-

gled night and day to persuade the Democratic majority into more vigorous preparations for a not unlikely war, into an increase of the army and navy, but little was done in either direction. Suddenly, and to the great surprise of the administration, the New England and New York Democrats left the majority, yielding to the pressure brought to bear by their constituents, and on the 1st of March the "Embargo Act" was repealed. A non-intercourse act was passed that only applied to England and France, and excluded French and English ships of war from American ports. March 4th, Madison took the Presidential chair. Shortly afterwards (April 19th) there came a lull in the fierce and partisan conflict. The President issued a proclamation saying that the British minister, Erskine, had received news that the "Orders in Council" of 1807 would be withdrawn by June 10th, after which time, said the President, trade with Great Britain would be renewed. Through May and early June the blessings of the Federalists were abundantly showered on the administration. All the Atlantic seaport towns rejoiced, and the praise of the President by his former enemies was so warm that some of his party grew jealous. In Philadelphia, June 10th, "the day of renewed commerce," at five o'clock in the morning, a number of sea captains, mariners, and citizens left Walnut Street wharf, upon the Delaware, in a fleet of boats, led by the "Dusty Miller," and firing salutes as they went down the river, landed at Gloucester Point, N. J., where a meeting was organized, of which Capt. John Dhlson was president, and Capt. Moses Griffin vice-president. At the dinner, among the toasts was the following: "The Embargo: Wise at first, but—too tedious to mention." The boats returned in the evening, experiencing the fury of a heavy squall before they reached the city. On the same day "the revival of commercial intercourse with Great Britain" was celebrated, by one hundred gentlemen, by a dinner given at the City Hotel.² Francis Gurney presided, and Messrs. Stocker, Lewis, and Milnor were vice-presidents.

All this rejoicing was premature. July 31st, Mr. Erskine³ was forced, with mortification, to tell the President that the whole arrangement had fallen through. Erskine was recalled; England rejected

² The City Hotel, in Third Street, below Arch, was first opened to the public on this occasion. The *Philadelphia Gazette* said, "The début of the hotel was such as to give ample promise of making a very conspicuous figure, and proving highly useful to the public. The building is second to nothing that our country contains. Indeed, when we take into consideration the number, convenience, dimensions, and excellence of the apartments, it is, perhaps, not too much to say that it is the foremost house of the kind in the United States." Among the toasts given were the following: "The People of the United States and of Great Britain: united in interest, and assimilated by education and manners, may they never be set at variance by the mistaken or sinister policy of their rulers."

³ Erskine, eldest son of the famous Lord Chancellor, succeeded to his father's title in 1823. In 1800 he married the daughter of Gen. John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, who died in 1843. His own death occurred in 1853.

¹ The *United States Gazette* subsequently in an attack upon Mayor Barker, said, "See him on the rostrum, swearing, cursing, and employing language at which a Hottentot would blush, a Christian tremble. See him there, the chieftain of a lawless mob ripe for riot and desolation, and mark him subsequently at the town hall, president over the drunken oblations of a factious assembly, convened to satiate their vengeance by abusing and burning in effigy an old and venerable patriot."

terms honorable to both nations and highly favorable to herself, hoping thus to further encourage sectional disputes; President Madison was compelled to issue a proclamation, August 9th, declaring the non-intercourse act in full force as regarded Great Britain. Francis James Jackson, conspicuous in the disgraceful attack on Copenhagen, was the new British minister at Washington. The mere fact of sending such a representative at such a time was evidence of England's unfriendliness. Jackson was quarrelsome, overbearing, insolent, so that he was soon told that no communications would be received from him, and his recall was requested. Meanwhile the few American vessels abroad ran greater and greater risks each month; Danish privateers cruised in the North Sea; French privateers and men-of-war kept watch over each bit of beach and nook of harbor, and new French victories extended their power over the Baltic, much of the coast of Spain, and the shores of Italy. When Congress reassembled it was occupied almost entirely with foreign relations. It showed an increase of Federalists, and many of the State elections had exhibited the same feature.

Owing to a long train of interesting circumstances the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in this year, found itself in danger of armed collision with the government of the United States. What is known as the "Fort Rittenhouse" affair was the culmination of a controversy older than the Federal Constitution, and for several days it caused a great excitement in Philadelphia. The story begins in a heroic episode. During the Revolutionary war the British sloop "Active," *en route* from Jamaica to New York, with stores for the British army, was captured by Capt. Gideon Olmsted and three other Connecticut sailors. They had some months before been captured, taken to Jamaica, and there forced to join the "Active's" crew, but rose one night off the Capes of the Delaware, and made for Little Egg Harbor. Two days later the Pennsylvania State cruiser "Convention" and the privateer "Gerard" boarded the "Active," took possession as a prize, carried it into Philadelphia, and libeled it in the State Court of Admiralty, claiming that when they took possession the capture was not complete, the fourteen Englishmen being confined below the hatches and liable to escape. A jury was impeded to settle the facts, and the court, on their findings, gave one-fourth of the prize to the crew of the "Convention," one-fourth to the State of Pennsylvania as owner of the cruiser, one-fourth to the "Gerard," and only one-fourth to Olmsted and his associates. The latter appealed to Congress, which decreed the whole prize to the sailors. The validity of this Congressional order was disputed by the Pennsylvania State judge in admiralty, on the ground that the finding of the jury was conclusive as to the facts. The prize was therefore sold under his order, and the money paid into court in spite of an injunction from the Congressional committee. The matter

was brought before Congress, which by vote sustained its own right to reverse the decision of a State court. The appointment of a committee of conference by the Pennsylvania Legislature was then requested by Congress. But this was denied, and the State judge was ordered to pay over the proceeds. David Rittenhouse, the State treasurer, then received the one-fourth part awarded to the commonwealth, and gave the judge a bond of indemnity.

Rittenhouse resigned his office in 1788 and settled all his accounts. In order to save his land he retained the certificate of Federal debt in which the proceeds of the action were invested, and funded them in his own name when the Federal debt was funded for the benefit of the true owners. Olmsted and his companions brought suit for the money in the State courts. At Rittenhouse's death, June 26, 1796, the matter was undecided. In 1801 the State treasurer called upon his daughters, Mrs. Elizabeth Sergeant and Mrs. Esther Waters, both widows, the executrices of his estate, to deliver over the certificates and pay the accrued interest. They could not do so till the Olmsted suits in the State court were settled. That court finally, on technical grounds, declined to interfere. McKean, then chief justice, afterwards Governor, declared that the Congressional Court of Appeals could not reverse the findings of the admiralty jury. But the Supreme Court of the United States had decided that the Federal courts succeeded on questions of prize the Continental courts, and Olmsted next applied to the District Court of Pennsylvania, which tribunal, in 1803, ordered the Rittenhouse heirs to pay the claim, now about fifteen thousand dollars. McKean, now Governor, urged the Legislature to counteract this, and they at once passed a bill commanding the executrices of Rittenhouse to pay the money into the State treasury, and pledging the faith of the commonwealth to hold them harmless from the consequences. The money was accordingly paid over by them, and during four years nothing more was done except in the way of negotiations, which proved fruitless. The United States district judge hesitated to move in a matter which would bring on a collision between the State and the Federal authorities, but he was finally compelled to proceed by a peremptory mandamus from the Supreme Court.

It was now February, 1809, and Governor Snyder notified the Legislature, on the 23d, that the United States District Court would issue an order to the United States marshal, John Smith, to arrest the persons of the executrices and hold them prisoners till they paid the money. It was his duty, he held, to resist this under the pledges of the act of 1803.

March 2d the Legislature sanctioned this view, and the Governor then ordered Brig.-Gen. Michael Bright, of the Philadelphia militia, "to protect the daughters of Rittenhouse." Legislature and Governor lamented the seeming necessity of this step, and the

latter was desired to correspond with the President. The ladies lived in adjoining houses on Arch Street, one of which had been the home of their father, the famous mathematician and philosopher. March 23d a guard of State militia was posted on Seventh and on Arch Streets. The next day, when Marshal Smith tried to serve the writ, he was prevented by crossed bayonets from entering the house. To his demands and arguments they replied that "they must obey orders." He twice attempted to enter, then retiring, he summoned a *posse comitatus* of two thousand men and fixed upon April 14th for the service of the warrant. The Legislature were alarmed, and, though passing an act reaffirming the State's claims, they appropriated eighteen thousand dollars "to be used as the Governor might see proper," thus opening a door for retreat. The Governor at once wrote to Madison, deploring the collision, but hoping the President would discriminate between opposition to the laws and constitution and resistance to the illegal decree of a judge. But Madison, who held strong views as to the sacredness of judicial decisions, replied that if necessary he must aid in the enforcement of the Supreme Court decree. On the 10th of April the United States marshal entered Mrs. Sergeant's house to arrest her, but she escaped into Mrs. Waters' house, and the guard drove the marshal back. After the marshal's call for two thousand troops, Gen. Bright had ordered two regiments to be in readiness. The people in Philadelphia were about equally divided on the questions at issue, and though war was hardly expected, some sort of conflict seemed inevitable. But the marshal, on April 13th, climbed several fences, gained access to Mrs. Sergeant's house through a back window, and arrested her. No rescue by force was attempted, though threatened, a writ of *habeas corpus* being obtained instead, and marshal and prisoner called before Chief Justice Tilghman. Attorney-General Franklin and Jared Ingersoll argued for Pennsylvania, District-Attorney Dallas and Mr. Lewis for the United States. The chief justice in his decision laid down the broad principle that if the United States District Court exceeded its jurisdiction, it was his right and duty as a State judge to discharge the prisoner. But he recognized in all its force the doctrine that the Federal courts had succeeded to the Continental admiralty jurisdiction, and that they alone had a right to decide upon the validity of the original action of the Congressional Court of Appeals. Upon this view of the case he remanded the prisoner to the custody of the marshal, abandoning altogether the question of State rights.

Governor Snyder at once paid over the money to the marshal, and thus released the daughter of Ritzenhouse. But Gen. Bright and his men were already indicted for resisting the serving of the writ, and were soon tried in the Circuit Court before Judge Washington. Their defense was that soldiers were bound to obey orders. The jury, after being kept

together three days and three nights, brought in a special verdict to the effect that the defendants had resisted the marshal's authority under the laws of Pennsylvania, leaving the Court to pronounce judgment on their guilt or innocence. The Court then pronounced them guilty. Bright was sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of two hundred dollars, and his men to one month's imprisonment and a fine of fifty dollars each. After a few days' imprisonment they were released by the President, on the ground that they had acted under a mistaken sense of duty, and were honored by Democratic citizens with a public dinner, at which the mayor presided. A letter of thanks from Governor Snyder was read, declaring his sense of their fidelity and patriotism. It was proposed in the Legislature to give them pecuniary compensation, but this attempt did not succeed.

The *Aurora* found in these proceedings much material for attacks upon the Governor, who was accused of being favorable to a dissolution of the Union, and guilty of treason against the United States. William Findlay, State treasurer, and Boileau, Secretary of State, were also attacked. A more violent quarrel thus arose among the Democrats of Philadelphia and vicinity. The Snyderites soon forgot their zeal for a new Constitution, but carried out their favorite scheme for arbitration instead of jury trial, when either party preferred the former. This Legislature also, to prevent McKean's suits from success, exempted from indictment "any publications examining into the doings of the Legislature or of public officers," but this act was to expire in three years by limitation. Other acts restricted the power of judges to punish for contempt, etc.

The best thing done by this Legislature was an act to provide for the education of the children of the poor. The assessors, at the annual assessments, were directed to receive from parents the names of children between five and twelve years of age whose parents were unable to pay for schooling; and the county commissioners were authorized to grant certificates of the fact; and the parents were authorized to send their children to the most convenient private schools, free of expense to them, the same to be paid out of the county treasury. This law extended to the entire State, and is frequently referred to as the origin of the common school system of Pennsylvania.

Early in 1809 "the chain bridge" over the Schuylkill was finished. In 1807 Robert Kennedy, who occupied the tavern at the falls of that river, was given right to use the water-power, and he was also to build locks there. It was expected that mills would be built at this point. The next year permission was given to Mr. Kennedy and Conrad Carpenter to build a bridge and levy tolls. Kennedy's mill-site was sold to Josiah White and Erskine Hazard, and they built a rolling-mill and wire factory. The bridge had two abutments and two piers all of hewn stone, and was

of three spans, two of one hundred and fifty-three feet in length. The chain support used was then a great novelty. It was defective in construction, however, for in 1811 it broke down from the weight of a large drove of cattle.

In February the "Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture" was incorporated. It had first been established in 1805.

An act of Assembly, passed February 23d, directed that thereafter three inspectors of the prison should be elected by City Councils, three by the commissioners of the Northern Liberties, and two by the commissioners of Southwark, to serve for one year.

The act of Assembly of March 16th directed that three county auditors should be elected annually for the city and State.

Another act, intended to prevent accidents by fire, was passed the same day. It prohibited the distilling, boiling, or manufacture of turpentine oil east of Tenth Street in the city or in Southwark, or in Moyamensing east of Seventh Street, or in the Northern Liberties, "including the village called Spring Garden," unless said distilling or boiling be in an open place, at least thirty feet distant from property that might be injured, or in a complete fire-proof building.

March 10th a number of Philadelphians met and established a "Society for Vaccinating the Poor." On the 20th a constitution was adopted which provided for the appointment of an acting committee of twelve members, a clerk, a treasurer, and six physicians. The terms of membership were two dollars per annum. The committees were to seek in the various districts of the city and liberties for subjects for vaccination, and the physicians were to vaccinate them free of expense.

The "Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank Association," so often a suppliant for a charter, obtained it March 16th, to last till May 1, 1824. Capital limited to \$1,250,000, in shares of \$50. The State was given \$75,000 in stock for this privilege. Joseph Tagert was made president and Joseph Clay cashier.

March 17th the Marine Insurance Company was incorporated, to continue till Jan. 1, 1827; capital, \$3,000,000, in shares of \$100; John Leamy, president; office of the company at No. 45 Walnut Street.

March 22d the company to build a permanent bridge over the Schuylkill opposite Flat Rock was incorporated, with a capital of \$10,000.

Interest in internal improvements continued to be shown. The legislative act of the previous year, authorizing the Governor to subscribe for shares in various turnpike companies, was carried out. The "Philadelphia, Brandywine, and New London Turnpike Company" was chartered to build *via* Chadd's Ford to the State line towards Baltimore.

March 31st an act was passed relating to "the numerous and expensive poor in Germantown township." The people of that township were authorized to buy a house and lot of ground for a poor-house, and to

put it in repair. Samuel Mecklin and Jacob Summers were appointed managers for the lower district, John Johnston and Anthony Johnston for the middle district, and Jacob Holgate and Jacob Miller for the upper district, who were to be a body corporate and politic under the title of "The Managers for the Relief and Employment of the Poor of the Township of Germantown, in the County of Philadelphia." Two managers were to be elected yearly in each district by the citizens, and to them was intrusted the appointment of collectors of the poor tax, etc.

This Legislature authorized a terminus for the first telegraph line in the region. It extended from Philadelphia to Reedy Island, Delaware Bay, and was built by Jonathan Grout for the Chamber of Commerce. Reedy Island was State property, and special permission to use it as a station had to be obtained. The act recited that he "had erected a line of telegraphs from Philadelphia to Port Penn, for the purpose of the transmission of the earliest intelligence from Delaware Bay to Philadelphia, and *vice versa*." The first communication sent by this line was on the 8th of November, announcing the arrival in the Delaware of the ship "Fanny" from Lisbon.

A difficulty in reference to a piece of ground long used for burying purposes occurred this year. A petition was sent to the Legislature stating that a burying-ground on the west side of the Schuylkill, which had been for many years used as a free place of interment by people of all sects, had been taken possession of by the Society of Friends in the year 1806, who then fenced it in and kept the gate locked, refusing the privilege of using the ground to other religious sects. The subject was referred to a committee which, in March, reported that they were of opinion that the Society of Friends had no exclusive title to the said burying-ground. They recommended that a bill be prepared to vest the title in the county commissioners for the use of the public, which was carried by a vote of fifty-three to twenty-seven. Immediately afterward Jesse Williams, Thomas Parke, William Penrose, and Samuel Bettie sent a petition to the Legislature claiming the property, and requesting permission to show "that the conduct of the society has been upright." This was referred to a committee which reported favorably to the society. They stated that "the said burial-ground was applied, very early after the foundation of the province, for the accommodation of Friends, who held their public meetings at stated intervals at Duckett's farm, on the west side of the Schuylkill, adjoining said farm. It appears by public records that survey had been made of said ground for a burial-ground. Although the title is not complete, there is strong presumptive evidence that it has been held by the society for one hundred and twenty years, and positive evidence that they have exercised ownership for sixty years. Although persons of various sects have been buried in the ground, there has generally been an application

to, and permission of, the Society of Friends (cases of improper intrusion excepted). This conduct has been misunderstood, and an impression created that it belonged to the public."

A petition was presented to the Legislature in the early part of the year for the incorporation of a "color and paint company" in Philadelphia. John Bradford, of the city, who had obtained a patent for an improvement in making boots and shoes, asked the State for permission to dispose of the patent-rights by lottery. John G. Baxter, of Philadelphia, who had constructed a machine for manufacturing flax and hemp into yarn, was recommended to the Legislature by special message from the Governor in March. His machine could run thirty or more spindles, and was calculated to save the work of twenty-six persons out of thirty. The committee which considered the case recommended a donation of three hundred dollars to Baxter, but the Legislature refused. John Cook set up a paper-hanging manufactory in Race Street, near the Schuylkill, under the direction of Charles Smith, formerly foreman of Caldecleugh & Thomas. Manufacturers of Philadelphia petitioned the Legislature for the use of the ground floor of the State-House for "the factory hall of Pennsylvania and the exhibition of domestic manufactures." The bill passed the House, but failed in the Senate. On the 19th of May the manufacturers and mechanics of the city and county had their second annual dinner at the Shakespeare Hotel, northwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets.

July 4th the members of the "Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati" resident in Philadelphia repaired to the neighborhood of Paoli, in Chester County, where they had built a monument to the memory of their associate, Maj.-Gen. Anthony Wayne, and held the dedication ceremonies. It was placed in Radnor churchyard, adjoining St. David's Protestant Episcopal Church. It was probably the first monument to the memory of a Revolutionary patriot erected by others than their relatives.¹

¹ This monument bears the following inscriptions:

ON THE NORTH SIDE.

"Major-General Anthony Wayne was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1745. After a life of honor and usefulness he died in December, 1796, at Erie, Pennsylvania, then a military post on Lake Erie, Commander-in-chief of the United States. His military achievements are consecrated in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen. His remains are here deposited."

ON THE SOUTH SIDE.

"In honor of the distinguished military services of Major-General Anthony Wayne, and as an affectionate tribute of respect to his memory, this stone was erected by his conferees in arms, the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati, July 4th, 1809, the thirty-fourth anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America, an event which constitutes the most appropriate eulogium of an American soldier."

It may not be generally known that the remains of Anthony Wayne were first interred near the block-house which stands on the high bluff which commands the entrance to the harbor of Erie; and they lay there until 1800, when his son went on from Chester County, Pa., to Erie, in a sulk, and removed them to their present resting-place.

"The Pennsylvania Society for the Improving the Breed of Cattle" held a cattle show at Bush Hill on the 18th and 19th of July, under the auspices of Lawrence Seckel, president, and Thomas Cradock, secretary. They offered premiums amounting to nine hundred dollars for the best cattle and sheep, adding that they did not "think it worth while to offer a premium for merino sheep, as the public ought to be fully aware of its importance."

The first fountain possessed by Philadelphia was built in 1809. A wooden figure of a nymph, upon whose shoulders was perched a swan, was placed in a circular basin in front of the engine-house at Centre Square. From the throat of the bird issued a jet of water, and smaller jets sprung up from the feet of the figure. The figures were carved by Rush. The entire affair was considered a great novelty, and one of the sights of the city. This figure was afterward removed to Fairmount. Rush's model was the beautiful Miss Nancy Vanuxem, daughter of James Vanuxem, merchant, who was at that time a member of Select Council and a member of the Watering Committee. She afterward married Nathan Smith, and died in 1874 at an advanced age. This statue has been since perpetuated in bronze at Fairmount Water-Works, near Callowhill Street entrance. To the taste of persons of the present generation it seems unusually chaste in design; but it was denounced when first erected as immodest.

Among the local improvements of 1809 was the enlargement of the market on South Second Street, which now extended from Pine to Cedar Street. The western moiety was appropriated to the use of the country people. The inability of the city government to execute much-needed improvements elsewhere is shown by the fact that Chestnut Street, between Ninth and Eleventh, was paved by Thomas Pratt and John Vallance, who advanced the money upon the pledge that City Councils would repay them in four years.

The officers of the First Division had, the previous year, offered a fifty-dollar gold medal to the author of the best national song sent to the President within a given time. The premium was awarded this year to some very stilted verses. Some of those rejected were soon after published and thought much more meritorious, though none were above mediocre in quality.

Among the great events of 1809 were those connected with the use of steam for propelling boats and cars. In June the steamboat "Phoenix" arrived at Philadelphia from Hoboken, N. J. She was the seventh steamer that had navigated the Delaware,²

² The preceding six experiments were: John Fitch's skiff-steamboat, first navigated in front of the city, July 26, 1786; the steamboat of fifty-five feet in length, navigated by Fitch and Voight, on Aug. 22, 1787; Fitch's steamboat of sixty feet in length, navigated from Philadelphia to Burlington, December, 1789, the same boat running regularly as a passenger and freight boat between Philadelphia, Trenton, Burlington,

and the first that had dared the ocean's perils. She was built by John Cox Stevens, and intended as a passage boat between New Brunswick and New York. But Fulton and Livingston having procured from the State of New York an assignment of the rights of John Fitch, securing a monopoly for all boats and vessels navigated by fire and steam, Col. Stevens found that the employment of his boat in the waters of New York was restricted. He therefore sent the vessel to Philadelphia as an assistant to the line of packets and stages upon the line to New York. Robert L. Stevens, his son, determined to risk the trial; and accordingly, with a small crew, he left New York in the month of June. A fierce storm overtook them. A schooner in company was driven off to sea, and was kept out several days, but the "Phoenix" made a harbor at Barnegat. After the tempest subsided, Stevens succeeded in bringing the boat round into the Delaware. The return trip between Philadelphia and Trenton was made July 5th, and there were nearly forty passengers on board. The "Phoenix" had "twenty-five commodious berths in her cabin, and twelve in the steerage, with other ample accommodations for passengers." She was "constructed with masts, so as to be able to take advantage of favorable winds, and save fuel."

Railroad experiments began in good earnest this year, Thomas Leiper being the projector. His experimental railroad, the first ever laid down in America, was set up in September in the large yard attached to the Bull's Head Tavern, in Third Street above Callowhill, in the Northern Liberties. Professor Robert Patterson, of the University of Pennsylvania, Callender Irvine, superintendent of the United States Mint, and John Glenn, agent for Thomas Leiper, certified that they were

"present at a satisfactory experiment by Thomas Leiper, of this city, of the great utility of railroads for the conveyance of heavy burdens,—an improvement which a few years ago was introduced into England and some other parts of Europe,—as in many cases a cheap and a valuable substitute for canals. In the above experiment a railroad was laid of two parallel courses of oak scantling about four feet apart, supported on blocks or sleepers about eight feet from each other. On this railroad, which had an ascent of one and a half inches in a yard, or two degrees and twenty-three minutes, a single horse, under the disadvantage of a path of loose earth to walk on, hauled up a four-wheeled carriage, loaded with the enormous weight of ninety-five and a half hundred, or ten thousand six hundred and ninety-six pounds."

In the notice of these experiments in the *United States Gazette* of Sept. 29, 1809, it was said,—

"Nor can we close this brief notice of an interesting work without paying a merited tribute of applause to the patriotic enterprise of the gentleman who has been the first in America to engage in it; and we hope he may derive as much advantage from it as such an example to the public fully entitles him to."

Bristol, Chester, Wilmington, and Gray's Ferry, in the summer of 1790; the "Perseverance," built by Fitch's Steamboat Company, to be sent to New Orleans in the same year, and driven upon Petry's Island in a storm; the side paddle-wheel steamboat of Samuel Morey and Burgess Allison, built at Bordentown in 1797, and navigated to Philadelphia and back; and Oliver Evans' nondescript, a steam-carriage on land, a steam-boat in the water, the "Erektor Amphibolis," in 1805.

In the *Aurora* of September 27th, Thomas Leiper and George G. Leiper invited proposals for contracts "for digging part of a railroad from our quarries on Crum Creek to our landing in Ridley, Delaware Co. The distance and level, ascertained by Reading Howell, is exactly three-quarters of a mile." They also desired to contract "for making and laying the rail part of the same, consisting of wood." Specifications were to be furnished by Large & Winpenny at their manufactory, adjoining the Bull's Head Tavern, Northern Liberties.

A sham battle took place November 20th, in which a part was taken by the cavalry under Maj. Leiper, the riflemen of Uhle and Fiss, Hill's light artillery, and Town's, Rush's, Meeker's, Walter's, Read's, and Thompson's infantry on one side, under Maj. Lewis Rush. On the other side were Eringhaus' hussars, Humphreys' cavalry, Binney's and Hoffman's rifles, Boyd's artillery, and the infantry companies of Fotheral, Graves, Grant, and Boyle, under Maj. Graves. Shaw's and Ashton's artillery were subsequently attached to the First Division, and Erringer's to the Second. The whole affair was under command of Maj.-Gen. John Steele.

Governor Snyder, in his message to the Legislature in December, congratulated the members upon the progress of improvement during the year. The development of the country, as shown in the building of barns, houses, bridges, and the construction of turnpikes, gave cheering evidences of prosperity. "Our mills and furnaces are greatly multiplied. New beds of ore have been discovered. We have lately established in Philadelphia large shot manufactories, floor-cloth manufactories, and a queensware pottery on an extensive scale. These are all in successful operation, independent of immense quantities of cotton and wool, flax, hemp, leather, and iron, which are carefully manufactured in our State, and which save to our country the annual expenditure of millions of dollars."

The surviving officers of the Revolutionary war met at the Shakespeare Hotel on the 25th of December, Dr. John Keeme in the chair and Daniel Broadhead secretary. They passed resolutions declaring their confidence in the government and their determination to support it, to which President Madison made a suitable reply.

The foreign relations of the United States continued doubtful and almost hostile throughout 1810, and efforts to obtain a better understanding were fruitless. January 3d the President's message considered the raising of more troops to be necessary, recommending that twenty thousand volunteers be accepted for service at the shortest warning. The Philadelphia cavalry companies petitioned the Legislature the following week for leave to form a regiment, but failing, organized in June as a voluntary association, Robert Wharton, colonel, and John Smith, major. They had an "annual training" in October on "the com-

mon," but a gloom was cast over the day by an accidental discharge of muskets by which one citizen was killed and five or six were wounded. The great "military fête" set for November 1st, under Maj. Lewis Rush and Col. Fottrel, was therefore postponed.

In March the President, hearing through Minister Pinckney that the restrictive orders and decrees would soon be repealed, informed Congress, and May 1st the non-intercourse and the non-importation laws were withdrawn, and an act excluding French and English war vessels was substituted. The French revoked their Berlin and Milan decrees, so far as they applied to the United States; stubborn England made petty objections, and refused on purely technical grounds. Meanwhile, Napoleon refused to indemnify the Americans for vessels seized under the Rambouillet decree of March 10th; seizure, confiscation, and sale of vessels and cargoes, impressments of sailors, complex entanglements of diplomatic falsehood, seemed to characterize the proceedings of both the powerful nations against which the United States had rightful cause for indignation; English cruisers hung along our coasts, disregarding our neutrality and our jurisdiction; France reigned on the continent, but the great nation from whom we had parted in anger, our kindred in language and blood, was supreme upon the ocean, and her tyrannies pierced far more deeply. It was England, not France, that, according to the best authorities, had impressed over six thousand sailors from peaceful American merchantmen. The Secretary of State placed the number at six thousand seven hundred; Lord Castlereagh, in the British Parliament, acknowledged that sixteen hundred had been impressed.

March 19th the Pennsylvania Legislature indorsed the administration, and denounced the conduct of France and England. They also ordered "that no British precedent should be read or quoted in courts of justice, nor any British decision made after July 4, 1876, except those on maritime and international law." They also negatived resolutions sent from the Massachusetts Legislature, calling for a constitutional amendment to prohibit an embargo for more than thirty days.

State politics were in the usual and chronic turmoil. In January the *Aurora* printed some attacks on Governor Snyder, which were signed "Conrad Weiser." The worst possible construction was placed on the "Fort Rittenhouse" affair, and the words "rebellion" and "high-handed" were used. But Nathaniel B. Boileau, the secretary of the commonwealth, was assaulted with the fiercest invectives. Restless Leib and discontented Duane were still leaders of this faction; John Binns supported the State administration. "Under McKean," said this writer, "the Legislature was bullied and abused. Under Snyder it is caucused and corrupted." February 14th, at a meeting at the State-House, Philadelphia, "the conduct of Simon Snyder in calling out an armed force to oppose

the constitutional authority of the general government" was severely condemned. In May, at the annual Tammany Society meeting, William Duane gave the "long talk," and all the State flags were decorated except that of Pennsylvania; this was muffled and clad in mourning, "as the State suffers from dishonor."

Binns came in for his full share of the personal abuse, founded on the accusation that he had turned Queen's evidence in the O'Coigley trial in England some years before, and thus saved his neck, the charge being high treason. Counter charges, explanations, and pamphlets were of course abundant. Things were badly mixed and unpleasant. The old question about method of nominating was revived. The friends of Snyder favored district meetings, while his enemies supported the old plan of county meetings. At a county meeting held at Mrs. Saville's, near Spring Garden, August 20th, of which William Binder was chairman and E. D. Corfield was secretary, resolutions were passed to support candidates for General Assembly, Congress, State Senate, House of Representatives, sheriff, etc., by general vote. Dr. Leib said that nominations by county meetings had been successful since 1795, that there was no good reason for changing, and that it would be a submission to a faction which had, under various names, distracted the county for years. A personal attack was made upon Ebenezer Ferguson and others. The Democratic Ward Committee supported the plans of Duane and Leib, and in their report said,—

"During the administration of Governor Mifflin, parties were not marshaled against each other with strength and energy. Hence the people accepted him at the instance of a few citizens casually assembled in Philadelphia. In 1799 people thought little of the mode in which McKean was nominated. All that was wanted was a person from the Republican ranks. The nomination was made by thirty promiscuous and self-created organs of the public will. In 1802, McKean was nominated by a similar association of persons. The next three years of his term did not pass so acceptably. In 1805, for the first time, a portion of the Legislature undertook to nominate, and their choice was Simon Snyder."

This, it was said, was "done by intrigue," which was also the case in 1808. The proceedings of this committee were signed by Thomas Leiper, chairman, and by George Bartram, secretary.

About this time the anti-Snyder party established "The Whig Society of Pennsylvania," "the general object" of which, it was declared, was "the cultivation of virtue in politics." Thomas Leiper was president; Robert Patterson, Richard O'Brien, vice-presidents; John W. Thompson, treasurer; Thomas Waterman and Isaac Boyer, secretaries; and Michael Leib, James Engle, George Bartram, William J. Duane, and Robert Patterson, committee of correspondence.

Meanwhile the Federalists had kept quiet during this conflict, biding their time and nursing their strength. They celebrated February 22d as a national holiday. The "American Republican Societies" met at the State-House, and about five hundred persons walked from that place up Sixth to Market Street, and down Market Street to the First Presbyterian

Church, where an oration was delivered by Dr. Charles Caldwell. A dinner in Prune Street, below Sixth, in a building which had been erected for a cotton-factory, concluded the ceremonies.¹ The cavalry paraded under Col. Wharton, also several companies of infantry. A large company also assembled at Renshaw's. There was a dinner, at which James Milnor presided and Jonathan B. Smith was vice-president. "The Incorporated Washington Society" dined at Henry Meyers'. There were toasts and speeches at all those places. The Fourth of July was also kept by the Federalists, seven hundred of them dining at Peter Evans', near the permanent bridge, under a large tent. The Revolutionary flag of the First City Troop was displayed, and Capt. Summers' artillery replied with salutes to the toasts. Dr. Caldwell delivered the oration at this place. The Society of the Cincinnati dined at Foquet's, and the Sons of Washington at the Mansion House, James Milnor president, Jonathan Smith and Samuel F. Bradford vice-presidents. The First and Second City Troops exercised and dined at Mendenhall's Ferry, two miles below the Falls of Schuylkill.

In October the Federalists elected most of their candidates, much to the surprise and chagrin of the Democratic factions. The "American Republicans," as the Federalists were now called, nominated for Congress James Milnor, Thomas Truxton, and Thomas B. Dick; for sheriff, Francis Johnston. The Snyderites, or new-school Democrats, nominated Dr. Adam Seybert, William Anderson, and Dr. John Porter for Congress, and John Dennis for sheriff. The old-school Democrats, or anti-Snyderites, nominated for Congress Seybert and Anderson, but placed the name of Robert McMullin in place of Porter. For sheriff they nominated Frederick Wolbert. The election resulted in the defeat of the Leib faction, and of the new school in their special candidates. The Federalists carried Johnston for sheriff, and elected one State senator, Charles Biddle; the Snyderites elected Humphreys. They carried a majority of the City Councils, and elected Robert Wharton mayor. Milnor, Seybert, and Anderson were sent to Congress. The Whig Society, in November, ascribed the defeat of their ticket to the overpowering and irregular action of the officers of the State government, and wound up their manifesto by still more bitter charges against Governor Snyder. The attempt of the Leibites to overthrow the legislative caucus for the nomination of Governor also failed.

Banks and financial affairs occupied public attention. The question of the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank was undecided, and a meeting to urge such renewal was held at the Shakespeare Hotel, Edward Penington, chairman, John Conrad,

secretary (Dec. 21, 1809). This stimulated State bank projects, and January 20th the Mechanics' Bank was organized, capital stock seven hundred thousand dollars in shares of fifty dollars apiece. When, the following month, the subscription-list was opened there were not only a sufficient number of subscribers to take up the stock, but from six hundred to seven hundred persons, who were anxious to do so, could not obtain access to the building. They withdrew, organized another bank, called the "Commercial," and one million of dollars were subscribed forthwith. In the course of that day projects were started for the formation of five additional banks. One of these schemes ended in the establishment of the Bank of the Northern Liberties. But on the 19th of March a legislative act was passed prohibiting unincorporated banks and banking associations from issuing notes. The stockholders in the Bank of the Northern Liberties then applied to the General Assembly, offering as a bonus for a charter to contribute a sum towards building a bridge over the Susquehanna at Harrisburg. This offer was made because, by vote of February 21st, the capital was to be established at Harrisburg before the close of October, 1812.

The petitions presented in December, 1809, urging enlargement of the school system, received favorable attention from the Assembly in January. "The Union Society" of Philadelphia, for founding schools for colored people, was sanctioned,—Arthur Donaldson, president; William Simmons, vice-president. In February the House committee reported favorably on a lottery scheme for "the academy of Rev. John W. Doak, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Frankford," where "Latin, Greek, and the globes" were taught.

In February the effort was made to move the almshouse of the city and county to a farm, and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The report to the Assembly said that the building was crowded, over a hundred persons living there in idleness; but the proposed act failed to pass. The prison inspectors of Philadelphia begged the Legislature for more help in building the new Arch Street prison, saying that \$85,821.12 had been received from the sale of city lots, and that they had expended \$85,600.84. They wanted twenty-five thousand dollars more to complete the prison and put up the wall. The committee made a favorable report, but the matter was not taken up during the year. The same month Charles Wilson Peale, artist and museum-owner, petitioned that the city and county of Philadelphia should be allowed to convert the vacant wings of the State-House into fire-proof offices, and that perpetual use of the upper part should be granted to the museum. The educational features of the collection were referred to, and Dunn, chairman of the legislative committee, reported favorably. Another act of the Assembly ordered the barracks in the Northern Liberties to be sold. March 19th a very important act was passed, which gave to

¹ This building was afterwards occupied by the Prune Street, City, or Winter Tivoli Theatre, and by Jefferson Medical College as its first location.

the corporation of the city of Philadelphia a right to extend any of the market-houses whenever it was thought proper, and there were some discussions in the newspapers as to the propriety of doing this on High Street from Fourth to Sixth.

The City Councils were busy with local regulations and measures of public usefulness. In January resolutions were pressed with much earnestness in favor of the city becoming an insurer of property from loss by fire and other dangers. The Common Council passed a resolution authorizing a memorial to the Legislature to give the corporation power to effect insurances from loss by fire in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This was not sanctioned by the Select Council, and the proposition was subsequently renewed, but was not successful. The City Councils, after having for several years held the small, triangular, tree-covered lot bounded by Spruce, Front, Dock, and Little Dock Streets, for the purposes of a public square, leased a portion of it to the keeper of a board-yard, who destroyed the trees and erected a number of "tailors' slop-shops" upon it. The rest of the ground was used for the storage of lumber and for the accumulation of manure. The whole was inclosed with a rough board fence, and was soon considered a public nuisance. Remonstrances were sent to the City Councils, but they met with no attention.

In the latter part of this year various matters of local regulation were suggested in Councils. The most interesting ones were to number and license drays, to regulate the size of bakers' wheelbarrows, to establish street patrols on Sunday, and to pave the centre of the wharves, so as to furnish a convenient footway in muddy weather.

Late in June the two floating bridges, one at the Upper Ferry, the other at Gray's Ferry, were destroyed by a flood, delaying travel, and causing considerable loss to property on the banks of the rivers.

In this summer the first steam ferry-boat was used to carry passengers between the city and Camden. It was called the "Camden," was commanded by Capt. Ziba Kellum, and built by Joseph Bispham. The course was from the lower side of Market Street to the foot of Cooper Street. There was no deck, and it was used for the transportation of passengers only. Horses, cattle, and wagons were still rowed across the river in large old-fashioned boats, called "horse-boats."¹ Other steamboat lines had already been established. The "Phoenix," through the summer of 1810, went from Philadelphia to Chester in two hours and twenty-five minutes, and returned in two hours and thirty-five minutes. The trip from Bordentown to the city was made in four hours, including stoppages. In July the "Phoenix" was advertised to leave Philadelphia at half-past two o'clock P.M. on Monday,

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, for Bordentown, arriving in the evening. Stages were ready there to take passengers to the Raritan River, passing through Trenton and Princeton to the Raritan steamboat at New Brunswick, connecting stages running to Elizabethtown Point, whence sailing packets could be taken for New York, and also to South Amboy, where there were also packets in waiting. The fare to New York by the Raritan route was \$4.25; to Elizabethtown Point \$3.75; and to South Amboy \$3. When the boat was ready to leave Philadelphia a tin horn was blown, and hundreds of persons assembled to witness her departure.

John Stevens published, in November, proposals to establish a line of steamboats between Philadelphia and Wilmington, thence overland to the head of Elk River, and from thence by steamboat down that river and Chesapeake Bay to Baltimore. He estimated that seventy-five thousand dollars would be sufficient capital, in shares of one hundred dollars each. He suggested that the steamboats should be built one hundred and thirty feet long and twenty feet beam, and thought that they might be finished by the 1st of June in the ensuing year. Stevens thought that the annual expense would be about seven thousand dollars, and that the line could carry each way fifteen to twenty tons of goods or merchandise. Thirty tons at thirty cents per hundredweight would yield one hundred and eighty dollars a day for the three boats. He calculated upon ten through passengers daily each way at \$3.50 apiece, and as many more between Philadelphia and Wilmington, and figured out a very alluring profit on this modest estimate.

The water lines of travel did not, however, have things all their own way. The "Phoenix" steamboat route to New York found opposition in the "Expedition" line of stages through to New York in one day, without change, for \$8. A slower stage, the "Diligence" line, made the trip for \$4.50, and the "Accommodation" only charged \$3.50. William T. Stockton & Co. were the proprietors. About this time John Tomlinson & Co., of Philadelphia, and Samuel Spangler & Co., of York, established a line of stages to West Chester, Lancaster, and Columbia, leaving the city on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and reaching Columbia the same night. The coaches were among the first in the United States to have steel springs. The fare to York was nine dollars.

The contest in relation to the burying-ground on the west side of the Schuylkill, north of Market Street, was renewed by a petition of the Society of Friends, presented in the House January 7th, requesting that the title might be vested in trustees for the use of the society. The Board of Health shortly afterward presented a petition, asking that the same lot be made a public burying-ground. The Senate then passed a bill vesting the property in the Society of Friends, but it was lost in the House by forty yeas to fifty nays. The Senate then passed a bill vesting the ownership

¹ "Horse-boat" was also a term applied to boats worked by horses, the animals' strength being applied to the propulsion of the machinery; another name of the latter class of vessels was "Team-boat."

of another lot on the west side of the Schuylkill, near the Upper Ferry, in the Guardians of the Poor for a burying-ground. This burying-ground had also been used for free interment for many years, and did not seem to have an owner. The House, however, refused to pass this bill.

The rechartering of the United States Bank was one of the most important discussions which occupied Philadelphians during this year. January 23d, a meeting was held at the Coffee-House, of which Joseph Grice was chairman, and Robert Waln secretary. A committee, consisting of Thomas Fitzsimons, Stephen Girard, William Davy, Emanuel Eyre, and Robert Waln, was appointed to draft a memorial to Congress in favor of the recharter of the bank, and to appoint a committee of five to proceed to Washington to urge the matter before the National Legislature. This meeting was followed the next day by another, composed of master-mechanics and manufacturers, held at the Shakespeare Hotel, in Market Street. General John Barker was chairman and Frederick Foering secretary. This meeting adopted resolutions, and appointed Jacob Vodges, Thomas Ogle, George Ord, Samuel Smith, and Frederick Foering a committee. The *Aurora* and the Democratic party took the other side of the question. In February the General Ward Committee of Philadelphia (new-school Democrats) sent a memorial to Congress against rechartering the bank. Congress was unwilling, and the time named in the original charter expired in March without the passage of the bill rechartering the institution. In the early part of the year the Legislature had passed resolutions instructing the senators and representatives in Congress to vote against it. Holgate, of Philadelphia County, in December, 1810, had offered a long preamble and resolutions, seconded by Shearer, of the same county, arguing that the charter of the bank was unconstitutional.

The State banks were alarmed, and the Philadelphia Bank, in January, sent a memorial to the Legislature, stating that "said bank will be exposed by the dissolution of the Bank of the United States to a serious reduction of its dividends, and that the most injurious consequences will ensue to the community at large." The memorial asked if the Legislature would adopt no measures opposed to "the memorials of citizens, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, and others, and would refrain from an expression of sentiment." The Bank of North America also sent in a protest against Holgate's resolutions. Notwithstanding these expressions of dissent they were pressed in the House, and were carried by a vote of sixty-eight yeas to twenty nays. The Senate made some amendments which were concurred in. On the 18th of March the trustees of the late United States Bank sent a petition to the Legislature praying a charter of incorporation or the full amount of the original capital, with permission to employ any part of it in

such other State or States as may authorize the same. The committee reported favorably, but when it was brought up it was negatived by a vote of thirty-four yeas to fifty-five nays. In December the trustees of the bank again petitioned for a charter, but without success.

The House of Representatives in January passed an act to incorporate the American Color and Paint Company, which was lost in the Senate. Difficulties in the way of obtaining acts of incorporation appear to have been more numerous under the Constitution of 1790 than under its successor of 1838.

In the early part of the year there was much suffering among the poor for want of fuel. In February firewood was very scarce, and hickory sold at twenty dollars per cord.

Lotteries continued to be petitioned for. In February the Legislature refused permission to the superintendents of the Callowhill Street market-house to raise thirteen thousand dollars in this way to defray the debts on the building.

The same month the Guardians of the Poor memorialized the Legislature for authority to sell the almshouse property on Tenth, Eleventh, Spruce, and Pine Streets and buy a farm; they also desired that the keepers of the Arch Street prison should be obliged to receive all drunken, idle, and disorderly persons. The committee reported against the desired sale, thinking the almshouse well located already.

About this time the new hall, built on Second Street near Christian by the commissioners of Southwark, approached completion, and February 10th was partially opened; by August it was entirely ready for use and was occupied.

The First and Second City Troops celebrated Washington's birthday at Barnum's Hotel. On that day, also, the Society of the Sons of Washington dined at Reushaw's Mansion House hotel. The members wore their badges containing an excellent miniature likeness of Washington, set in gold, and accompanied by suitable inscriptions. The president was James Milnor; Vice-Presidents, Jonathan B. Smith and Samuel F. Bradford; Secretary, Robert S. Stephens; and Treasurer, Samuel Relf. Civilities were also interchanged between the society and the First and Second Troops and Independent Volunteers, all of which were dining on the 22d of February.

A great deal of interest centred about the efforts made to develop better communication by land or water between various districts and counties. It was really a more vital question to the people than any local politics. The interior of the State wanted more turnpikes; the suburbs of Philadelphia complained of the poor roads and difficulties of reaching the business portions of the city. The Legislature was more liberal than ever before. An act was passed at this session making a large number of appropriations of sums of fifteen hundred dollars and over for building, repairing, and improving county roads in twenty-

eight counties of the commonwealth. In February a meeting was held at Samuel Hergesheimer's, at Point Breeze Tavern, in the Neck, of which Israel Israel was chairman and Samuel Keemle secretary. Resolutions were adopted complaining of the bad condition of the roads, "which has frequently cut us off from access to the city." The resolutions went on to say that, as there was no probability that the roads in that section of the city would ever be improved by turnpiking, the Legislature should be addressed with a petition to grant a part of the county taxes to the township of Passyunk for the improvement of roads.

The state of the western part of Philadelphia at this time may be imagined from the proceedings in regard to Minnow Run,¹ a stream which few would suspect ever flowed over ground where all traces of it have long since been obliterated. A resolution was passed to build a bridge over this stream of the width of seven feet, parallel with and at the distance of one hundred feet north of High Street. It was added, "The passage from Minnow Run to High Street is not convenient for carriages now." The Guardians of the Poor being anxious to have Spruce Street, between Eighth and Eleventh, paved, permission was given them to employ the paupers in that work. Chestnut Street was also directed to be paved from Eleventh to Broad Street, if money sufficient was subscribed by citizens, to be repaid in six years.

A petition was presented to the Assembly in the early part of the year, asking that the inhabitants of Moyamensing should receive a charter of incorporation. The committee of the House reported against it. A supplement was passed March 30th to the act incorporating the District of Northern Liberties of March 9, 1803. It gave power to the commissioners to establish a nightly watch, to fix up public lamps, and to levy taxes for the support of the same, the commissioners also to have power and jurisdiction on the west side of Sixth Street. A supplement to the

District of Southwark Act was passed on the 1st of April, which transferred the jurisdiction in laying out streets in that district, formerly exercised by the Supreme Executive Council, to the Court of Quarter Sessions.

A notable incorporation, under an act of March 30th, was one by which Gen. Francis Swain, James Sharswood, Henry Nixon, Joseph Starne, Matthias Harrison, Francis Deal, John H. Duy, John Marclay, Alexander Crawford, Nathan Levering, Jr., and Levi Pawling were appointed commissioners to receive subscriptions for the organization of a company "for making an artificial road, beginning at the intersection of Vine and Tenth Streets, Philadelphia, and thence to Perkiomen bridge, in the county of Montgomery." The corporation was entitled "The Ridge Turnpike Company." The capital stock was divided into fifteen hundred shares, at fifty dollars each. The route, it was declared, should be, "as near as may be consistent with economy and utility, along, over, and upon the bed of the present road leading from the intersection of Vine and Tenth Streets, in the city of Philadelphia, to Wissahickon Creek, thence to Barren Hill, thence to Norristown, in the county of Montgomery, and thence by the nearest and best route to Perkiomen bridge, in the county aforesaid." It was directed that the road should not be less than forty feet nor more than sixty feet in width, and that twenty-four feet at least in breadth should be an artificial road, bedded with stone and gravel. Rates of tolls were established. The road was to be commenced in three years, and finished in seven years. On the 2d of April a supplement was passed to the Philadelphia, Brandywine, and New London Turnpike Road Act, which granted permission to lay out the route "over the road leading from Schuylkill to Darby, commonly called the Woodlands road, where said road diverges from the Philadelphia and Lancaster turnpike."

Another attempt to establish canal communication with the west and northwest counties of the State was begun this year. April 2d the "Union Canal Company" was incorporated. The preamble stated that earlier companies had failed, from various reasons, and described how the stockholders of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna and of the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Companies had formed a joint stock company, under the title of "The Union Canal Company of Pennsylvania." It was declared that all acts passed in favor of either company were repealed, their corporate titles abolished, and the new title of the united corporation made "The Union Canal Company of Pennsylvania." Each holder of one share in the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Navigation Company was to have two shares of Union Canal Company stock, and each Delaware and Schuylkill Canal stockholder was to have one share. The corporation was also given the right to contract to furnish water to the city of Philadelphia, the district of the

¹ Minnow Run commenced at Bush Hill in two springs, one of which was east of the Bush Hill mansion, near the neighborhood of the present Buttonwood and Sixteenth Streets. The other was west of the mansion, about Buttonwood and Eighteenth Streets. The eastern branch flowed south, nearly to the line of the present Callowhill Street, and then crossed in a southwestern direction, diagonally, the squares between Sixteenth and Seventeenth, Vine and Callowhill, and Seventeenth and Eighteenth, Vine and Callowhill, and united between Race and Vine Streets, within the inclosure of what is now known as Logan Square, with the western branch, which flowed between Eighteenth and Nineteenth, crossing west of Nineteenth, between Vine and Callowhill, and returning eastward to the point of union with the other branch about the centre of Logan Square. The course was then south, between Eighteenth and Nineteenth Streets, crossing Race and Cherry Streets. North of the latter, and near Nineteenth, another branch united with the stream which flowed westward from the neighborhood of Centre Square. The run then crossed Arch Street, between Nineteenth and Twentieth, receiving a little stream into it at the point of junction, which rose near Market Street between Eighteenth and Nineteenth, and flowed northwestwardly. Minnow Run, from this point, ran diagonally, crossing Filbert Street, between Twentieth and Twenty-first, and then ran due west about half-way between Filbert and Market Streets, and emptied into the Schuylkill north of ground now occupied by the City Gas-Works.

Northern Liberties, the county commissioners, and to private individuals and corporations. They were also empowered to raise by lottery three hundred and forty thousand dollars,—a residue of the sum granted to be raised in that way by the companies of which they were heirs.

Bridge companies were unusually active. March 28th the Assembly passed a law appointing Samuel Richards, Philip Wager, John Britton, Jr., Cadwalader Evans, and Abraham Sheridan, commissioners, to receive subscriptions to the stock of a company "for erecting a permanent bridge over the Schuylkill at or near where the floating-bridge of Abraham Sheridan is at present situate, known by the name of the Upper Ferry, in the county of Philadelphia." There were to be eight hundred shares, at fifty dollars each. It was ordered that this bridge should be at least thirty feet wide, with a good railing on each side. The property was to continue in the company for twenty-five years. Rates of toll were provided for. Funerals and military processions were to be exempt from charge. The amount of receipts exceeding nine per cent. per annum profit was to be applied to the purchase and redemption of the shares. The bridge was to be commenced in two years, and finished in five years. On the 20th of March an act was passed authorizing Joseph Kirkbride to erect a bridge over Frankford Creek, "where his ferry is now kept," near Bridesburg. It was to be sixty feet in length, eight feet clear above the water. It was also to be provided with a draw eighteen feet wide. Kirkbride was to take tolls; and his bridge was ordered to be commenced within a year, and completed within four years. April 2d the Schuylkill Falls Bridge Company was incorporated. The preamble recited that Robert Kennedy and Conrad Carpenter had conveyed all their interests in the site of the Schuylkill Falls bridge, under the act of the 22d of February, 1808, to certain trustees for the use of themselves and others, subscribers to the stock for the bridge. Robert Kennedy, Paul Cox, Samuel Wheeler, John Johnson, Algernon Roberts, Thomas McEwen, John Thorburn, Walter Franklin, Francis Johnston, Reading Howell, and William T. Donaldson were incorporated as the president and managers of the Schuylkill Falls Bridge Company. The erection of the new bridge was necessary because of the destruction of the chain-bridge at Schuylkill Falls a few years before. James Finley, in an article published January 17th, said, "The breach of the Schuylkill bridge by a drove of cattle is an occurrence which deserves attention. An ill-judged clip or coupling-piece broke, with which two parts of the chain were joined together."

The growth of the city and its increased litigation made the facilities of the Court of Common Pleas far too little in trial of civil causes. March 30th an act was passed establishing the "District Court for city and county of Philadelphia, to have jurisdiction in sums exceeding one hundred dollars, and to consist of

a president judge and two assistant judges, the first to receive two thousand dollars per annum, and the others five hundred dollars each. Their terms of office were limited to six years. The prothonotary of this court was to be the prothonotary of the Common Pleas. It was organized May 6th, Joseph Hemphill presiding, and Anthony Simmons and Jacob Sommer assistants. The two latter were not learned in the law; one had been a goldsmith, the other a farmer. Seventy-five lawyers were admitted to practice in this court in June.

Some time in May, Capt. Grassin, of the French privateer "Diligente," who had captured the ship "Hebe," of Philadelphia, Capt. William Ogle, some time before, arrived in the harbor, and proceedings were commenced against him. The "Hebe" had purchased her release, but in some way Capt. Grassin had not carried out his agreement. In July, Mayor Wharton bound him over in the sum of five thousand dollars, to answer a charge of arming in the port contrary to acts of Congress. Charges upon tonnage had been increased about this time, the Port Wardens having power to raise it two and a half cents per ton above previous rates. Commercial interests suffered greatly from the condition of national affairs.

Everything combined to keep up public interest in military exercises; the prospects of war were too alarming to allow of neglect. Therefore the sound of drum and bugle was often heard this summer in the streets of Philadelphia. The Legislature passed an act March 30th, granting new privileges and enlarging the regiment of artillery of the First Brigade, First Division, also organizing the cavalry of Philadelphia into a regiment. The artillery was to have one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, and twelve captains. Each company was to be organized with one captain, a first and second lieutenant, two cadets, four sergeants, four corporals, eight artificers, and eighty privates. The twelve companies were to be placed in three battalions as soon as five hundred men were enrolled, and one company of horse or flying artillery was to be attached to each battalion. The uniform of the artillery regiment was as follows: a long, dark-blue coat, faced and lined with scarlet; collar and cuffs of the same (scarlet), with yellow buttons, stamped with the letters "First Regiment," the button-holes and edges of the coat trimmed with gold lace or yellow silk binding; cocked hat, with a red feather and the cockade of the State; blue pantaloons, edged with yellow or buff; vest with yellow buttons, stamped "First Regiment;" short boots; a cartridge-box to fasten around the body, and to contain at least fourteen cartridges; a buff bayonet-belt with an oval plate in front, with the arms of the State stamped thereon, and the letters "First Regiment, Pennsylvania Artillery." The horse or flying artillery uniform was to be a short, blue coat, faced with scarlet; collar and cuffs of the same, the trimmings to be the same as for the foot artillery. One

thousand State arms were to be issued to the regiment. It was required to be ordered out for exercise not less than six times, nor more than twelve times, in a year. The cavalry regiment was to have one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, and two majors.

The cavalry regiment was organized on the 29th of April by the election of Robert Wharton colonel, John Smith as lieutenant-colonel, Caleb Hughes and Samuel Mifflin majors. A sham battle was fought on the 6th of May, under command of Gen. John Steele, the opposing forces being officered by Maj. Lewis Rush and Col. George Bartram. The field of battle was on the west side of the Schuylkill River, near the Upper Ferry bridge. The attack was made by crossing from Fairmount. May 27th a numerous body of regular troops from New England, under command of Col. Boyd, passed through Philadelphia on their way to Pittsburgh. There were large crowds on the streets and at the windows. In October another military *fête*, similar to that in May, took place on Broad Street, near Centre Square. Col. Wharton had command of the cavalry, and Col. Ferguson of the artillery. Brig.-Gen. Bright, aided by Col. Irwin and Maj. Borden, commanded one of the armies in the sham battle, and Brig.-Gen. Duncan, with Majs. Dillingham and Dennis, commanded the other. August 21st a dinner was given to Gen. Pinckney at Barry's Union Hotel, corner of Second and Union Streets. Charles Biddle was president, and Maj. Lenox was secretary. The First and Second Troops presented an address to Gen. Pinckney on the 5th of September. In October the officers of the cavalry regiment were notified by Aaron Denman, adjutant, that they should meet for officers' drill opposite the first turnpike gate on the German-town road.

The fire department had proved efficient in times of need, and in June one thousand dollars was appropriated by City Councils to the fire and hose companies, being, it is believed, the first time that a contribution had been made by the Councils for the support of the fire department. A disastrous fire occurred at Newburyport, Mass., also in June, and the loss was estimated at two millions of dollars. A meeting of citizens was held at the Philadelphia City Hall June 15th. Robert Ralston was chairman and James Milnor was secretary. Committees were appointed in all the wards to solicit contributions, and a considerable amount of money was raised, which was forwarded to the sufferers.

During the summer the markets were disturbed by persons who were not butchers cutting up meat and selling it in the market. This was the commencement of what in later years led to the butcher-and-shinner difficulties. The butchers held several meetings, and petitioned Councils for an ordinance against them.

Mention has already been made of the monument to Gen. Wayne that the "Society of the Cincinnati" were building at Radnor, Chester Co. Being finished,

it was dedicated June 5th of this year. Adam and James Traguair were the builders, and their work was much admired. Among the militia that marched to Radnor and assisted in the dedication ceremonies were the First City Troop, Lieut.-Com. Crawford; Second City Troop, Capt. Thomas Cadwalader; Third City Troop, Capt. Samuel Meeker; Fourth City Troop, Lieut.-Com. Clapp; First County Troop, Lieut.-Com. Haas; Second County Troop, Capt. Humphreys,—forming the associated regiment of volunteer cavalry of the city and county of Philadelphia. The "Society of the Cincinnati" thought the time was appropriate, and passed resolutions that a monument to Washington was desirable. Their committees were not able to raise the necessary funds, and the project languished for some time. July 4th the society met in Philadelphia. The cavalry, infantry, and artillery paraded through the streets, and escorted their guests to Zion Church, at Fourth and Cherry Streets, where an oration was delivered by Charles Biddle. The Pennsylvania Society dined at the Mansion House, Maj.-Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the president-general of the society, being president.

There were some local incidents during the summer of 1811 worthy a passing word. William Duane, of the *Aurora*, lost a libel suit instituted by J. E. Smith, steward (in 1804) of the lazaretto, and the verdict against him was for eight hundred dollars. Three female convicts, two black and one white, dug their way under the walls of the Walnut Street prison and escaped. The Councils authorized commissioners to take down the east and west walls of the State-House and put up iron palisades instead, but finding that there were legal difficulties, an act of the Legislature was afterwards obtained. One of the sensations of the year was an attempt to kidnap Stephen Girard. Two men arranged a plan to seize him by enticing him to visit a certain store upon a proposition to buy goods. Their idea was to obtain possession of his person, and then compel him to draw checks for whatever sums of money they chose to demand. Girard discovered the plot before an endeavor was made to put it into operation. The men were arrested and bound over to answer. They were in prison several months, but in March, 1812, they were acquitted.

Over all the local events of 1811, however, the shadow of national gloom and of approaching war was deep and unbroken. National, State, and city politics by turns agitated the minds of Philadelphians. In February Mr. Pinckney, our envoy to England, having exhausted all his arguments, returned to America, but Augustus J. Foster was appointed envoy to the United States "to settle the Chesapeake affair and other disputes." March 2d another act of Congress opened the way still further for reconciliation. But it was hard to believe in peace; many citizens felt that the nation's honor would be compromised by further efforts to avoid the inevitable conflict. An American ship was captured by a British cruiser

within thirty miles of New York. Early in May Capt. Dacres and the "Guerrière" impressed a native of Maine from the brig "Spitfire" when only eighteen miles from New York, and other cases determined the government to send out some of the new frigates. May 16th, in the evening, the forty-four-gun frigate "President," under Commodore Rodgers, encountered the British sloop "Little Belt," forty miles northeast of Cape Henry, and broadsides were exchanged. Contradictory and indeed irreconcilable stories were told by the commanders. The Democrats accepted the statement that the British were the aggressors; the Federalists claimed that the American vessel had made the attack in order to force a declaration of war. Partisan spirit seldom reached a greater height; the opposition press was crowded with unpatriotic assaults on Commodore Rodgers. Meanwhile in the West events of peculiar importance were occurring. Elks-watawa, under the guidance of Tecumseh, had devoted six toilsome years to rousing the superstition of the Indians; they had welded together a strong confederacy of tribes, and threatened the existence of the infant settlements from Vincennes to Kentucky. Harrison called for aid, and the old Indian-fighters sprang to arms. November 7th, under the oaks of Tippecanoe, surrounded by marshes and grass-grown prairie, was fought the battle where Daviess fell, where Tecumseh's league was shattered, where Harrison gained the glory which made him President. November 4th the Twelfth Congress assembled, called together by special proclamation. The Federalists had only six senators and thirty-six representatives. Henry Clay, war candidate, was chosen Speaker by a vote of seventy-five to thirty-eight. The message was firm but not bellicose. The Committee on Foreign Relations, in their report adopted December 16th, said,—

"The period has arrived when, in the opinion of your committee, it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and resources of the country. By the aid of these and the blessing of God we confidently trust we will be able to procure that redress which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance, and by forbearance in vain." The committee recommended Congress to second the proposition of the President by immediately putting the United States "into an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." The bill to increase the regular army was amended to allow the enlistment of twenty-five thousand additional men. Appropriations were made, and the President authorized, whenever necessary, to call on the Governors of the States for a quota of one hundred thousand militia, instead of fifty thousand, as had been recommended.

Politics in Philadelphia were marked by the usual struggle between factions. The animosity between the old and new schools of Democratic politicians had not ceased to have its effects. Although both

wings supported Snyder, they were in other matters apparently as hostile as ever. The new-school Democrats had the influence of the State administration. The old-school Democrats, under Leib and Duane, were without power, and represented only dissatisfaction. The Tammany Society held its meeting on the 13th of May at the Widow Long's. Brother John Thompson delivered the "long talk." Seventeen toasts were duly honored. George W. Bartram offered a strong personal toast, aimed at Binns, which was followed by "The Dead March" and three groans. The new-school party met at the usual time at the house of George Fagundus, sign of the "Cock and Lion," in the Northern Liberties, and nominated, on the city and county ticket, for senator, Isaac Worrell. In the county they nominated a ticket for the Assembly, and supported John Dennis for coroner, and Forrest, Barclay, and Schafer for auditors. The old-school Democrats, having been badly beaten in previous contests, were inclined on this occasion to recommend the policy of union.

The *Aurora* rather favored the proposed alliance. In September delegates chosen from the two wings of the party held a meeting at John Miller's, No. 63 North Fourth Street. For senator John Connelly was nominated; for county commissioner, Abel Evans; for coroner, William Shannon; for county auditors, Maj. John Holmes, Philip Peltz, and William Piersol. Mr. Connelly declined the senatorship, and George Summers was nominated. Upon the representative ticket for the county this convention placed the names of John Thompson, George Morton, William Paul, John Carter, Francis Ingall, and Samuel Castor. The Federalists in the city nominated a full Assembly ticket, embracing the names of Benjamin R. Morgan, Thomas McEuen, Samuel Hodgdon, John Clawges, Sr., and John Drinker. For senator from the city and county they nominated John Jones, of Lower Dublin; Jonathan Roberts for county commissioner; Thomas Hopkins for coroner; and for auditors, Timothy Paxson, Thomas P. Cope, and Joshua Comly. It was found that no union of the Democratic wings was possible.

The friends of union of Lower Delaware Ward declared that "the efforts to obtain a union had not been met generally with the spirit of harmony, but were followed by meetings in several wards under the direction of executive officers and office-holders." The North Mulberry Ward resolutions regretted that "ward meetings had been called of friends of a particular man." In Southwark, at Commissioners' Hall, resolutions were passed against the proceedings of "a general ward committee styling itself Democratic," etc. The attacks were very strong against Binns, and as the canvass went on the spirit of harmony was entirely lacking. The result, as might have been expected, was that the Federalists carried their city ticket. In the county there was a new-school triumph. The election resulted as follows: Total

vote in the city and county for senator, Worrell (New School), 3259; Jones (Federalist), 3044; Summers, (Old School), 1661. County commissioners, Fittler (New School), 3294; Roberts (Federalist), 3100; Evans (Old School), 1543; coroner, Dennis (New School), 3680; Hopkins (Federalist), 3035; Shannon (Old School), 1731; auditors, New School, Forrest, 3227; Barclay, 3226; Schafer, 3225; Federalists, Paxon, 3077; Cope, 3075; Comly, 3074; Old School, Piersol, 1565; Peltz, 1564; county Assembly, New School, Heston, 2019; McLeod, 2015; Holgate, 2011; Groves, 2011; Shearer, 2001; Duncan, 1984; Old School, Castor, 1401; Ingall, 1390; Thompson, 1378; Carter, 1372; Paul, 1370; and Morton, 1351.

In the State Snyder received 52,319 votes; William Tilghman, not nominated, but voted for by some Federalists, received 3609. There were 1675 scattering votes, of which more than 400 were polled in favor of a well-known local character,—Richard, commonly called "Dicky," Folwell.

The State election for Governor was very quiet. Simon Snyder's administration had been able and popular. There was no opposition within his own party, the "Quids," in 1808, having but 4000 votes in the whole State. The Federalists did not nominate any State ticket.

Clay, in the House of Representatives, spoke for the buckskin-clad pioneers of Kentucky and Ohio when he exclaimed that though Philadelphia, New York, Boston should fall into British hands, though the Atlantic seaboard States were invaded, yet the West would save the government. Jan. 14, 1812, \$1,500,000 was appropriated for arms and equipment, \$400,000 for the navy, and \$500,000 for coast defense. State after State promised to support decisive measures. The *Aurora* made the figures "6257," the number of impressed American citizens, the keynote of many a war editorial. Philadelphia merchants still deprecated hostilities.

On the 1st of April a meeting was held at the Merchants' Coffee-House of merchants, traders, and others interested in American property in Great Britain. Alexander Henry acted as president, and Samuel F. Bradford as secretary. It was resolved that there was great danger of injury to American merchants, not only by forfeiture of their property in Great Britain, but by the suspending of contracts and the confiscation of debts. A committee was appointed to memorialize Congress. A few weeks later Congress issued proposals for a subscription to a national loan of eleven millions of dollars before the war had commenced. In May it was announced that the subscriptions in Philadelphia toward this loan were: By the Bank of Pennsylvania, \$500,000; by the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, \$300,000; by the Philadelphia Bank, \$100,000; by the Bank of North America, \$100,000; by individuals, \$545,800; by an "officer of the general government," \$60,000; and by a "French gentleman," \$40,000. Total \$1,645,800. But the funds

that were available seemed totally inadequate. Albert Gallatin, in his report of January 10th, had given a gloomy account of the financial condition of the country, and matters showed no signs of improvement.

The affair of John Henry, once a wine-dealer in Philadelphia, also at one time an editor of a Philadelphia paper, attracted public attention in the spring and summer. Henry was a secret emissary of the British government, if the revelations he made by letters from Philadelphia to our government can be trusted.

The "True Republican" Society celebrated its anniversary on the 7th of May, at the house of brother Frederick Meyers. Capt. Reed's band furnished the music, and there were seventeen toasts. The Tammany Society listened, during the same month, to a "long talk" by Joseph T. Clement. Dr. Michael Leib was re-elected Grand Sachem, and George Bartram, father of the Council. Among the toasts was the following: "Foreign tribes strive to make us vassals. They outrage our tribes. The common path of nations is no longer free for us. Slaves only submit to oppression. Let us then unbury the tomahawk which lies hid under our great wigwam, to assert our rights and avenge our wrongs."

A Democratic meeting was held at the State-House May 20th, Capt. William Jones being president, and James West, secretary. The resolutions were strongly worded in favor of war. The *United States Gazette*, speaking of it, said that there were two thousand persons present, including boys, and that "among other characters present were Lieut.-Col. John Binns (he had just been appointed aide-de-camp to Governor Snyder), Daniel Addis, Charles J. Ingersoll, John L. Leib, and James Carson." The meeting was a source of disagreement between Binns and Duane. The *Aurora* did not publish the proceedings. The Federalists consulted on the crisis through a convention of delegates from the wards. This body adopted an address declaring "their firm and unqualified conviction that the United States are not impelled to the war by necessity, nor invited to it by expediency."

May 18th, with Madison's renomination in the Congressional caucus, the die was cast, but war was not actually declared till the 18th of June. The debate in the House was of historic interest. Pennsylvania and the States south and west gave sixty-two votes for it and seventeen against. The States north of Pennsylvania gave seventeen for it and thirty-two against. The Smith and Leib faction, long advocates of war, suddenly tried to delay the bill. It passed the Senate by a vote of nineteen to thirteen. The next day President Madison issued his proclamation. The country, despite the years that war had been an approaching and visible evil, was but poorly prepared for the conflict. Disunion prevailed in national councils; the Essex Junto Federalists were opposed to the war, and New England Congregational ministers thundered from their pulpits in strong appeals

for peace at any price. We had undertaken an offensive war to force England to respect our maritime rights, and yet the nation lacked unity.

Philadelphia was patriotic to the core. Prompt consultation was had as to whether the citizens, principally the merchants, might not be able to build a ship-of-war for the use of the government, as in 1798 they built the frigate "City of Philadelphia." A meeting for this purpose was held near the end of June. Jacob Gerard Koch subscribed five thousand dollars to this fund as a gift, but added, "If it is intended to loan the ship I will build a ship-of-war myself for the government." This proposition was not carried out, probably because those who were interested in it perceived a better method of assistance by fitting out privateers.

Four days after intelligence of war reached the city the cavalry regiment of Col. Robert Wharton, Lieut.-Col. John Smith commanding, offered its services to the general government. This precedent was followed immediately afterwards by the Philadelphia Legion, Col. Lewis Rush. On the 1st of July a meeting of the staff and commissioned officers of the First Division was held at Harvey's tavern, in Spring Garden. Maj.-Gen. Isaac Worrell was chairman, and Maj. Frederick Foering secretary. The committee to draft resolutions consisted of Gen. Wharton, Gen. Duncan, Cols. Peter L. Berry, Thompson, Erwin, Snyder, Hergesheimer, Smith, Duncan, and Ferguson. They recommended that the volunteer and militia companies which they represented should unite with the constituted authorities in whatever measures of defense were deemed necessary. They also recommended that a special session of the Legislature should be convened. On the same day a meeting of citizens beyond the age of forty-five years, who were not liable to military duty, was held at the Indian King Hotel, in Market Street. Charles Biddle was chairman, and George A. Baker secretary. They resolved to form themselves into a military association to aid the civil authority in maintaining order. The committee appointed to arrange for the organization of the company was composed of the following citizens: Upper Delaware Ward, John Miller; Lower Delaware Ward, George A. Baker; High Street Ward, William Wray; Chestnut Ward, Bernard McMahon; Walnut Ward, William Smiley; Dock Ward, Levi Hollingsworth; New Market Ward, Capt. William Jones; North Mulberry Ward, Alexander Cook; South Mulberry Ward, John Barker; North Ward, Paul Beck; Middle Ward, Robert Patterson; South Ward, Conrad Hanse; Locust Ward, James E. Smith; Cedar Ward, John Douglass; for the Northern Liberties, John Goodman, Jacob Beitler, Frederick Sheetz; for Southwark, Robert McMullin, Archibald Binney, William Linnard, Isaac Hosey, Michael Freytag, Norris Stanley, and Capt. Glover. Each of the members of this organization agreed to furnish himself with a musket, bayonet, cartouch-box, and

twelve charges of powder and ball. The officers were to be chosen by elections in the wards, and the association was originally called "The Venerable Military Corps." Subsequently the title was changed to "The Military Association of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia of Friends of the Government of the United States."

The only force immediately effective was connected with the uniformed volunteer militia. In the First Brigade were Col. Ebenezer Ferguson's artillery regiment, the cavalry regiment under Col. Robert Wharton, and the Twenty-fourth Regiment of infantry, Col. S. F. Fotherall. Gen. Bright, of this brigade, died in February, and Col. Wharton was his successor. The militia regiments of this brigade were the Twenty-fifth, Col. Samuel Erwin; the Twenty-eighth, Col. Samuel Glause; the Fiftieth, Lieut.-Col. George Bartram; and the Eighty-fourth, Col. Peter L. Berry. The quota of the First Brigade was eight hundred and eighty-eight. Lieut.-Col. John Smith's cavalry regiment made up three hundred and twenty-two of these, and Col. Lewis Rush's Legion added four hundred and five more. William Etris, brigade inspector of the Second Brigade, gave notice on the 23d of June that nine hundred and sixty-four men would be required. They were to be taken from the Forty-second, Sixty-seventh, Seventy-fifth, Eightieth, Eighty-eighth, One Hundred and Fortieth, One Hundred and Fifty-fifth, and One Hundred and Fifty-sixth Regiments. The Legion resolved, on the 29th of July, to offer its services to the Governor as part of the quota of Pennsylvania. Its board of officers said that they could muster five hundred men, and could soon double the number. On the Fourth of July the volunteer companies paraded. The strength of the regiment of cavalry was three hundred and twenty-two men, and of Col. Rush's Philadelphia Legion four hundred and five men. On that day there were various military celebrations in Philadelphia. The officers of the army dined at Bush Hill; the Twenty-eighth Regiment at Harvey's, in Spring Garden; and the Independent Volunteers at Patterson's, on the banks of the Schuylkill. Col. Winfield Scott was sent to Philadelphia by the United States government to organize a regiment for the regular service. The camp was pitched on the west side of the Schuylkill, near the Upper Ferry. Among the officers were Capt. Charles Smith, of the Light Dragoons; Capt. James N. Barker (son of Gen. John Barker), of the artillery; and Lieut. Thomas M. Powers. These officers dined at Bush Hill on the Fourth of July. The organization was known in the United States service as the Second Artillery.¹

¹ Gen. Winfield Scott, in a speech in Philadelphia in 1852, said, "I owe many thanks to Philadelphians and to Pennsylvanians. Across your river Schuylkill, in 1812, I had the honor to form a camp, where a regiment was prepared for the defense of the Canada frontier and for the plains of Canada. That regiment was composed almost exclusively

Congress had passed an embargo law on the 4th of April, which expired on the 2d of July. The 30th of July was solemnized as a State fast-day, and was generally observed in Pennsylvania. The 20th of August was observed as a day of fasting and prayer throughout the United States.

In July all British subjects in Philadelphia district were given notice to report their names, occupation, residence, etc., to the United States marshal.

The "Old Hob" Society held a meeting on the 4th of July at the "Green Tree," Walnut Street, and adopted, among others, the following toasts: "May the fate of the Tories of the Revolution be a warning to the highfliers of the present day." "May the Tories in New England repent, or be damned!" "Safe-keeping to all who are dissatisfied with the liberties and independence of America." The Twenty-eighth Regiment, celebrating the day in Spring Garden, adopted, as a toast: "Commodore Rodgers—When he meets a little belt or a big belt, or any kind of a British belt, may he succeed in giving them a good belting!" The Independent Volunteers, Capt. Samuel Borden, dined at Patterson's Schuylkill Hotel. Private Clement S. Ellick offered the following toast: "May the hides of the British garrison at Quebec be speedily tanned in their own vats!" At the First Light Infantry celebration the following toast was duly honored: "Our Secret Enemies—May they ever keep in mind that the tar of Virginia and the feathers of our own farms keep in store abundance of stock for the accommodation of gentlemen of that kidney."

The other side of public sentiment was shown by

of Pennsylvanians. My gratitude for that regiment is unbounded, and never will the recollection of it fade from my remembrance. There I had the honor to meet some of the finest young men the country ever produced. I refer to the Biddles, Thomas and John, who came out of the army majors, a distinction they were eminently deserving of for their gallantry and excellent services. The father of these Biddles—Charles Biddle—I recollect was a Revolutionary hero, and was at the head of the Committee of Safety in October, 1814, when Philadelphia was threatened with invasion, when your homes were threatened with destruction, and when the United States Treasury was bankrupt. He was a noble man, and his memory I will ever cherish. Thomas Lieper, who kept a tobacco-house in Market Street, was another great patriot, and his memory also will be held in grateful remembrance along with other worthy and good men of that day. Thomas Cadwalader was another gentleman who, while living, I loved, and who, now dead, I honor. He was a member, if I recollect aright, of that same Committee of Safety which, when the United States Treasury refused to pay a dollar, went and borrowed funds on their own credit for the defense of your now beautiful city of Philadelphia."

The following is a description of the United States army uniforms at this time: Artillery (officers), chapeau-bras bound around the edge with black ribbon; yellow buttons, golden tassels, and loop; black cockade, with gold eagle in the centre; white feather, three inches in height; blue coats, scarlet collars and cuffs; white cloth, or cassimere, breeches, and single-breasted vests. Artillery (soldiers), cocked hats; blue coats, with scarlet cuffs, and standing collar; pants, white in summer and blue in winter; vests of white cloth. Infantry (field officers), chapeau-bras. Platoon officers, black caps of cylindrical form; cockade and eagle on the left side, to rise one inch above the cap, oblong silver plate in front, with the name of the corps, number, and regiment; white plume in front; blue coats, scarlet collars and cuffs; white vests and pantaloons. For privates a similar dress.

Federalist meetings. The Federalists of Upper Delaware Ward held a meeting in July. Those were invited to come "who are attached to the principles of the Father of his Country, and who are opposed to the deleterious measures of the present administration." The resolutions said, "It is with despondency we view a war declared, which, if successful to the most sanguine wishes of its promoters, must end in our own ruin and a complete subservency to the mandate of the diabolical and detestable destroyer of mankind—Napoleon Bonaparte." In North Ward it was

"Resolved, That a long experience has shown us the insufficiency of our present rulers to place our beloved country in that independent position among nations which we ought to hold, and that at a moment when commerce, the basis of our national prosperity, is almost annihilated, when wars, direct taxes, and paper money are our only resource for supporting a war prematurely declared, and a hateful tyrant is forcing us into a destructive alliance, it becomes proper at our ensuing election to confide our public trusts to men pure and enlightened, who will demand redress the moment insult or injury is offered, and not decline a peace when peace can be procured on honorable terms."

A meeting was called of citizens of High Street Ward who "desire to secure to the country an able and independent administration, who can supply the treasury without paper money, and procure an honorable peace without foreign auxiliaries."

The Democrats of Locust Ward, in July, adopted resolutions in favor of sustaining the government, among which was the sentiment,—"Should the intemperance of despair instigate to deeds of disaffection, we will maintain the Union against domestic traitors as well as foreign enemies." The North Mulberry Ward resolutions declared, "That the resolutions adopted and published by a meeting in Lower Delaware Ward of persons styling themselves Federalists, deserve the severest reprobation of all real Americans, and it is recommended to such gentry to recollect that Nova Scotia may not be as safe a retreat for them in this war as it was for the Tories in 1776." The Walnut Ward Democrats resolved, that "those who in 1798 determined to give millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute, must have greatly degenerated if, in 1812, they would give millions for tribute rather than one cent for defense." The *Democratic Press*, July 1st, published an article accusing Gregg and Leib of voting with the Federalists in the United States Senate against the war eleven times, and added that they "did not vote for the war until there was a majority without them."

Privateers began to be fitted out with great speed. July 4th, at noon, three of these vessels, which were lying in the Delaware in front of the city, fired salutes. They were the "Atlas," Capt. David Maffett; the "Spencer," Capt. Morse; and the "Matilda," Capt. Noah Allen. They sailed soon afterwards, and the "General McKean," Capt. Lucet, followed a fortnight later. Their voyages were probably profitable, but the risk was very great. The "Matilda," under Capt. Taylor, sailed on the 7th of July, and before

she reached the Capes a mutiny took place, and forty of the crew were lodged in New Castle jail. Capt. Taylor was replaced by Capt. Allen, who captured and sent into Savannah, in September, the British ship "Goellet," Capt. Reed, with salt, steel, etc.; also the "Ranger," a British privateer brig of ten guns; the schooner "Jingle," with coffee, cocoa, etc.; the schooner "Manger," with cocoa, etc.; and the schooner "Woodburn," with coffee. Capt. Heard, of the "Ranger," was wounded, and died in the Pennsylvania Hospital. He was buried with the honors of war by officers of the army and navy and the Philadelphia Blues, under Capt. Rush. In July the "Matilda" had a fight with five armed British ships. With one of fourteen guns the contest was rather warm for about half an hour, but the other four ships coming up rapidly, the "Matilda" took advantage of her superior speed and escaped, after having sustained a running fire. The British brig "Esther and Elizabeth," laden with fish and dry goods, was sent in on the 5th of August by the "Governor McKean." The same vessel returned in the latter part of August, bringing in the packet "Prince Adolphus," of eight guns, which was bound to Falmouth, from Martinique. A New England schooner was also recaptured from a British privateer, and thirty prisoners released. Other prizes were taken during the year 1812 by these armed vessels. The "Hazard," Capt. Singleton, which was added to our offensive fleet in August, in December recaptured and sent in the Philadelphia ship "Aristides," from Liverpool, which was detained without reason.

The privateer "Spencer," Capt. Morse, and the schooner "Shadow," Capt. Hight, went out for cruises in the summer, but returned without success. The "Atlas," Capt. Maffett, arrived in September from a long cruise. Two large armed Jamaicamen, with valuable cargoes, were taken by her after a severe action, in which she lost nine killed and nineteen wounded. Prize-masters were put on board, and one of them, the ship "Pursuit," of London, was brought into port, the other, the "Planter," was probably recaptured by a British frigate. The "Revenge," William Butler commander, in the latter part of the year sent in the British schooner "Lorana," loaded with sugar. She also captured the sloop "Kate Canning," with a cargo of sugar, the ship "Neptune," and the "Cyrus," of Belfast. The sloop "Polly," captured by the "Revenge," was sunk off Chincoteague.

Towards the end of the year the fleet of privateers belonging to Philadelphia was enlarged by the addition of the schooner "Snapper," Capt. Green, and the "Rattlesnake," commanded by David Maffett, formerly of the "Atlas." The "Rattlesnake" (vessel) was built by Andrew Seguin, of the Northern Liberties, for Andrew Curcier, and was pierced for eighteen guns. On her way down the Delaware she was upset at Reedy Island in a sudden gale. The pilot and

twenty of the crew were drowned. The vessel was raised, brought up to the city, and subsequently sailed for France. She made no captures of importance, and was prevented from returning to port for many months by the blockade of the Delaware.

Honors to the naval heroes of the war were lavishly bestowed by Philadelphia. News of the capture of the British frigate "Guerrière," Capt. James R. Dacres, by the United States frigate "Constitution," Capt. Isaac Hull, was received September 3d. It was determined to present pieces of plate to "Capt. Hull and our townsman, Lieut. Charles Morris." A meeting was held September 5th. Commodore Richard Dale presided, and John Sergeant was secretary.¹ Capt. David Porter arrived in September in command of the United States sloop-of-war "Essex." During his cruise he captured the ship "Alert," of twenty guns, and nine other prizes. The "Essex" was refitted, and sailed October 28th for the South Pacific. She captured British property worth several millions of dollars, and was finally taken, in defiance of the laws of nations, in the neutral port of Valparaiso, by the British frigate "Phœbe," of thirty-six guns, and the sloop "Cherub," of twenty guns. News of the capture of the British frigate "Macedonian," Capt. John S. Carden, by the United States frigate "United States," Capt. Stephen Decatur, reached Philadelphia on the 8th of December. On the 10th of December Common Council, on motion of Liberty Browne, passed resolutions eulogizing the gallantry of Capt. Stephen Decatur, and it was resolved to present him with a sword. On the 10th of December, Capt. Jacob Jones, of the United States sloop-of-war "Wasp," whose capture of the British sloop-of-war "Frolic," Capt. Thomas Whinyates, was just then the subject of general congratulation, arrived in the city. He was escorted into town by the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Cavalry, under the command of Col. Smith. On the next day he was, together with such of his officers as were with him, entertained at the City Hotel, corner of Second and Union Streets, by the citizens of Philadelphia. Chief Justice Tilghman presided, and patriotic sentiments were duly uttered and honored. A subscription was also commenced to furnish Capt. Jones and each of his officers with a piece of plate. The gift that Lieut. James Biddle received was a silver urn upon which was a representation of the battle between the "Wasp" and the "Frolic," and the following inscription:

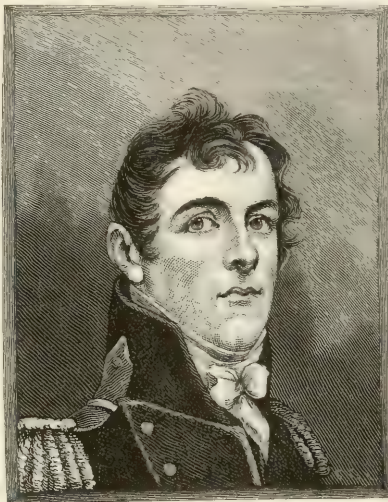
¹ Pictorial skill was engaged to illustrate this triumph. Two days after the news was received, T. W. L. Freeman announced that he would publish on the 1st of October, at No. 53 Walnut Street, two prints, each twenty by fourteen inches,—one representing the capture of the "Guerrière," and the other a full-length picture of Capt. Hull. These were to be furnished at the following prices: For prints, five dollars each; proofs, seven dollars; colors, ten dollars. Another print of the battle between the two ships was announced to be published on the 31st of September, from a drawing by William Strickland. Size, eleven by sixteen inches. Price, one dollar and fifty cents plain; two dollars, colored.

"TO
 LIEUTENANT JAMES BIDDLE,
 United States Navy,
 from the early friends and companions of his
 youth, who, while their country rewards
 his public services, present this
 testimonial of their esteem
 for his private
 worth.
 Philadelphia,
 1813."

The Legislature of Pennsylvania voted the thanks of the State and a sword to the same gallant officer.¹ But though our naval victories were thus glorious, defeat and disgrace attended the American army. Hull's expedition and surrender, the Queenstown defeat, Smythe's strange inaction, retreat, and failure, Dearborn's mortifying disasters in the Lake Champlain region, all contributed to rouse the spirit of the people and teach them needed lessons. A disciplined navy never failed; an undisciplined army never triumphed. Canada, the key of the situation, lay open to assault, and good generalship would have captured both the Upper and Lower Provinces in a single campaign, thus, perhaps, changing the entire political history of the northern half of this continent. Inefficient commanders prolonged the war far beyond its natural duration.

As the fall elections drew near the Democrats held meetings and adopted resolutions, few of them worth quoting now.

On the election-day "the Democratic cordwainers" resolved to meet at McKarhar's tavern, and to visit in a body the election-grounds at the State-House and



CAPTAIN JAMES BIDDLE.

at the Northern Liberty town-house. Their banner bore the inscription, "War is declared! Tories, clear out! Democrats, unite and conquer!"

The Federalists in September nominated for Congress in the city and county Joseph Hopkinson, Joseph S. Lewis, Samuel Harvey, and William Pennock. The Assembly ticket for the city was headed with the name of Benjamin R. Morgan. The Democrats nominated for Congress Adam Seybert, William Anderson, Charles J. Ingersoll, and John Conard. In the city proper the vote for the Democratic candidates for Congress was 2984; for the Federalists, 2815. The majority of the city councilmen were carried by the Democrats, and a Democratic mayor, Gen. John Barker, was elected. On the Congressional ticket in the city and county the Democrats had 6981 and the Federalists 6081 votes. The Madison Democrats carried both the city and the county delegations to the Legislature. The Presidential election took place in October, and there was a partial division in the Democratic party. Duane and Binns favored Madison and Gerry. The Federalists decided to support George Clinton for President and Jared Ingersoll for Vice-President. At the election the whole vote of the city and county was: For the Madison electors, 6988; for Clinton, 4639. Even in the city, so long held by the Federalists, that party was overthrown, the vote being for Madison, 2936; for Clinton, 2657.

Governor Snyder in December sent a message to the Legislature, and reported what the State had done to aid the war. The government had called

¹ Honors and more substantial rewards were lavished on the heroes of "the Wasp." The Legislature of Delaware, of which Capt. Jones was a native, appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars to him and his companions as a compensation for the loss of prize-money by the recapture of the "Frolic" by the British ship-of-war "Poictiers," which happened two hours after the surrender of Whinnyates. The Legislature of the same State ordered the presentation of a gold medal to Jones, and one of silver to each of his officers. The night of the Philadelphia banquet a procession of sailors and officers of the merchant marine marched through the streets with flags and transparencies. The caricaturists took up the subject, and Charles, a Philadelphia engraver, produced the well-known picture, called "A Wasp on a Frolic; or a Sting for John Bull." It represented the customary figure of the Briton pierced by the exceedingly long sting of a wasp.

James Biddle, son of Charles and nephew of Commodore Nicholas Biddle, was born in Philadelphia on the 18th of February, 1783. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania. He and his brother

Edward entered the navy in 1800 as midshipmen in the frigate "President." Of seven brothers, John and Thomas served in the regular army in the war of 1812, Richard and William L. served actively in the militia, and Nicholas in the State Legislature. James made a cruise in the Mediterranean under Capt. Murray, and afterwards under Bainbridge. His conduct while in those waters, and especially at Tripoli, was distinguished by great courage and nautical skill. While off Tripoli, in October, 1803, he was wrecked in the frigate "Philadelphia," and was a prisoner among the semi-barbarians of that region for nineteen months. On his return, in 1805, he was promoted to a lieutenantcy, and was in active service most of the time until the war broke out in 1812, when he sailed in the "Wasp." Capt. Jones, in which he acquired special honor in the fight of that vessel with the "Frolic." As first lieutenant of the "Wasp," he led the boarders in the brilliant action with the "Frolic" on Oct. 18, 1812. Captured by the "Poictiers," 74, and taken to Bermuda, he was exchanged March 5, 1813, made master commander, and given a flotilla of gun-boats on the Delaware. While

upon Pennsylvania for four thousand militia to go into actual service. These troops rendezvoused at Meadville and Pittsburgh. The public arms were in a wretched condition, old and rust-eaten, and many which had belonged to the State were scattered and held in private hands. There were not enough cartouch-boxes, and other military stores were wanting. Seven hundred and fifty extra muskets and cartouch-boxes were made by the Governor's orders. In the wooden military arsenal at Philadelphia the public ordnance was exposed to injury by dampness. Clothing and blankets were wanted by the militia, which the Governor thought ought to be furnished at public expense. The Legislature passed a law allowing the Governor to supply the State troops in service of the United States with blankets, watch-coats, and other clothing. A bounty of ten dollars was ordered to be paid to such volunteers and militia as might cross the line into Canada.

In the early part of the year news of the frightful destruction of the Richmond Theatre, on Dec. 26, 1811, caused a feeling of horror everywhere. The citizens of Philadelphia deeply sympathized with the sufferers. A meeting was called at the court-house January 6th, Edward Ingersoll in the chair, and A. S. Coxé secretary. It was determined that a tablet should be prepared with a suitable inscription and transmitted to Richmond, to be placed in the church which it was proposed to build upon the site of the theatre. The theatrical establishments were greatly injured in their business. The managers of the new theatre in Chestnut Street published an address to the public claiming that their building was safe.

Turning to quieter topics,—for the currents of daily existence flowed on much the same in busy "Philadelphia town,"—we find that one of the first events of 1812 was an attempt, fortunately unsuccessful, to repeal the legislative bill for "instructing the children of the poor gratis in Philadelphia." The reason given was, "the great number of poor children and the extravagant charges for their tuition—amounting in some instances to nine dollars per quarter, including stationery, which, if charged universally,

would amount to the enormous sum of sixty-five thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars—being the sum that is at present necessary to defray the county expenses." It was stated that persons not qualified gathered children together in schools for the sake of the public payment. March 31st, an act relating to Philadelphia gave the commissioners authority, before sending poor children to school, to fix upon teachers, and to furnish books, stationery, etc. It also gave them authority to establish public schools, when approved by City Councils and the commissioners of the Northern Liberties and of Southwark.

The Sons of Washington celebrated the 22d of February at the Mansion House Hotel. James Milnor was president; Jonathan Bayard Smith and Samuel F. Bradford, vice-presidents; Robert S. Stephenson, secretary; and Samuel Relf, treasurer. The society had a banquet, and the toasts were patriotic rather than partisan. Bishop White, Chief Justice Tilghman, Jonathan Williams, and Capt. Charles Stewart, of the United States navy, were present.

In January the North American Fire Insurance Company petitioned for permission to undertake life insurance also, but failed, and March 10th the Legislature passed an act to incorporate "The Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives and Granting Annuities and Reversions." John Welsh, John Warder, and Jacob Shoemaker were appointed commissioners to open subscriptions for five thousand shares of stock, at one hundred dollars each.

Petitions were presented to the Legislature in January from inhabitants of the village of Hamilton, asking for the enactment of a law to prevent the great delay occasioned by the passage of vessels, rafts, etc., through the draw of the Gray's Ferry bridge. Petitions for the abolition of capital punishment first made their appearance at this session. They received but little attention, and were laid upon the table. Petitions were presented to the Legislature in January from Luzerne County for the incorporation of a company for raising and vending of stone-coal, the first proposition made in the State for incorporating a company for such purposes.

In February an act was passed to order and direct the removal of all State offices and records to Harrisburg in the succeeding month of April. Under this law many records were removed, particularly those affecting titles to real estate in Philadelphia, which did not in any way concern the interests of the Commonwealth. On the 10th of March an act was passed to authorize "the further improvement of the State-House yard." It was enacted that the city might take down the south wall and erect palisades, leaving a space for a gateway, and fixing suitable folding-gates therein. A city ordinance providing for the improvement was passed in April, and the south wall ordered to be taken down. In November the *United States Gazette* complained that "the old, unseemly portal to the State-House yard still remains."

in command of the "Hornet" he was blockaded in New London, Conn., but escaped, and March 23d, off the island of Tristan d'Aounha, captured the British brig "Penguin," after a sharp action, in which he received a wound in the neck. April 27th he displayed his seamanship in escaping from the "Cornwallis," 74, after a chase of four days, during which he threw aboard his guns and equipments to lighten his ship. For his action with the "Penguin" Congress voted him a gold medal, Philadelphia voted him a service of plate, and other honors were bestowed upon him. He was promoted to post captain Feb. 23, 1815, and continued in active service until his death. In 1817 he took possession of Oregon Territory; in 1826 he signed a commercial treaty with Turkey; from 1830 to 1832 he commanded the American squadron in the Mediterranean; from 1838 to 1842 he was governor of the Naval Asylum in Philadelphia; and in 1845, while in command of a squadron in the East Indies, he exchanged the ratifications of the first American treaty with China. He was at Japan, and, crossing the Pacific, he engaged in some of the scenes in the war with Mexico on the coast of California. He returned home in March, 1848, and died at Philadelphia on the 1st of October following.

Twenty-five thousand dollars were also appropriated by the Legislature toward completing the new prison in Philadelphia. March 24th the county commissioners were authorized to build fire-proof offices in the State-House, also for the prothonotary of the Supreme Court.

The Legislature passed several important acts in March; one authorized any State bank to make loans to the United States government. A new Congressional Apportionment bill was passed on the 13th, which provided for an election upon a general ticket. Delaware County was excluded, and the city and county of Philadelphia was formed into one district, to elect four members.

The building of a road from Harrisburg *via* Carlisle and Bedford to Pittsburgh was authorized. The State subscribed for seven thousand shares, and also assisted the northern route *via* Lewistown. The stockholders of the Bank of the United States again applied for a State charter, but notwithstanding very liberal offers the charter was refused.¹ March 24th the Legislature incorporated the township of Moyamensing, under the title of "The Commissioners and Inhabitants of Moyamensing, in the County of Philadelphia." The citizens were directed to vote at the first election at the house of William Daily, South Sixth Street, on the third Friday in March. Nine commissioners were to be chosen, one-third of them for one year, one-third for two years, and one-third for three years. An act was also passed for the relief of insolvent debtors in the city and county of Philadelphia, which gave to the Governor the right to appoint three commissioners of insolvency, and with authority to the latter to appoint three curators. The law extended the right to insolvents two years resident in Philadelphia to petition for leave to assign their estates for the benefit of their creditors. In December a report was presented in the House recommending the repeal of the insolvent law.

March 31st the Upper Ferry Bridge Company was authorized to build connecting turnpikes from the Lancaster road and the Wissahickon road, so as to open more direct routes to the bridge. The western section was afterwards opened, but not turnpiked. From the bridge westward it was in later time known as Bridge (now Spring Garden) Street. On the east side of the river the authority given permitted the

turnpiking of Callowhill and Morris Streets as far as Tenth. April 28th the corner-stone of the bridge was laid by the Grand Lodge of Ancient York Masons, Past Grand Master Jonathan Bayard Smith officiating. The work of construction proceeded steadily, and eight months later, January, 1813, it was opened to the public.² This bridge was long a famous one. The chord of the arch was three hundred and forty feet four inches, being ninety-eight feet greater than the span of any bridge hitherto known. The rise of the arch was twenty feet, the elevation above the water was thirty feet, and the entire length of the bridge was four hundred feet. At the centre of the arch the width of the structure was only thirty-five feet. It gradually widened on both sides until it reached the width of fifty feet four inches at the abutments. The designer of the bridge was Lewis Wernwag, previously a resident of Frankford. His first work in the bridge-building line was at Frankford, over the creek, which obtained for him such a reputation that his plans for the Schuylkill bridge, though novel, were favorably considered. Wernwag was assisted by Joseph Johnson. The architectural design for the exterior was made by Robert Mills, and presented a striking appearance. Another bridge enterprise, a proposal to erect an arched and covered bridge over the Schuylkill River at Gray's Ferry, by an incorporated company, caused much difficulty about this time and during subsequent years. Councils insisted that it should have an arch at least seventy-five feet above high water. The company was incorporated under an act of 1800, but no steps were taken to carry out the provisions of the charter. Thomas Pope, architect and landscape-gardener, was probably one of the applicants for authority to construct the Lancaster and Gray's Ferry bridges. In February he published an article describing his "flying, pendent, lever bridge," without centres or supports of any kind. A model was exhibited in Pope's school-room, in Library Street. It was announced in June that a bridge upon Pope's plan was to be erected over the Susquehanna, having a span of six hundred feet. One of the immediate results of the building of Upper Ferry bridge was a rise in real estate in that region. John Britton, Jr., published in April his proposals to sell lots upon ground-rent in Mantua village, extending from the neighborhood of the Upper Ferry bridge to the new permanent bridge.

The subject of the burying-ground on the west side of the Schuylkill above the Middle Ferry was again brought before the Legislature by petition of the Society of Friends for a confirmation of their title, and

¹ They expressed willingness to subscribe \$175,000 to the road from Harrisburg to Pittsburg, authorized by the act of April, 1811; \$100,000 to the road from Northumberland to Waterford, in Erie County; \$50,000 to bridges over the Susquehanna at or near Columbia; \$30,000 for improving the navigation of the Lehigh River; \$30,000 for a turnpike from the east end of the Perkiomen bridge to Reading; \$15,000 for a bridge over the Delaware between Black's Eddy and Wells' Falls, the stock to belong to the Commonwealth; \$20,000 for a road from Berwick to Newtown, in New York State; \$15,000 for the Centre turnpike; and \$15,000 for the improvement of North and South road, Wayne County. The proposed capital was \$5,000,000. And as a still further inducement, in addition to the offers previously noticed, the bank stockholders offered to loan to the State \$500,000 at five per cent. interest, to be used for improvements.

² This bridge was destroyed by fire Sept. 1, 1838, and was replaced by a wire suspension bridge from the plan of Charles Ellet, architect and civil engineer, which was finished Jan. 2, 1842. The latter becoming decayed, it was replaced in 1875 by a fine, large bridge built by the Keystone Bridge Company. While making repairs for the latter structure the old corner-stone laid in 1812 was displaced, and the copper-plate laid by the Masonic Order in that year was found in good condition.

by citizens that the property might be dedicated as a public burying-ground. Report was made by a committee of the House, at the end of March, entirely favorable to the Quaker title.¹ The subject, however, was laid over till another term. On the 18th of June the City Councils passed an ordinance to prevent the interment of deceased persons in the public squares of Philadelphia. The preamble recited that for a considerable time the public square on the north side of Sassafras Street had been used as a place of interment for the bodies of persons dying at the almshouse, at the State prison, and at the Pennsylvania Hospital, and of strangers not belonging to any religious society. This was deemed an infringement of the rights of the citizens. It was ordered that no one should be buried, after July 10th, in any of the public squares. It was also ordered that the city commissioners should inclose with a board fence, for a cemetery, the lot of ground belonging to the city of Philadelphia, situate on the south side of Lombard Street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets.

The commissioners of Southwark passed an ordinance authorizing the erection of a public market-house (afterwards the Wharton market) on Moyamensing road, commonly called Old Second Street. It was to be one square in length, and to extend from Prime Street to Federal Street. Proposals for building it were invited in March. In 1813 the Legislature ordained that the space of one hundred feet on each side of the road laid out by Joseph Wharton and others, about 1767, "should be a public market-place forever."

Among the local events of interest were the following: The District of Southwark, by an ordinance of May 4th, at a cost of five thousand dollars established a nightly watch, and ordered lamps to be erected and maintained. May 20th a public dinner was given at the Mansion House to Count Nicholas Pahlen, minister from Brazil to the United States, who was about to return to his native country. Thomas W. Francis was president, and William Meredith was secretary. The project of damming the river Schuylkill began to attract public attention in April and May. John Mullooney became director of the Washington Pottery in Market Street, near Schuylkill Sixth, in June. Oliver Evans about this time completed his plan of a cylindrical globular

steam-boiler. He gave notice of prosecution in June to John Negus and others, whom he said were violating his patent.

In September, J. & F. Grice, of Kensington, launched the steamboat "Delaware," to run on the Baltimore line. Daniel Large built the engine. In November, William Renshaw opened the new "Mansion House Hotel," built by Thomas Leiper, at the southeast corner of Market and Eleventh Streets. In December, P. C. Labbe began calico printing at No. 206 Cherry Street. A meeting of the citizens of the Northern Liberties in Penn township was held in December at the house of Col. George Mintzer. Capt. William Paul was chairman, and Thomas Lippincott secretary. It was resolved to collect funds for the relief of the wives and children of soldiers in service. In November, McCorkle, of the *Freeman's Journal*, in a libel suit against Binns, tried before Judge Brackenridge, recovered a verdict of five hundred dollars.

Stephen Girard, in May, 1812, bought the bank building on Third Street, south of Chestnut, and went into banking on his own account. A statement was soon published that Girard had executed and recorded a deed of trust to David Lenox, Robert Smith, Robert Waln, Joseph Ball, and George Simpson, so that, in the event of his death, "no delay nor obstruction in the payment of the moneys deposited with him may ensue, but that all business may be transacted with like promptitude and punctuality that it could in the lifetime of Girard."

Early in the summer the necessity of moving the water-works from Chestnut Street, Schuylkill, became apparent. The *Aurora* of August 7th said, "We understand that it is the serious intention of the City Councils to remove the present establishment of the water-works to a more eligible situation, to supply the city with water of better quality and at less expense." It was suggested that the use of a steam-engine would be made unnecessary by bringing water from an elevation sufficient to force it by its own gravity into the city, "as is the case in several cities and towns, as in Mount Holly and Wilmington, where the water is conveyed in pipes from the hills in the vicinity. The plan, we understand, is to bring the water from Morris' Hill, near the Upper Ferry, on the Schuylkill." The *Aurora* said that some objections existed to this place, but not in such a great degree as applied to the site at Chestnut Street. An opinion was expressed that a better place might have been obtained farther up the river. A few days later the *Aurora* published a communication in opposition to the proposed water-works, saying that the water there was as impure as at Chestnut Street. Edward Clarke, in an article in the same paper, suggested that the water should be brought from the Wissahickon rather than from Morris' Hill. William Rush replied in favor of the site near the Upper Ferry. The subject was discussed by Rush and Clarke in several

¹ It stated that in 1684 the Society of Friends held a meeting at the house of Thomas Duckett, on the west side of the Schuylkill, near the site of the present permanent bridge, from the records of which meeting, bearing date 2d of Seventh month, 1684, it is shown that orders were taken for inclosing and paying for a fence for a burial-ground. In an original deed from Samuel Bradshaw to John Gardner, 24th of Seventh month, 1712, for a portion of land purchased in 1697 from John Duckett, near the said bridge, it is described as "bounded on the west by lands belonging to a meeting-house." From the depositions of aged witnesses the lot is shown to have been used as a burying-ground by, and considered as belonging to, the Society of Friends from very early in the last century to the present time. The committee reported that the Society of Friends had a complete equitable title to the lot in question, and provision ought to be made for removing doubt on the subject.

papers and replies. An address, signed "A Citizen," on "A Permanent Supply of Pure Water" was published in the *Aurora* of November 5th. The writer was in favor of a permanent dam near Morris' Hill. He said that the fall of the river from low-water mark to the mouth of the Wissahickon was computed at twelve feet. The rise of the tide was five and a half feet, the mean head upward of nine feet, and in every way sufficient for an undershot wheel. The plan was mainly proposed for water-power purposes and manufactures. Meanwhile the committee of Councils had been considering many different schemes. The hope of obtaining a supply by means of the Union Canal, which would bring the water into the city, was only abandoned after it became certain that the canal would never be built. In 1810 or 1811 the Water Committee directed Frederick Graff and John Davis to make examinations. They reported several plans, one of which was to take the water of Wissahickon Creek by means of a race or canal to pumping machinery erected at the foot of Simes' Hill. The water was to be sent by proper mains to the top of the hill, one hundred and ten feet high, into two large reservoirs, projected to be built upon the summit; thence, by eighteen-inch pipes of iron, to the distributing-chest at Centre Square. The plan went back again to the employment of steam, and the site at Morris' Hill seemed most convenient. On the 1st of August, 1812, the steam pumping-works were commenced at the foot of Morris' Hill, to which, by direction of City Councils, was restored the ancient name, Fairmount. A substantial stone building, the same one now used for public hall and offices at Fairmount, was built at the foot of the hill, under direction of Frederick Graff. A Bolton & Watt steam-engine was obtained of forty-four-inch cylinder and six feet stroke. It worked a double-acting vertical pump, of thirty inches diameter and six feet stroke. The water was raised through a sixteen-inch iron main, two hundred and thirty-nine feet long, into the reservoir upon the hill, which was one hundred and two feet above low water in the Schuylkill. The capacity of the pump was 1,733,632 ale gallons in twenty-four hours, which was pumped upon a pressure of from two and a half to four pounds of steam upon a consumption of seven cords of wood daily. The Bolton & Watt engine was partly cast at Weymouth blast-furnace, New Jersey, and at the Eagle Works, southwest corner of William (now called Twenty-third Street) and Callowhill, an establishment existing from Revolutionary times, and said to have been built for casting cannon for the use of the American army. The water was pumped directly from the river. The works were finished and started on the 7th of September, 1815.

American manufactures were in great demand immediately after the breaking out of the war. Importations from Europe were nearly suspended, and many industries were suddenly anxious to obtain the

assistance of the State. Stephen Andres asked the State to buy his patent-right for a spinning and roving machine. Frederick Sanno asked for a loan of three thousand dollars to enable him to extend his cotton- and woolen-factory. William Little, of the Northern Liberties, succeeded in inducing the Senate to pass a bill aiding him in the manufacture of wire and silver-plate, but the House did not agree.

The first step toward the incorporation of the Schuylkill Navigation Company was made December 5th this year, by Josiah White and others, who presented a petition to the Legislature, though it was not acted on till the next year.

Perhaps nothing created a greater sensation in Philadelphia during 1812 than the announcement that perpetual motion had been discovered. Charles Redheffer, of Germantown, announced it early in the summer, and soon inserted an advertisement in the papers. Duane, of the *Aurora*, took much interest in the machines and, November 13th, wrote an editorial in which Redheffer was likened to Godfrey and Fitch; and it was predicted that, to the triumphs of Pennsylvania in the quadrant and the steamboat, perpetual motion was about to be added. As the contrivance was described in the first notice, it was said that "the power of gravitation was applied to produce a perpetual horizontal action, produced by the pressure of weights in two corresponding boxes, on a plane inclined in an angle of forty-five degrees." On the 10th of November a long account of a visit to this wonderful machine, signed "Bell," was published in the *Aurora*.¹

¹ The machine was described in this letter in the following terms: "It consists of a movable inclined plane, affixed by means of chains to an upright shaft or axle, with which the whole revolves. On this inclined plane a carriage, containing weights proportioned to the power required to be produced, is attached above by means of a cross-beam passing through an axle or shaft, which is made to move. Therefore the carriage, with the weight obeying the law of gravitation, and endeavoring to descend, propels the inclined plane, which forces the shaft to revolve, the shaft forces the cross-beam, and the cross-beam again restores the carriage to its place on the inclined plane, and in this manner the whole perpetually revolves. It will be immediately objected that the weight in the carriage is made to restore itself. It does so, and by an apparent absurdity,—that is, by the operation of two unequal levers constraining the cross-beam and wheel on which the inclined plane rests. I call them levers, because they act on the principle of the lever, though palpably they are not such."

The following was the original advertisement of Redheffer's exhibition:

"**PERPETUAL MOTION.—THE CURIOUS, THE MECHANICAL,** the learned and ingenious, may be gratified in seeing and in being convinced that that which for centuries has occupied, perplexed, and puzzled the philosophic and experimental world (and, indeed, by some of the greatest mechanic geniuses supposed beyond the reach of human invention) is now fully, completely and perfectly demonstrated in the **SELF-OPERATING, SELF-MOVING MACHINE**, constructed by the subscriber on principles purely mechanical, and now offered to the inspection of an enlightened people. Lovers of the arts and sciences will, it is confidently expected, be highly gratified in seeing and in contemplating that amazing display of genius which it has fallen to the lot of an American to exhibit, which must, by the whole world, be allowed to surpass any invention heretofore discovered or made public wherein mechanism had the principal agency. It will for a few days be exhibited, from 9 o'clock forenoon to 4 o'clock afternoon, three doors below Mr.

Enthusiasm was now at its height. On the 26th City Councils passed a resolution appointing a committee to ascertain whether a machine upon the principle of Mr. Redheffer's invention "might not be made capable of raising to a sufficient height a sufficient quantity of water for the use of the citizens of Philadelphia." On the ensuing day the first published dissent to the alleged discovery appeared in the *Aurora*, signed "Rittenhouse." The writer averred that the machine had never been seen in actual operation for more than half a day, and avowed his belief that it was a deception. This was replied to by the editor of the *Aurora* a few days afterward. A Mr. Lukens next made an imitation of the machine, for the purpose of showing the facility with which a deception might have been palmed off upon the public, and to demonstrate that the machine was incapable of generating power. This attempt to demonstrate Redheffer's cheat was reprobated by the *Aurora* in indignant terms. The matter was now brought before the Legislature, and on the 15th of January, 1813, a committee was appointed by the House of Representatives of the State to examine into the justice of Redheffer's claim that he had discovered perpetual motion. He appointed the 21st of January for an examination of the machine. Before the day mentioned he notified the committee that it would not be convenient for him to be present, and afterward he said that he would not show it at all. This conduct was reported to the Legislature, and the committee was discharged. His newspaper champion in the *Aurora* now deserted him.

The City Councils on the 25th of February discharged their committee, appointed to inquire whether the works at Fairmount could not be carried on by perpetual motion. Redheffer took his machine to New York, where its fraudulent character was demonstrated by Robert Fulton.

National politics in the year 1813 opened with sharp debates on the floor of Congress, Quincy, of Massachusetts, leading the minority and denouncing the invasion of Canada.—"They would support a war of defense, not a war of conquest and annexation." To this Clay responded, with an energy of which no printed speech can give an adequate conception, charging the Federalists with having thwarted the plans of their own government and with plotting disunion. He portrayed the situation of impressed American sailors in sentences that drew tears from his hearers. "And in Canada," he cried, "the tomahawks of the Indian are whetted!" The Federalists also claimed at this time that the causes of war had been removed,—that England had agreed to repeal the ob-

noxious Orders in Council June 23d, only five days after the declaration of war. But news of this reached the United States before actual hostilities had begun. There were, however, difficulties in regard to the Dearborn armistice, the subject of impression, the employment by England of secret agents, her encouragement of Indian hostilities, and many other subjects of dispute. Minister Russell did not leave London till September, 1812; nor did the English government issue letters of marque till October. There was ample time for negotiation, had England desired peace. Jan. 9, 1813, the British justificatory proclamation reached America, and enhanced the bitterness of the contest. From the West came news of the Raisin River battle and the atrocious Malden massacre, that cast Kentucky and Ohio into mourning for their best and bravest. Harrison's second campaign failed; in February, Gen. Jackson began his Florida expedition; Wilkinson was trying to fortify New Orleans. Meanwhile there were sea victories at least,—we had Nelsons, though as yet no Wellingtons. On the last day but one of 1812, Bainbridge and the "Constitution" captured the "Java." Feb. 24, 1813, the "Hornet" defeated and sank the "Peacock." But Madison was anxious for peace, and sent Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, and Bayard, of Delaware, to seek the mediation of Russia. March 12th, the Pennsylvania Legislature voted extra pay to the militia, and offered to loan the government a million dollars. Girard and Parrish, of Philadelphia, and Astor, of New York, about this time took the government loan at eighty-eight per cent.

The British blockade of the seaports became more stringent. In February vessels entered the Chesapeake and closed Hampton Roads and Norfolk. In the beginning of March a British squadron arrived at the mouth of the Delaware. It was commanded by Commodore Sir John P. Beresford, and consisted of the "Poitiers," seventy-four; the "Belvidera," frigate, Capt. Byron; the schooners "La Paz" and "Ulysses." They commence to capture and destroy small craft, committing depredations on both sides of the Delaware. March 16th, Commodore Beresford made a demand upon the inhabitants of Lewes, near Cape Henlopen, for "twenty live bullocks, with a proportionate quantity of vegetables and hay," promising to pay reasonable prices, but threatening destruction to the town in case of non-compliance. To this demand a defiance was immediately returned. The intelligence of this transaction caused the utmost excitement in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Militia began immediately to pour into Lewes; and at New Castle and at Wilmington batteries were erected. The specie in the banks was removed to Philadelphia. The excitement in the latter city was intense, for it was practically defenseless. The troops had been withdrawn from Fort Mifflin, under Col. Izard and Lieut.-Col. Winfield Scott, and taken to the West. Only fourteen invalided soldiers were in the

Henry Cress' Tavern, Chestnut Hill, Germantown township, Philadelphia County, Penn'a. C. R.

"N.B.—Admission, five dollars. Female visitors gratis. Tickets to be had at the mans of Henry Cress, Levi Rex, and John Grover, Chestnut Hill.

—Editors of papers friendly to new inventions will oblige by giving the above a few insertions.

"September 10."

fort. The enemy might easily have sailed up the river and levied contributions on Philadelphia.¹ Meetings of citizens were held at once. The "Young Men's Democratic Association" met at Stratton's tavern, and formed the "Junior Artillerists' Company," numbering about eighty officers and men. Jacob Fiesler was captain, William Roderfeld first lieutenant, Joseph M. Porter second lieutenant, Joel B. Sutherland surgeon, Jonathan B. Smith quartermaster. Muskets were delivered to the company by Maj. Sharpe, and Gen. Bloomfield inspected them and accepted their services. March 23d they were sent down to Fort Mifflin, together with Capt. William Mitchell's company of Independent Blues. The fort was under command of Capt. James N. Barker,² of the United States army, assisted by Capt. Williams, of the Second Regular Artillery. These companies remained in the fort until the 7th of April, when they were honorably discharged, and their places filled by United States troops.³

Other companies were formed. The members of

¹ Gen. John Armstrong, Secretary of War, did not think Philadelphia in danger. In a letter to Col. William Duane, March 21, 1813 (*Historical Magazine*, new series, vol. iv. p. 61), he said, "I had anticipated two of your ideas, the call upon your Governor for one thousand effectives, and the mode of calling out militia generally. As to the first, it is a mere soporific to quiet the present spasms of the city, and which do not, I think, grow out of as comprehensive a view of what the enemy wish to do and can do, as might have been expected. . . . With the exception of those renowned places, Sag Harbor, New Bedford, &c., no place has made so much noise as Philadelphia. Pour a little oil on the waves of folly and of faction, for the latter are at the bottom."

² Capt. James N. Barker, who commanded the garrison, was an officer of the regular army, the son of John Barker, of the Revolution, a well-known Philadelphian during the last generation. Capt. Barker resigned from the army after the close of the war, was made an alderman of the city, and afterwards elected mayor. He wrote several plays and some valuable historical essays.

³ The Hon. James Madison Porter, second lieutenant of the Junior Artillerists, writing to Capt. Jacob H. Fiesler in 1854, gives an account of the formation of the company. He says, "Col. Izard and Lieut.-Col. (now General) Scott, in the fall of 1812, had marched away all the troops from Fort Mifflin except fourteen invalids. During the winter of 1812-13 the ice in the Delaware protected Philadelphia from any hostile intrusion. As the ice disappeared in the month of March, a British naval force lay off the Capes of the Delaware, and the small force in Fort Mifflin could but feebly have resisted a naval incursion, which, in barges, might have passed up to Philadelphia, and, by rockets and other missiles, have laid the town in ashes, and escaped to their vessels. I happened to be at the Coffee-House when three or four Philadelphia merchants had just heard this news of the British force being off the Capes, which was entered on the Coffee-House books. They were violent Federalists, and began abusing Mr. Madison and his administration for leaving the city so defenseless. They were very violent. I remarked to them that it would be better for them to put their own shoulders to the wheel before they called on Hercules to assist them. I was then just past twenty years of age. One of them inquired of some person present who I was, designating me as 'an impudent young fellow.' He was told that I was a son of Gen. Porter, formerly colonel of artillery in the Revolution. They knew him personally, and said no more. I thought that if any movement was to be made toward manning the fort the Democrats ought to have the credit of it. Being secretary of the Association of Democratic Young Men, I stopped at Col. Binus' office, and found his paper had just gone to press. It was after twelve o'clock at noon. I stopped the press and had inserted a call for the meeting of the Association that night. I met several members of the Association during that day. They all approved of what I had done, and we all gave personal notice to as many of the members as we could reach."

the Washington Association were requested to meet in Washington Hall, then in Goforth Alley, running from Carter's Alley to Dock Street, on the 22d of March. They then organized the Washington Guards. Condry Raguet was elected captain; John R. Mifflin, first lieutenant; Michael W. Ash, second lieutenant; and Thomas Anthony, third lieutenant. Some time afterward a second company of Washington Guards was formed, under the command of Capt. John Swift. May 26th another company was formed, and named "State Fencibles." Among the original members were Joseph R. Ingersoll, Clement C. Biddle, Richard Willing, Hartman Kuhn, Joseph B. McKean, Henry C. Carey, Henry J. Biddle, James J. Barclay, Charles V. Hagner, John J. Brennan, James Page, and others. Clement C. Biddle was elected captain. This com-



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pany was not required to go into service during 1813. They tendered their services to Governor Snyder on the 23d of September. The formation of a light artillery company, composed of carters and porters, was proposed in March, but the effort failed. A meeting was held in April of citizens over forty-five years of age for the purpose of assisting the measures of defense. They formed a company, and elected as captain the venerable Gen. John Steel, a Revolutionary officer; William Smiley was first lieutenant; Benjamin Nones, second lieutenant; Charles Alcorn, ensign.

The City Councils at first did nothing in the way of defense. The Common Council was Democratic, but the majority of the members of the Select Council were Federalists. March 19th a meeting was called. In Select Council there was not a quorum. Those

present were Andrew Bayard, John Hart, John Read, Robert Ritchie, and William Rush. Those absent were Samuel W. Fisher, Thomas Latimer, Joseph Morris, John W. Thompson, James Vanuxem, Robert Waln, and William Warner. The Common Council resolved that the unprotected state of the port of Philadelphia excited serious apprehensions from a sudden incursion of the enemy. It was resolved that a joint committee of three members from each Council should be appointed to take such steps as might tend to the better security of the port. On this committee were appointed from the Common Council Messrs. Liberty Browne, Dalzell, and Muldowney. The lower branch then adjourned until the following evening, when Messrs. Latimer, Read, Ritchie, Rush, Thompson, and Waln, of Select Council, were in their places; but Messrs. Bayard, Fisher, Hart, Vanuxem, Morris, and Warner were absent, so that no business could be done. Strong resolutions against the majority of Select Council were introduced by Peter A. Browne, and the citizens were recommended to assemble on the 23d, at the county court-room, "to consider what is best to be done for the safety of the city." This object had been partly anticipated by a meeting on the 20th forming an association for the protection of the harbor and ports of the river Delaware, at which Richard Willing was chairman, and John Sergeant was secretary. Richard Willing, Hartman Kuhn, Samuel Israel, G. Reinholdt, and Clement C. Biddle were appointed to prepare a plan of defense. At the meeting on the 23d these proceedings were ratified, and the conduct of Select Council denounced.

During this interval British ships were cruising up and down the Delaware. The schooner "Fanny," of Charleston, was chased by a British vessel off Lewistown, and was run ashore. The crew, endeavoring to remove the cargo, were assisted by seventy-five militiamen, who took bales of cotton from the vessel and erected a breastwork, from whence they annoyed the enemy, who finally destroyed the schooner. March 23d, Governor Hazlett, of Delaware, arrived at Lewes, and sent a letter to Commodore Beresford, inquiring if he was still determined to destroy the town. To this a reply was made that the conditions were not hard, nor opposed to the law of nations, and that, if denied, whatever suffering would fall on the town or people must be attributed to their own obstinacy. On April 24th the county cavalry, Capt. James Miles, marched from Philadelphia to Lewes, and the next day the militia legion, Col. Lewis Rush, the regiment of cavalry, Col. Smith, and the artillery regiment, Col. Ebenezer Ferguson, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march under the command of Brig.-Gen. Robert Wharton. Late in March Stephen Girard's fine ship "Montesquieu," from Canton, with a cargo worth one million five hundred thousand dollars, was captured by the British at the capes. She had sailed from the United States in 1810, and from Canton in November, 1812, and so

the captain was ignorant of the declaration of war. Girard finally ransomed the ship for one hundred and eighty thousand dollars in specie.

The threatened bombardment of Lewes did not take place until the 6th of April. On the evening of that day the "Belvidera" and two small vessels approached the town and commenced firing thirty-two-pound shot, after which a flag was sent on shore renewing the demand for bullocks, provisions, and a supply of water. Col. Samuel B. Davis replied that neither demand would be complied with. Capt. Byron answered that the refusal was cruel to the inhabitants, especially to the women and children. The bombardment then commenced, was replied to by an American battery on shore, and firing was kept up for twenty-two hours. About one thousand eighteen- and thirty-two-pound shot were fired, besides bombs and rockets. The shells fell short, the rockets passed over the town. Many houses were damaged by the balls. On the afternoon of the 7th preparations were made to land. Several boatsful of men approached the shore, but before they could disembark they were recalled by a signal from the squadron.

While these events were occurring, the force of public opinion in Philadelphia was compelling the Select Council to more decided action. According to a request from the mayor, a Council meeting was held April 2d, and a joint committee appointed. Many citizens' meetings also took place. They called upon the national government for aid to protect the Delaware, but it was evident that the government was without means, there being, April 1st, only two million dollars in the treasury. May 6th the merchants' meeting at the Coffee-House, Charles Biddle presiding, and John Sergeant secretary, agreed that it was clearly the duty of the citizens of Philadelphia to provide for a more complete defense. They recommended the appointment of committees to collect subscriptions in each ward. This fund was to be placed at the disposal of fifteen citizens, who were entitled "The General Committee of Superintendence for the Protection of the River Delaware and the City of Philadelphia." The members were Charles Biddle, Henry Pratt, Daniel W. Cox, Henry Hawkins, Charles Macalester, Robert Waln, Chandler Price, James Josiah, Richard Dale, David Lenox, William McFadden, John Connelly, Thomas W. Francis, Manuel Eyre, and Daniel Smith. The committee was to co-operate with the United States officers and forces in the district. Two days afterwards the citizens of the Northern Liberties, Penn township, and Spring Garden held a meeting. Joseph Grice was president, and Samuel Potts secretary. A committee was appointed, consisting of Joseph Grice, Frederick Foering, Michael Brown, William Binder, Daniel Bickley, James Mitchell, J. M. Norris, Jesse Shelmire, Jacob Patterson, David Shuster, and Jacob Hoff. On the same day City Councils passed an ordinance authorizing the borrowing of thirty thousand dollars for the

purpose of defense, and appointing as commissioners on the part of Councils to consult and co-operate with the committees, Col. James Read, Commodore Richard Dale, and Capt. Henry Hawkins from Select Council, and Gen. John Steel, Thomas Leiper, and Capt. Gustavus Conyngham from Common Council.

April 29th and May 3d the British ships in the Chesapeake landed parties which burned and plundered Frenchtown and Havre de Grace, then depots of quite a lively trade between Baltimore and Philadelphia. A little later they burned Georgetown and Fredericktown, on Sassafras River. Coasting and bay trade was stopped, and the name of Admiral Cockburn became a terror. Commodore Beresford, with his squadron, were in Delaware Bay, but late in April sailed for Bermuda. In their place the "Statira" and the "Spartan" frigates, and the "Martin" sloop-of-war, with some tenders and barges, came to the station, the whole being commanded by Commodore Stackpole. On Sunday, the 29th of May, these vessels stood up the Delaware with a fair wind. Expresses were immediately sent out to alarm the country. The Delaware volunteers assembled. The Independent Blues were ordered to march from Camp Staunton to New Castle. The other companies stood upon their arms, ready for service in whatever direction they should be needed. The British forces contented themselves with stretching up the bay as far as Reedy Island, where they captured and burnt some shallops and small craft, and then returned.

On the 13th of May the first detachment of volunteers had marched from Philadelphia to the State of Delaware, under the command of Col. Lewis Rush. It consisted of the Philadelphia Blues, Capt. Henry Myers; the Independent Volunteers, Capt. Samuel Borden; and the Washington Guards. Each of these companies consisted of one hundred privates, fifteen officers, and two musicians. In four days they reached Staunton, on the Baltimore road, six miles below Wilmington. Here a permanent encampment was formed under the direction of Gen. Bloomfield, but the affair of May 29th showed the necessity of giving protection to those portions of the State of Delaware higher up the river. It was rumored that the enemy intended to make an attempt to destroy Dupont's powder-mills on the Brandywine. Col. Rush was ordered to take up a new position on Shellpot Hill, three miles north of Wilmington and one mile from the Delaware River, covering the place of debarkation at Hamilton's Landing. On the 2d of June Camp Staunton was abandoned, and the troops marched to Camp Shellpot, where they continued until about the 12th of July, when they took up a new station at Oak Hill, near Stille's Run, four miles west of Wilmington, and four miles south of Dupont's powder-mills. After the British descended the Chesapeake Bay, Camp Oak Hill was broken up, and on the 28th of July the troops reached Philadelphia. At the Woodlands they were feasted by citizens of Phil-

adelphia, after which they were escorted to the State-House, and mustered out of service.

When the first alarm was raised the Commissioners of Defense began organizing a gun-boat squadron which, under the command of Capt. Angus, was ready for service by the end of May, and soon went down the Delaware, in order to repulse marauding expeditions. It consisted of nine armed boats, and the "Leopard" and "Camel," armed sloops. Soon afterward the "Spartan" and "Martin" sailed for Halifax, and the "Statira" was reinforced by the aid of the frigate "Juno." The application to the United States government for additional defenses was so far successful that a negotiation was entered into with the State of Delaware for the cession of the Pea Patch Island. The Secretary of War then addressed the City Councils, and promised that fortifications should be erected thereon if the city would loan the United States government twenty thousand dollars for that purpose, which was soon after agreed to. The inhabitants of the Northern Liberties raised sufficient money to build the "Northern Liberty" galley, which was launched from Grice's ship-yard, Kensington, about the middle of June. It was seventy-six feet long, and fifteen feet beam, and was commanded by Samuel Rinker. The State Fencibles were present at the launch June 29th.

Capt. Angus, with eight boats and two block sloops, discovered the British sloop-of-war "Martin," which had returned to the Delaware, on shore at Crow's shoals and attacked her. The "Juno" came to her aid, but the American boats fired with the greatest accuracy. The American gun-boat "No. 121," under the command of Sailing-Master Sheed, had by accident fallen out of the line, and was prevented from recovering its situation by a strong ebb tide. This boat was made the special object of attack by ten British barges. Sheed was a mile and a half from the flotilla, and it was impossible for them to afford him assistance. While endeavoring to escape by the aid of his sweeps, he kept up a steady fire with his long gun at the advancing enemy, but the carriage gave way, and seven boats, with two hundred and fifty men, were able to board him, and carried off their prize, with forty prisoners. Sheed had seven men wounded, and the British had seven killed and twelve wounded, four of whom died from their injuries. Gun-boat "No. 125," Sailing-Master Moliere, was slightly damaged. Gun-boat "No. 121" was abandoned by the British, found on shore at Absecom, and cut up by the beachmen for the iron and brass. Sheed was sent to Halifax, where he was confined, with eight others, in an apartment of scarcely more extensive area than the Black Hole of Calcutta.

During 1813 the British blockading squadron was kept up in force at the capes of the Delaware. In the latter part of the year there were upon the station the frigates "Neimen," "Narcissus," and "Belvidera," the sloop-of-war "Jasseur," and two tenders. These

cruised continually between Chincoteague and Egg Harbor, and prevented all intercourse between Philadelphia and the ocean. The columns of the newspapers usually appropriated to "ship-news" contained little but intelligence of marine affairs elsewhere. Prices began to rise, murmurs and discontent ensued, and there was a disposition to resist. In the latter part of December the citizens of the Northern Liberties resolved that they would not pay a higher price than twenty-five cents per pound for coffee, and expressed great indignation at citizens who had used their capital for purposes of speculation. The Federal papers frequently published, under the head of "ship-news," burlesque accounts of the arrival of wagons and teams.¹ The privateer fleet, in consequence of the blockade of the Delaware, was not able to do much execution. The "Snapper," of four guns, was captured in January, when four days out, by the British frigate "Eolus," commanded by Lord Townsend, and sent into Bermuda. The "Rattlesnake," Capt. Maffett, managed to get safely to sea in March. The "Governor McKean" left Philadelphia for Bordeaux, France, was captured on the way, and sent to England. The patriotic association formed in June began the creation of a fund for the aid and support of the wives and families of soldiers while in service. The government called on Pennsylvania for a thousand men, and the quota was made up with very little difficulty.

Some sense of protection was afforded in the autumn by the presence of the Thirty-second Regiment of regulars, who were camped at "Camp Duane," near Darby. Their officers were: S. E. Fottrel, colonel;

S. B. Davis, lieutenant-colonel; G. H. Hunter, major; A. H. Holmes, major; Captains, George F. Goodman, William Smith, Samuel Borden, Thomas Town, John Steel, Jr., J. J. Robinson, J. B. Smith, H. H. Davis, Robert Patterson, and Peter P. Walter.

After they had been there some time, it was determined by the ladies of the city to present the regiment with colors. The troops were marched from Darby to the State-House, where the flags were presented by Miss Baker, and received by Ensign Copes. The soldiers then marched to Centre Square, and were banqueted by the citizens.

A number of dinners to officers of the army and navy were given in Philadelphia during 1813. The first, in January, was by the Second Artillery to Lieut. Isaac Roach, of the United States army, on his return from the West. He was their former comrade, and in after-years mayor of the city. The affair took place at McKaraber's New Market Tavern. February 1st, Capt. Stephen Decatur was escorted to his hotel by Col. Smith's cavalry, Col. Ferguson's infantry, and a part of the Philadelphia Legion. Three days later he was banqueted at Renshaw's Hotel, corner Eleventh and Market Streets. In March money was raised for a testimonial to Capt. Bainbridge, and November 27th he arrived, and was escorted into the city, and honored with a dinner at McLoughlin's, Chief Justice Tilghman presiding, Charles Biddle, A. J. Dallas, and John Smith, vice-presidents.

The "Argus" in June captured no less than twenty-one English merchantmen in the British Channel, but in August yielded to the "Pelican." Three of our larger vessels and several of the smaller cruisers were blockaded, and September 3d the "Enterprise," Capt. William Burroughs, in capturing the "Boxer," lost her gallant commander, a native of Philadelphia. A movement was begun to erect a tablet to his memory, but the matter was neglected. September 10th, Perry swept the enemy from Lake Erie, and on the 24th Philadelphia was illuminated in honor of his victory, won by ships that Pennsylvania militia had protected while building. In October City Councils passed a vote of thanks to the heroes of Erie, and directed that a sword of American manufacture should be presented to Commodore Perry. October 21st there was another illumination, one in honor of the defeat of Proctor by Harrison. A triumphal arch forty feet in height was erected at the intersection of Eighth and Race Streets, and decorated with paintings illustrating the battle. Many private houses attracted attention, among which was the dwelling of Jacob Gerard Koch, corner of Ninth and Market Streets.

But the campaigns of the year ended in gloom. Hampton's bootless expedition, Wilkinson's abandonment of the attack on Montreal, the loss of Fort Niagara, the outbreak of the Creeks under British and Spanish instigation, and the Fort Mimms massa-

¹ Some of these items were very amusing. The following from the *United States Gazette* of November 6th will serve as an example:

"FREE TRADE AND TEAMSTERS' RIGHTS."

[Cut of a four-horse wagon, flagstaff rising from the middle of wagon, with a flag bearing the words 'No Impression!']

"JEFFERSONIAN COMMERCE."

"INLAND NAVIGATION."

"Tho' Neptune's trident is laid by,
From North to South our coasters ply;
No sails nor rudders need these ships,
Which freemen drive with wagon wheels!"

"HORSE-MARINE NEWS."

"PHILADELPHIA, October 22."

"Commerce, thundering loud with her ten thousand wheels."

"Arrived yesterday afternoon, from Connecticut, a fleet of merchantmen, with cargoes of cheese, etc., under convoy of the 'Nathan' sloop-of-war, Commodore Hall. They anchored safely in Third Street bay, but, finding the markets dull, the signal was hoisted for sailing, and they bore away for Baltimore. The fleet consisted of the following flat-bottomed vessels, each drawn by four oxen, viz.: the 'Nathan,' Commodore E. Hall; 'Non-Intercourse,' Captain J. B. Goodwin; 'Jefferson,' J. H. Fancher; 'Madison,' J. Wetter; 'Monroe,' E. Grilley; and a store-ship."

In the same paper is an account of a dreadful accident met with by a wagon:

"Encountered a rough sea, which bore him on his beam-ends, sprung his main axletree, broke one spoke, and sprung several of his main larboard wheels. His cargo shifted with such force that it stove his tailboards, broke his larboard railings, and carried away his canvas by the board."

cre, all helped to add weight to misfortune. Jackson's brilliant Indian campaign and the recapture of Detroit were our only successes on land. The Chesapeake was occupied by British ships, and their buccaneering expeditions were so contrary to laws of civilized warfare that the newspapers denounced them as "Water Winnebagoes." New England's opposition to the war grew steadily stronger; hints of separate peace alarmed the government, that in December had revived the restrictive system in its most complete form.

Turning to local Philadelphia political celebrations, we note the organization, in January, of the Association of Democratic Young Men of the city and liberties. Jonathan B. Smith was elected president; Joel B. Sutherland and Samuel F. Earle, vice-presidents; James M. Porter and Joseph Le Clerc, secretaries; and Robinson R. Moore, treasurer. A Junior Democratic Society was instituted in the Northern Liberties, of which John D. Goodwin was president.

The "Washington Association," established in 1811, celebrated the 22d of February at the Academy in Fourth Street, and Charles S. Cox was the orator. The "Washington Benevolent Society" met the same day at the Olympic Circus, and was joined by the Washington Association and the First City Troop. Charles W. Hare delivered an oration, and a dinner followed, to which six hundred persons sat down, and Commodore Richard Dale presided. July 5th the same societies met at the Olympic, and heard an oration from Joseph R. Ingersoll. They then proceeded to the Lebanon Garden, corner of Tenth and Cedar Streets, where about eight hundred persons dined. The eleventh toast was, "The War—Begun without just cause, conducted without energy—may it end without disgrace." The first company of Pennsylvania artillery was present, and fired salvos after each toast.

These celebrations excited counter-displays among the Democrats. The first was on the 4th of March, when the Association of Democratic Young Men met at the Universalist Church in Lombard Street. The platform on which the orator and officers were stationed was carpeted with the British flag. Two American flags were suspended from the pulpit. Jonathan B. Smith delivered the address; after which the society dined at Stratton's Hotel.

The struggle between Federalists and Democrats was less bitter than usual, though some strong addresses were issued. Charles J. Ingersoll, a prominent politician, and afterward author of a "History of the War," published an "Address to the Citizens," which the Federalists ridiculed mercilessly. Nominations followed, and for Assembly the Federalists proposed in the city Benjamin R. Morgan, Charles W. Hare, Condé Raguet, Thomas Kittera, and John Clawges, Sr.; in the county, James Worth, Samuel Breck, Abraham Duffield, James Whitehead, John C. Lowber, and Joseph Bird. The Democrats nominated in the city for Assembly, William J. Duane, Thomas

Sergeant, John Connelly, Jacob Mitchell, and Joseph McCoy. Jacob Shearer was nominated for the Senate in the county by the Democrats; and, as in former years, this choice created dissatisfaction. In October, William Binder published an address to the Democrats, in which he complained of the nominations, as dictated "by the insolence of Binns," a foreigner. September 18th the opposition met in force at the house of James Harvey, Spring Garden. Jacob Shearer, candidate for senator, was rejected, and William Binder was nominated. Jacob Fitler was disapproved of, and Isaac Worrell, or Richard Palmer, were recommended. John Thompson and Adam Dewey for county commissioners were rejected in favor of Michael Speel and Cornelius Trimnell. Of the county nominees for Assembly, Joel B. Sutherland, Charles Souder, and Isaac Heston were rejected, and George Morton, Tiberius J. Bryant, and John McLeod nominated in their places. When the contest was carried to the polls, Shearer was chosen senator, and the straight Democrats carried the city for the Assembly, electing Duane, Sergeant, Connolly, Mitchell, and McCoy. On the other hand, the bolters elected, from the county, John Holmes, Charles Souder, Joel B. Sutherland, Jacob Stahn, John Carter, and Isaac Heston, also John Thompson for county commissioner, and Jacob Dewey for the unexpired term of Fitler. The auditors elected were William Newbold, Philip Peltz, and Jacob Clements. For sheriff, Jacob Fitler was elected. The *United States Gazette* charged that the election was carried by fraud, a United States regiment, recruited in the city, having been brought from Delaware County to vote for the Democrats.

The State Legislature was kept unusually busy. In January the House passed a bill to give the United States two ships of war, the "Philadelphia," of forty-four guns, and the "Presque Isle," of twenty, but the Senate voted against it. In February the House received two petitions from Philadelphia, saying that the number of negroes in the city was 9672 on record, and 4000 runaways not on record, who were becoming nuisances. The petitioners prayed for a law that all people of color should be registered; that authority should be given to sell for a term of years the services of those of them who were convicted of crimes, and that a tax be levied on them for the support of their own poor. The Pennsylvania Abolition Society remonstrated, and no action was taken. A bill was introduced into the General Assembly, in February or March, to dispose of the public buildings and lot in Philadelphia. It was proposed to divide the yard equally by two streets of twenty feet in width,—one running north and south, the other east and west,—and to lay out the ground in building lots. Against this proposition City Councils protested, declaring that the Legislature had no power to sell the ground, and thus prevented the passage of the bill at the spring session.

By an act of March 12th the Governor was authorized to subscribe one million dollars to a loan of sixteen million dollars authorized by act of Congress, and to borrow the money to pay for it from the banks of the State. In March he sent a message to the House, stating that the United States government intended to build a seventy-four-gun ship and a frigate at the navy-yard in Southwark, and asked that the Legislature suspend the right of opening streets through the yard during the war, which was done. He (Governor Snyder) also vetoed the bill for chartering twenty-five new banks, with a capital of nine million five hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. The principal ground of objection was that the creation of such corporations induced speculation. The Legislature settled the Upper Ferry graveyard dispute, by vesting its ownership in the guardians and overseers of the poor, and provided "that nothing herein shall be construed to impair the right or interest any person or persons may now have in said land."

March 25th a supplementary act to the incorporation of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal declared that if Maryland would make her portion of the Susquehanna River a public highway, and if the government of the United States would subscribe for eleven hundred and fifty shares, Maryland for two hundred and fifty shares, and Delaware for one hundred shares, Pennsylvania would subscribe for three hundred and seventy-five shares.

March 26th the widening of Moyamensing road at Wharton Market was reaffirmed.

March 29th an act provided fifteen thousand dollars for building a brick arsenal in place of the frame one in Philadelphia. It was completed in December, and was "large enough to hold twenty-eight pieces of artillery and apparatus, one thousand muskets, one thousand tents, six thousand knapsacks, and one thousand camp-kettles." By another act, passed in March, that part of Penn township lying between Vine Street and the middle of Hickory Lane, and between the middle of Sixth Street and the middle of Broad Street, was incorporated under the title of "the Commissioners of Spring Garden." There were to be twelve commissioners elected at the first election, to be held at the school-house of the Spring Garden Association on the first Monday in May.

It will readily be supposed that field-sports found little encouragement during these busy war-times, but a notice that appeared in the daily papers some time in January shows that there were still some who loved to follow the hounds. It read as follows:

"TALLIO! TALLIO! THE HOUNDS.—A beautiful Highland fox, recently caught, will be let loose, to gratify the lovers of the chase, on Thursday next, January 21st, at 11 o'clock, near the sign of the Golden Fish, kept by C. Young, at the west end of the Permanent bridge.

"JOSEPH RHODES,
"No. 304 Market Street."

Other local happenings and enterprises deserve mention. The city received authority in the early part of the year to lay pipes from Fairmount, in Penn township, to connect with the city works. In March J. Silliman started two ferry-boats "on a new plan, propelled by a newly-invented sculling-machine, which occasions no rocking or other disagreeable motion." In May an advertisement appeared in the *Aurora* offering to rent as pasture-grounds the South-east (now Washington) Public Square during the pleasure of Councils, and also the lots on the south side of Lombard Street, between Ninth and Eleventh, used as the city burying-ground. Councils in June passed an ordinance authorizing the building of a market-house on Broad Street, between Chestnut and High Streets. The plan was to be the same as that of the Second Street Market. The Washington Benevolent Society bought a lot on Third Street, above Spruce, and prepared to build a hall there. Manufactures received more general attention. The Philadelphia Sugar Refining Company was organized. The Mutual Assistance Coal Company of Philadelphia for the Promotion of Manufactures chose Thomas Dobson as president, and George Worrell as secretary. The Pennsylvania Society for Improving the Breed of Cattle gave its first exhibition and cattle-show at Bush Hill on the 12th of November.

An anti-vaccine agitation occurred during the summer. The Philadelphia Vaccine Society, established in 1809, managers Thomas Wistar, Samuel Biddle, and others, memorialized the Legislature, reporting that four thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven persons had been vaccinated; they had, however, no more vaccine matter, and desired assistance in procuring it. The subject was discussed, and their petition denied.

The improvement of river navigation was still a leading question. November 16th a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, Chester, Montgomery, and Berks was held at the house of Jared Brooks, in Norristown. Gen. Francis Swayne was chairman, and Samuel Bayard secretary. Horatio Gates Jones, of Roxborough, Levi Pawling, of Norristown, Gen. Joseph Heister and John Adams, of Reading, and Samuel Baird, of Pottsgrove, were the committee. They urged the incorporation of a company to make a lock-navigation on the Schuylkill from Sheridan's (Upper Ferry), in the county of Philadelphia, to Jacob Dreibelbis's mill, in the county of Schuylkill. On December 7th a meeting for the same purpose was held in the city at the house of Henry Myers. Samuel Wetherill, Jr., was chairman, and Cadwalader Evans, Jr., secretary. A committee was appointed to memorialize the Legislature, and correspond with the committee appointed at Norristown. It consisted of Samuel Wetherill, Jr., Gen. Jonathan Williams, Samuel Richards, John Mulowney, Josiah White, Robert Kennedy, and Cadwalader Evans, Jr. Still another meeting for this object was held in

Schuylkill County, at Orwigsburg, on December 13th, at the house of J. Reifschneider. Dr. James McFarland was chairman, and George Dreibelbis secretary. The resolutions offered by James B. Hubley suggested that the productions of the interior of the State of New York could be brought in, and the products of Schuylkill County sent to that State. It took much work to overcome the prejudices in the minds of many conservative farmers against the scheme. They feared the overflow of their meadows, the increased height of freshets in spring.

River steamboats increased. A new line was established to New York. The "Camden," Capt. Bunce, ran on the line to Burlington and Bordentown. The "Philadelphia" arrived from New York in October. The "New Jersey" ran to White Hill. The "Twins," owned by Poole & Springer, crossed the Delaware at the upper Market Street ferry, making regular trips. In December Oliver Evans, the inventor, published an address about railroads that shows clearly how little of the capacity of steam was then known, even by so laborious a student and daring an experimenter as Evans.¹

The year 1814 was one of the most exciting periods in the history of Philadelphia, and, indeed, of America. A new spirit inspired the national government and united the people for aggressive war. The sad

news of Bladensburg revived Revolutionary zeal; from the ruins of Washington Congress doubled taxes, established sufficient revenues, and entered upon more energetic and successful measures. Internal improvements and great inventions—steamboat, railroad, and cotton-gin—were struggling into splendid life. The country was at last learning its own strength. But there was depression in business, and extreme high prices prevailed in Philadelphia. The Revolutionary plan of fixing limits to prices could no longer be adopted, but January 1st the citizens of Oxford and Lower Dublin met and resolved not to purchase brown sugar unless it was sold at twenty cents a pound, loaf-sugar at twenty-one cents, and coffee at twenty-five cents. For West India molasses they professed themselves willing to give one dollar a gallon, and one dollar and twenty-five cents a gallon for sugar-house molasses. The people of the Northern Liberties on the same day held meetings, at which they agreed to pay no more than twenty-five cents a pound for coffee, and expressed great indignation at speculative citizens. The United States government had passed an act in 1813 making it necessary that stamps should be placed upon writings, and the grocers of the city held a meeting in January—M. W. Thompson, chairman, and William Patterson, secretary—and resolved not to buy any goods at auction unless the auctioneers paid the stamp duties.

Of celebrations and public banquets, the first occurred February 18th, when a dinner was given to Maj.-Gen. Jacob Brown at Washington Hall, Chief Justice Tilghman presiding, and Maj. Jackson, vice-president. February 22d the Washington Association and the Washington Benevolent Society listened to patriotic addresses and afterwards had a banquet, John C. Lowber presiding. The First City Troop celebrated the same occasion, and Paul Allen wrote a song for the festivities. July 4th the Washington Association and Society listened to an oration from Nathaniel Chauncey, and then dined at Masonic Hall. September 16th, Henry Clay, who was on his way to Ghent to serve as one of the United States treaty commissioners, was given a banquet at the Washington Hall Hotel.

Affairs in Europe were of the greatest importance. The anti-Gallican party hailed with joy the news of the battle of Leipsic and of the entry of Wellington into France. January 22d, at Elliot's Tavern, a meeting was held, Gen. Robert Wharton, chairman, and it was resolved to give a public dinner "in honor of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Sweden, the friends and allies of the United States, and of the splendid victories their arms accomplished in defense of the rights of the people and the freedom of the world; in honor of the generous virtues and heroic courage of the people of Germany, in redeeming their independence and breaking the shackles of slavery; in honor of the glorious, magnanimous, and successful efforts of the patriots of Spain and of Portugal to

¹ This curious document deserves remembrance, as it shows that he was not able to understand the possibility of attaching a steam-engine to the cars or carriages on the railroad, and of dragging along a number of them at the same time. The ascent of an altitude of more than two or three degrees by a steam-engine with a train was not considered feasible. Hence he was driven to the suggestion of sending the locomotive to the top of the hill before the cars, to drag them up with a windlass and rope. In order to check the danger of a descent the steam-engine, it was suggested, might be sent ahead, while the cars could be let down carefully by ropes. His own words are as follows: "Mr. John Elliot has suggested that paths be made for the wheels of carriages to run on, of hard substances, such as turnpike roads are made of, with a rail between them, set on posts, to guide the tongue of the carriage; and that they might travel by night as well as by day. Others have proposed lines of logs, flattened at the top, with a three-inch plank pinned on them, to bear the carriage and to guide the wheels, these strips of plank to be renewed as often as necessary, and while the logs may last and be sufficient to hold the pins. The expense of repairs would be trifling. . . . Mr. Samuel Morey, of New Hampshire, proposes that the two railways be laid as near each other as will permit, in order to let the carriages pass in opposite directions, and to cover the whole with a slight shed, to protect the passengers from the injury of the weather. . . . But railroads are best," he continues, because, "if they cannot be brought to a level, yet they may be brought to within two degrees and a half,—the deviation allowed by law on turnpikes,—and which would do very well. And in cases of great ascents the steam-carriage might be detached and ascend by itself, to take a stand and haul the others up by a rope and cylinder, or by a windlass. In other cases the loaded carriages might be let fall astern by veering ropes to them to slack their motion until the steam-carriage has reached descending ground, and then the rope might be wound up again."

He adds, "As soon as any of these plans are adopted, after having made the necessary experiments to prove the principle, and having obtained necessary legislative protection and patronage, I am willing to take of the stock five hundred dollars per mile, of the distance of fifty or sixty miles, payable in steam-carriages or steam-engines invented for the purpose forty years ago, and will warrant them to answer the purpose to the satisfaction of the stockholders, and even to make steam-stages to run twelve or fifteen miles an hour, or take back the engines if required."

repel their unjust and cruel invaders, and in exultation at the final overthrow of a system fatal to peace, liberty, commerce, and universal happiness."

In February it took place at the City Hotel, Col. Jonathan Williams presiding, and the minister of Spain and the consuls of Russia, Spain, and Sweden being present. A few days later the native Germans, Hollanders, and Swiss celebrated Napoleon's defeat by a dinner at the Masonic Hall. Michael Freytag presided, and C. G. Lechleitner was vice-president. The principal toast was "The Emperor of Russia,—A monarch who has a twofold claim upon our esteem." Sentiments were also offered in honor of the King and Crown Prince of Sweden, Field-Marshal Blücher, and Kutusoff, Schwartzenberg, Wittgenstein, Platoff, Bulow, De Yorck, and other soldiers.

The Legislature, January 18th, passed resolutions in favor of the policy, on the part of the national government, of securing hostages for those who were threatened with trial and execution for treason by Great Britain. A number of naturalized citizens who had been natural-born British subjects, but who had renounced their allegiance upon becoming citizens of the United States, were being treated as traitors. It was one of the doctrines of Great Britain that native-born British subjects could never renounce their allegiance. In March twenty-three British prisoners, among them Maj. De Villette and other officers, were brought to the city and confined in the Arch Street prison, where they were considered hostages. Next month eighteen of these prisoners escaped from their place of detention by sawing off the iron bars of the windows. Eighteen hundred dollars reward was offered for their capture, and some were retaken, but a number escaped.

Lulled into confidence by the inactivity of the British, the "Commissioners of Defense" in Philadelphia reported, and were in February discharged. The gun-boats they had equipped were still in service on the river, but the blockade was less vigilant, and quite a number of vessels passed in and out. A few privateers slipped out. The "Young Wasp," Capt. Hawley, made some captures in March, but being chased by a British frigate off Rockaway, was compelled to run a prize on shore. The boats of the frigate then set it on fire. This vessel was out upon a cruise of seven months, captured seven prizes, and returned safely to port. The "Rattlesnake," Capt. Maffett, was also at sea, and on one occasion was chased by two seventy-fours and two brigs, but succeeded in escaping. In March a report that a British ship of the line, two frigates, and a sloop-of-war were in the bay, caused the gun-boat flotilla to sail from New Castle, but no depredations were attempted by the enemy.

Adam and Noah Brown, on the 23d of March, launched a sloop-of-war. In March there were on the stocks in the Delaware two ships-of-war of seventy-four and forty-four guns, eighteen gun-boats, six barges, two blockade sloops, and a schooner. The

fleet of galleys on the Delaware now numbered nineteen gunboats, six barges, and two block sloops. There were also building at Philadelphia the "Franklin," seventy-four, and the "Guerrière," forty-four. The latter was launched May 20th, from the ship-yard of James and Francis Grice, at Mount Pleasant.

Alarm was again caused in June by the appearance of the frigate "Belvidera," which sailed some distance up the bay under false colors. The barges were then got out, and they chased a shallop as far as Fisher's Island, but the boats being fired at from the shore and some of the sailors wounded, they returned. The flotilla immediately went down as far as Cape May, but the British frigate had left the station.

A new militia act was passed in March, dividing the State into sixteen divisions, each of two brigades. The city of Philadelphia comprised the First Brigade and the county the Second. Provisions were made for drafting troops needed for the defense of the State or national government. It was ordered that the uniform of State, division, or brigade officers should be blue coats, faced and lined with buff, other particulars to be determined by the commander-in-chief. Volunteer companies were allowed to adopt their own uniforms. The State cockade was ordered to be blue and red. Robert Wharton, commander of the City Brigade, who was an active Federalist, was superseded, in July, by George Bartram. The latter was succeeded, in August, by Thomas Cadwalader. Thomas Snyder was appointed brigadier-general of the County Brigade, succeeding William Duncan. Maj.-Gen. Isaac Worrell remained in command of the division.

The air was filled with rumors of British advances. July 11th four British barges attacked Elkton, Md., and were repulsed by the militia. The story, however, that they had landed reached Philadelphia. Commodore Rodgers marched at once with two hundred and fifty marines; the crews of the new gun-boats were sent on board; the citizens began to rally. A company was formed by the residents of North Mulberry Ward July 13th at Samson-and-the-Lion Inn, corner of Crown and Vine Streets. The First Regiment of Cavalry was directed to hold itself in readiness to march. The Federal Republican Young Men met at Peter Evans' tavern, corner of Sixth and Carpenter (Jayne) Streets, and formed the second company of Washington Guards. The shipmasters and mariners assembled at the State-House, Capt. B. Huggins in the chair, and formed the "Philadelphia Marine Artillery." Capt. Norris Stanley, Thomas Reilly, John Annesley, Edward Jones, Ezra Bowen, Jacob Benners, and Edward Wallington were appointed a committee to draft rules. The Flying Artillery was revived. The citizens of the Northern Liberties and of Kensington met at Christopher Lee's and formed a volunteer company. The Senior Military Association, composed of citizens over forty-five years of age, met three times a week for exercise.

The Second Military Drill Association was changed to the Union Guards. The Franklin Flying Artillery became an active company. A requisition being made at this time by the general government upon the State of Pennsylvania for fourteen thousand men, the State Fencibles, Capt. Clement C. Biddle, and the Benevolent Blues, Capt. Andrew C. Reed, were the first to volunteer. Meanwhile Commodore Rodgers, reinforced by Lieut. Morgan with two hundred and fifty more marines, had reached Elkton, but found no enemy there. They sent word to Philadelphia, and the bustle of the first excitement passed away. Companies were still raised, however. The citizens of the Northern Liberties met at Widow Ling's, Fourth Street, and resolved to form themselves into "The Military Association of the Northern Liberties." A meeting to form an artillery company was held at Peter Fisher's, in Filbert Street, John Boyd, chairman. "The men professing the principles of Washington," assembling at Peter Evans', organized into the volunteer company of Washington Artillerists. On the 3d of August the First Regiment of Artillery, Col. John Hare Powell, marched to Potters' Field and fired a salute "in honor of Gen. Brown's victory over the British army in Canada."

During these events the dictates of benevolence were not neglected, and in accordance with resolutions passed at a public meeting, June 16th, large sums of money were collected to relieve the inhabitants of war-desolated Germany. John G. Wachmuth was president, and C. L. Manhardt was treasurer of the enterprise, and committees were at work in every ward.

A committee was appointed June 9th, by the City Councils, to correspond with the authorities of the State and United States, to ascertain what measures of defense were to be adopted for the bay and river Delaware, and to inquire whether the fortifications proposed to be erected on the Pea Patch were to be carried on. This committee consisted of Messrs. Leiper, Steel, Brown, and Thompson. About two weeks afterwards Messrs. Leiper, Mallowney, L. Brown, and Thompson were deputed to visit Harrisburg and Washington for the same purpose. They made report on the 14th of July, and were empowered to consult with the corporations of the Northern Liberties, Southwark, Wilmington, and New Castle, but nothing was done.

August 25th this state of inactivity and fancied security was suddenly ended, couriers riding in hot haste, and flying rumors spreading the alarm before them. Washington had fallen, and Ross might even then be advancing on Baltimore and Philadelphia. The time for Pennsylvanians to fight for their own firesides might be at hand. The next morning at ten o'clock an unusually large town-meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia and all the adjoining districts assembled in the State-House yard. Ex-Governor Thomas McKean, then eighty years of age, presided,

and Joseph Reed, for many years city recorder, acted as secretary. A committee was appointed to draft resolutions. Its members were Jared Ingersoll, of the Philadelphia bar, father of Congressmen Charles J. and Joseph R. Ingersoll; Charles Biddle, vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania under the first Constitution, and father of Nicholas Biddle; John Sergeant, an eminent lawyer, member of Congress, and afterwards Whig candidate for Vice-President; John Goodman, alderman of the Northern Liberties, and member of the Legislature; Robert McMullin, of Southwark, a shipwright, and a man of much influence; Thomas Leiper, at whose house Jefferson was nominated, at this time president of Select Council of Philadelphia; John Barker, ex-mayor, sheriff of city and county, and father of Capt. James N. Barker, afterwards successively alderman, mayor, and port collector. This committee in a short time reported the following resolutions, which were at once adopted:

"Resolved, That Charles Biddle, Thomas Leiper, Thomas Cadwalader, Gen. John Steel, George Latimer, John Barker, Henry Hawkins, Liberty Browne, Charles Ross, Manuel Eyre, John Connelly, Condy Raguet, William McFadden, John Sergeant, John Geyer (mayor), and Joseph Reed, of the city of Philadelphia; Col. Jonathan Williams, John Goodman, Daniel Groves, John Barclay, John Naglee, Thomas Snyder, J. W. Morris, and Michael Leib, of the Northern Liberties and Penn township; James Josiah, Robert McMullin, John Thompson, Ebenezer Ferguson, James Ronaldson, Peter Miercken, Richard Palmer, and P. Peltz, of Southwark and Moyamensing, be a committee for the purpose of organizing the citizens of Philadelphia, of the Northern Liberties, and Southwark for defense, with powers to appoint committees under them; to correspond with the government of the Union and the State; to receive offers of service from our fellow-citizens in other parts of the State and Union; to make arrangements for supplies of arms, ammunition, and provisions; to fix on places of rendezvous and signals of alarm; and to do all such other matters as may be necessary for the purpose of defense.

"Resolved, That our fellow-citizens who have been drafted under any requisition of the President of the United States, or have offered their services, be requested to consider themselves subject to the direction of the said committee, provided that the directions of the said committee shall in no respect contravene the orders of the general or State government.

"Resolved, That the committee be authorized to make such applications as they may deem necessary for the purpose of procuring an adequate disbursement of the funds provided by the commonwealth for military purposes.

"Resolved, That the committee be authorized to call upon the City Councils and upon the corporation in the northern and southern districts in the name of the citizens to make such appropriations as may be necessary for the purposes aforesaid.

"Resolved, That the committee be authorized and requested to make provision for the families of such of the drafted militia and volunteers as during their absence on service may be in want of assistance."

Thus ran the ringing resolutions. Of the members of the Committee of Defense, those not hitherto spoken of deserve a few words. Henry Hawkins was a sea-captain and a Federalist; Gen. Thomas Cadwalader, the son of a Revolutionary general, was a lawyer and a Federalist, and one of his sons, John, became United States district judge, and George afterwards became a general; John Steel, a native of Lancaster County, had long been collector of the port; George Latimer, a Federalist and merchant, was in the Legislature; Liberty Browne was president

of the Common Council; Capt. Charles Ross was a Federalist; Manuel Eyre, bank director, belonged to a family of noted ship-builders; John Connelly was in the Legislature; Condé Raguet was a leading Federalist, writer, and editor of the *Gazette* and other journals; William McFadden was a retired sea-captain; John Geyer, mayor, had been for years a printer; Col. Williams was Franklin's grand-nephew, had been head of the West Point Military Academy, and in 1814 was elected to Congress, but died before taking his seat; Daniel Groves, a bricklayer, was in the State Senate; John Barclay, an ex-judge, was a bank-president, and a Federalist; John Naglee, father of Gen. Naglee, who served in the last war, was a lumber-merchant; Thomas Snyder afterwards commanded a brigade; Isaac Norris was a ship-chandler; ex-Senator Michael Leib was postmaster of Philadelphia; James Josiah, an old sea-captain, was the first to display the American flag in London harbor after the Revolution (on the "Andrea Doria," a classic name dear to liberty); John Thompson, a shoemaker, was representative and county commissioner; Ferguson was a magistrate; James Ronaldson, type-founder, had a hand in most of the early improvements of Moyamensing; Peter Miercken was a sugar-refiner and Federalist; Richard Palmer, prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, was afterwards alderman; Philip Peltz was a Passyunk farmer and market-gardener; his grandson was, in 1867, receiver of taxes in Philadelphia; John Goodman was the secretary of the committee, and his minutes are printed in volume viii. of the "Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society."

The newspapers, without regard to party, urged the people to support the committee by word and deed. There were now but two parties,—“the country and its invaders;” the time for action had come; the past was forgotten, and, as we have seen, a number of the committee were Federalists. On the afternoon of the 26th the committee met, organized, and appointed a committee of four persons for each ward in the city, twenty-one for the districts of Northern Liberties and Penn township, and twenty-six for Southwark, Moyamensing, and Passyunk. They were to promote and encourage the formation of volunteer companies into battalions and regiments. The superior committee next authorized Robert Wharton, William Jackson, Enos Bronson, Charles W. Hare, William Meredith, Henry Nixon, and George Gillespie, to raise one or more companies of light infantry for the special defense of the city and environs, and to form them into battalions. The Committee of Defense then divided itself into sub-committees, to direct needful measures in regard to correspondence, supplies, defense of the Delaware, to organize citizens into military bodies, and to make provisions for the families of militia. By concert with Gen. Bloomfield, it was determined that the signal of alarm should be six guns, fired from Fort Mifflin, the navy yard, and the arsenal. On hearing this warning, the drums of the city and liber-

ties were to beat to arms. Immediately the militia, equipped for field duty, were to parade on Broad Street, the line extending southwardly from Chestnut Street. It was resolved to erect field fortifications immediately for the defense of the city; and officers of the topographical engineers were detailed under the superintendence of Gen. Jonathan Williams.

The City Councils met the same day, and voted that three hundred thousand dollars should be borrowed and placed under the control of the Committee of Defense. The corporations of Northern Liberties and of Southwark each resolved to raise one hundred thousand dollars for the same purpose.

Gen. Bloomfield resolved to organize a camp at Kennett Square, in Chester County, about thirty-six miles southwest of Philadelphia, thirteen miles from Wilmington, and eight or nine miles from Chadd's Ford, and the First City Troop, Capt. Charles Ross, was detailed for vidette duty between the Chesapeake and the Delaware. The latter marched, August 28th, for Mount Bull, a height on the Chesapeake Bay, five miles from Turkey Point and thirteen miles from Easton. This situation commanded an extensive view of the bay, and from thence the line of videttes was organized, extending to the camp at Kennett Square and to Philadelphia.

August 26th the State Fencibles, Capt. Clement C. Biddle, marched from the city to the place of general rendezvous. The next day the Independent Artillerists, Capt. Andrew M. Prevost, the Independent Blues, Capt. Peter A. Browne, and the second company of Washington Guards, Capt. Joseph R. Ingersoll, followed. August 28th the Junior Artillerists, Capt. Jacob Cash, Jr., left the city. The first company of Washington Guards, Capt. Condé Raguet, took up the line of march on the 29th, and on the 30th were followed by the third company of Washington Guards, Capt. Thomas F. Pleasants, and a detachment of militia under the command of Lieut.-Col. Peter L. Berry and Majs. Jacob Vogdes and William Bozorth, which consisted of the first company city militia, Capt. James Perle; the second company, Capt. Reuben Gilder; the third company, Capt. Justus P. Bullard; the fourth company, Capt. Peter Fenton. Between the 1st and 12th of September these were reinforced by the Independent Volunteers, Capt. Daniel Oldenbergh; first company Union Guards, Capt. William Mitchell; second company Union Guards, Capt. Joseph Murray; second troop City Cavalry, Capt. William Rawle, Jr.; and Northern Liberty Artillerists, Capt. John Naglee. The camp at Kennett Square was designated Camp Bloomfield, and Capt. Charles W. Hunter drilled the volunteers, acting as brigade major under Gen. Bloomfield. On the 7th of September Lieut.-Col. Clemson, of the United States army, assumed command of the troops, which were then reinforced by some regulars.

Reorganization proceeded rapidly, and several other camps were established in swift succession. The

entire autumn was occupied in drilling new recruits and preparing for the expected foe.¹ But the chief interest of the story centres in and around the city of Philadelphia, where the greatest energy was displayed in raising troops and building fortifications. Meetings of all sorts abounded, and the newspapers were crowded with reports of their proceedings. Volunteers were abundant, and camps of instruction were formed near the city. One of these cantonments, Camp Taylor, was near the United States Arsenal. At Camp Mifflin there were, in September, companies commanded by Capts. Sutherland, Huston, Buckius, and Fess, who elected Joel B. Sutherland major, and Joseph McCoy adjutant. Another encampment was formed at Bush Hill, where the reserve was stationed under the command of Gen. Snyder.²

¹ The camps must have been lively places to visit. In the middle of September Gen. Thomas Cadwalader relieved Col. Clemons. The latter, with the regular troops, encamped at Iron Hill. The eight companies of infantry in camp were soon organized into a regiment, and elected Clement C. Biddle, colonel; Condy Raguet, lieutenant-colonel; Joseph R. Ingersoll and Samuel S. Voorhees, majors; Michael W. Ash, adjutant; Francis R. Wharton, quartermaster; Thomas R. Peters, paymaster. In order to fill up the commands of other companies, Hartman Kuhn was elected captain of the State Fencibles, John Swift of the Washington Guards, second company, and John R. Mifflin of the Washington Guards, first company. On the 10th of September the artillery companies were formed into a battalion, and Andrew M. Prevost was elected major, and James M. Linnard was elected captain of the Independent Artillerists. The staff of Gen. Cadwalader consisted of John Hare Fowel, brigade major; Richard McCall and John G. Biddle, aides-de-camp; Henry Sergeant, assistant quartermaster-general; David Corey, assistant deputy-quartermaster. On the 17th of September the troops left Kennett Square and marched towards Wilmington, encamping for the night on Gregg's farm, three miles and a half from the latter place. On the 20th the brigade changed its position to Camp Brandywine, half a mile distant. Here they were joined by the State Guards, Capt. Henry Meyers; Mifflin Guards of Delaware County, Capt. Anderson; Frankford Volunteer Artillerists, Capt. Thomas W. Duffield; Franklin Flying Artillery, Capt. Richard Bache; Washington Artillerists, Capt. Cornelius Stevenson. Camp Brandywine was only maintained for nine days, when Camp Dupont was chosen, about two miles westward. Thither repaired from the city the second company of Independent Artillerists, Capt. Samuel Paxson, and the Independent Riflemen, Capt. John C. Uble; also the Reading Washington Blues, Capt. Daniel D. B. Keim; the Union Rifles of Union County, Capt. Ner Middlewarth; the Selinsgrove Riflemen, Capt. John Snyder; the Union Rifles of Montgomery County, Capt. John Rawlins; the Delaware County Fencibles, Capt. James Serrill; and a regiment of riflemen, under Col. Thomas Humphreys, consisting of Northampton County riflemen, Capts. Horne, Shurtz, and Dinkley; of Lehigh County troops, under Capts. Rinker, Hess, and Ott; of Chester County troops, under Capt. Christian Wigter; of Montgomery County troops, under Capts. Hurst, Robinson, Matthews, Crosscup, Fryer, Sands, and Sensenderfer; of Bucks County troops, under Capts. Alexander McClean, William Purdy, and William Magill. On the 14th of November Maj. Prevost's artillery battalion was formed into a regiment. Maj. Prevost was elected colonel; Cornelius Stevenson and Thomas W. Duffield, majors; John G. Huston, adjutant; Jacob Peters and Lewis M. Prevost, quartermasters; James Smith, surgeon; and Robert O'Neil, sergeant-major. By these changes there were vacancies in some of the companies, which were filled up by the election of Samuel C. Landis as captain of the Washington Artillerists, and Bela Badger as captain of the Frankford Artillerists.

² To show the public spirit, the organization of some of these companies may be mentioned more in detail. A meeting of the teachers of the city was held on the 30th of August, at George Shob's, in Decatur Street. The principal promoters of this scheme were Henry J. Hutchins, William J. Bedlock, Joseph Hutton, John Duffy, Benjamin H. Rand, John L. Peck, and George Dennison. They resolved to form themselves into an association for home defense. There was also a call for

The Committee of Defense thought that field fortifications should at once be thrown up on the western side, from which an attack might first be expected. The works which were planned were: fortifications near Gray's Ferry, a redoubt opposite Hamilton's Grove, on the west side of the Schuylkill, a fort at the junction of the Gray's Ferry and Darby roads, a redoubt upon the Lancaster road, and a redoubt upon the southern side of the hill at Fairmount. To construct these works required much labor, and they could not have been built without the voluntary labor of the citizens. A hearty enthusiasm was shown in this service. Companies, associations, societies, and the artificers of different trades organized themselves for the work. Day after day these parties left the city at from five to six o'clock in the morning, with knapsacks or handkerchiefs containing a supply of food, and marched down to the fortifications, to a day of toilsome work at an occupation to which but few of them were accustomed. This labor commenced September 3d, and continued until October 1st, when the field-works were finished. This work was done by parties having the following numbers: housecarpenters, sixty-two; victualers, four hundred; the Tammany Society, four hundred; painters, seventy; hatters and brickmakers, three hundred; Fourth Washington Guards, one hundred and sixty; Rev. Mr. Staughton and the members of his church, sixty; printers, two hundred; crew of the privateer "Wasp," one hundred and forty; watchmakers, silversmiths, and jewelers (on Sunday, the 11th), four hundred; cabinet-makers and joiners, eighty; cordwainers, three hundred; Washington Association, seventy; True Republican Society, seventy; teachers, thirty; friendly aliens, five hundred; Freemasons (Grand and subordinate lodges), five hundred and ten; Washington Benevolent Society, five hundred; Sons of Erin, citizens of the United States, two thousand two hundred; Tammany Society (second day), one hundred and thirty; German societies, five hundred and forty; colored men, six hundred and fifty; citizens of Germantown, four hundred; Scotchmen, one hundred; friendly aliens (second day), one hundred and fifty; Sons of Erin, citizens of the United States (second day), three hundred and fifty. The colored people also

"a meeting of pious men, whose conscientious views would deter them from joining other corps where they could not enjoy themselves as much as in this corps, which is formed for the defense of those rights, both civil and religious, which the Father of all mercies has committed to our care." Among the advantages of this branch of the church militant it was announced were these: "Those who read their Bibles will find that Gideon, Baruch, Samson, Jephthah, David, Samuel, and the Prophets subdued kingdoms, quenched the violence of fire, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to fight the armies of their enemies."

The French citizens formed themselves into a company called the Philadelphia Chasseurs. Several companies were formed for city defense. Among these were the Philadelphia Guards, Philadelphia Volunteers, City Guards, Northern Liberty Guards, Western Rifle Rangers, fourth, fifth, and sixth companies of Washington Guards, Schuylkill Guards, Volunteer Greens, Philadelphia Fencibles, Lawrence Infantry, Independent Artillerists, second company, and a company of pikemen formed in Southwark.

gave a second day to the work. Other bodies also participated. Among these were the Franklin Benevolent Institution, the Howard and Lawrence Beneficial Societies, and the Philadelphia Benevolent Society. The physicians labored at the works, as did the artists, and many others, so that when the fortifications were completed about fifteen thousand persons had worked upon them, each for one day. In lieu of labor many gave money, the committee collecting about six thousand dollars. Upon arriving at the fortifications the citizens, divided into companies, were put to work. At ten o'clock the drum beat for grog, when liquor sufficient for each corps was dealt out to its captain. At twelve o'clock the drum beat for dinner, and more grog was furnished. This was also the case at three and at five o'clock. At six o'clock the drums beat a retreat, when, said the general orders, "For the honor of the cause we are engaged in, it is hoped that every man will retire sober."

These works were principally laid out by Col. I. Fonciu, a French officer who had lived in Philadelphia for many years. He returned to France in September, after receiving a special vote of thanks from the Committee of Defense. His plans were carried out by a volunteer association of field engineers, both civil and military, composed of the following gentlemen: Chief Engineer, Gen. Jonathan Williams; Chief Assistant, Col. I. Fonciu; Topographical Department, Dr. R. M. Patterson, William Strickland, Robert Brooks, William Kneass, and Jonathan Jones; Superintendents of the Works, Thomas M. Souder, Joseph Cloud, Adam Eckfeldt, Isaac Forsyth, Nicholas Esling, Samuel Richards, Spencer Sergeant, John Coxe, Frederick Sheble, George W. Morgan, Frederick Gaul, Joseph Watson, Thomas McKean, Jacob S. Otto, Alexander Ramsey, William Davis, Samuel Nicholas, Jacob Clements, William Spohn, William Whitehead, Frederick Eckstein, Conrad Wesener, James J. Rush, Thomas Hart, Aaron Denison, and Joseph P. Zebley; Commissary Department, Stephen Kingston, Peter Wager, Thomas P. Roberts, and Anthony Groves; Topographical Engineers, in the service of the United States, Maj. Roberdeau and Capt. Clarke, assisted by Robert Frazier.

One of the early matters of discussion in the committee was the manner in which spies should be detected. In September they reported that the best plan would be to invite citizens generally to report all persons of suspicious character to the mayor, or to some justice of the peace, to be legally proceeded against. This method, it was thought, would be highly efficacious, "inasmuch as it would make every citizen the guardian of his own rights, and would strike terror in the minds of those incendiaries who now infest our city with impunity." As an auxiliary measure, it was resolved that keepers of stage-offices, commanders of steamboats, ferrymen, and toll-gatherers should be instructed to furnish lists of passen-

gers arriving and departing, and of suspicious persons.

The attention of the Committee of Defense was at once directed towards the needed defenses upon the Delaware. It was recommended that a fort should be erected near Red Bank, on the Jersey shore, and sixty volunteers offered their services. Application was made to the Governor of New Jersey for authority. It was recommended that obstructions by twelve sunken vessels of from one hundred to two hundred tons each, and three smaller ones, should be placed in the channel near Fort Mifflin; that a fort should be erected one mile above the mouth of Mantua Creek, on the Jersey shore, and a battery at the wharf of the hospital on Province Island. The Marine Artillery, Capt. Annesley, were stationed at Fort Mifflin. Application was made to Gen. John Armstrong, Secretary of War, for the building of a battery of thirty-two 24-pounders on the Pea Patch, and for suitable fortifications at Newbold's Point and Red Bank. Capt. Babcock, of the engineer corps, thought that he could do no more than provide for the erection of two martello towers at the Pea Patch. The Committee of Defense and Councils desired more permanent fortifications. They built a martello tower in the Northern Liberties. Gen. Swift, of the United States army, accompanied members of the committee down the Delaware in September, and prepared plans for the fortifications on the Pea Patch and Newbold's Point. Thomas Clarke, of the topographical engineers, had undertaken, for twenty thousand dollars, to erect a tide-bank around a part of Pea Patch Island which would inclose about eighty acres, and also to build a wharf, and execute other work necessary for permanent fortifications.

The Committee of Defense desired a force of United States regulars near Philadelphia. Two thousand regulars were named as sufficient. The Secretary of War had not the troops to spare, and it was resolved to apply to the Governor, and request that he would apply to the Secretary of War for such an encampment; also to ask that authority should be given to the city of Philadelphia to enlist three regiments of infantry. Governor Snyder sent a brigade of militia, under Gen. Sperry, from the counties of Lehigh, Pike, Northumberland, and Columbia, which was quartered at the Arch Street prison.

September 8th the committee reported that,

"in the opinion of your committee, all measures short of the authority of the Commonwealth, legally exercised, would be found ineffectual, inasmuch as the inhabitants of the part of the country through which the enemy must pass would be proportionally injured. Recommendations, therefore, could only operate on the few who prefer the public benefit to private prosperity; and the most virtuous and patriotic citizens would, consequently, be the most exposed to these burdens or privations. Your committee is therefore of opinion that the chairman of the general committee, or a special committee appointed for the purpose, should without delay wait upon the Governor of the State, and request him to appoint proper persons to carry into effect, on the first landing of the enemy, the following indispensable measures:

"1. To cause all horses, cattle, and every species of vehicle to be driven

into the interior, out of the possible reach of the enemy, so as to deprive them of every means of transportation.

"2. To drive off or carry away every animal of every description that may serve for food, and to carry away (or destroy, if there should not be time to carry away) all provisions of every kind.

"3. To draw the lower box and take away the spear of every pump, and all the apparatus by which water may be drawn from wells.

"4. To impede roads as far as possible, and to stop all narrow passages by felled trees, or by such other means as time and circumstances may permit.

"5. To take an indispensable wheel from every mill, so as to prevent the possibility of its being used when in the enemy's possession."

Early in its proceedings the Committee of Defense discussed the raising of black troops. August 27th, L. M. Merlin, an upholsterer at No. 192 Lombard Street, and a French Canadian, wrote a letter in French to the committee on which the sub-committee reported August 30th,—

"That it has taken into consideration the letter in French addressed to the general committee by Mr. L. M. Merlin; that the writer of said letter makes a proposition to have organized a legion of people of color, to be called the Black Legion, and to be commanded by white officers; that it seems improper to the committee to have the proposed legion organized at this time, when there is so short a supply of arms and accoutrements for our white citizens; but the committee thinks that under a proper regulation these people of color might be employed as fatigue parties on the work,—to act, in a manner, detached from the white citizens who may be so employed."

No further reference to the subject is found in the minutes of the Committee of Defense. During the summer and autumn, however, there was a brigade of blacks recruited for United States service in Philadelphia, but by whom does not seem to be now known. In "The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States," by Martin Robinson Delaney, published in Philadelphia in 1852, a quotation is made from a pamphlet by W. C. Nell, of Boston, which, after speaking of the services of colored men on the fortifications at Philadelphia, says, "A battalion of colored troops was at the same time organized in the city under an officer of the United States army, and it was on the point of marching to the frontier when peace was proclaimed."¹

¹ Citizens living in 1814 agree that there was an organization of black troops in Philadelphia that year, and one of them has stated that he remembers having several times seen the colored soldiers march to Christ Church to attend religious services. In a communication to the *Dispatch*, some years ago, a citizen stated that he remembered to have "seen a company of colored troops, under command of Capt. Bussier, marched on the ice across the river Delaware (in 1815) to Camden."

The raising of colored troops had also been suggested to the general government. Among the few papers saved from the burning of the War Office building, after the war of 1814, is the following:

"INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE, THIRD MILITARY DISTRICT,

"Wednesday, Aug. 23, 1814.

"Gen. John Armstrong, Secretary of War, Washington:

"Sir,—I have just been informed by my good friend, Col. A. Denniston, that you have in contemplation to raise a regiment of blacks. Should this be the case, I solicit permission to tender my services to assist in recruiting such a regiment, confident that in Pennsylvania (the place of my nativity) I should be able in a short period to enlist from three hundred to five hundred men. Any information or recommendations you may require respecting me shall be furnished from the most respectable military characters in this and the Fourth Military District.

"Permit me to refer you to the Secretary of the Navy and Richard Rush, Esq., who, I believe, have some knowledge of me.

On the 14th of September news arrived of the landing of the British near Baltimore, and of the expected attack upon that city. The excitement now culminated. The headquarters of Gen. Gaines, corner of Eleventh and Market Streets, was surrounded by thousands of anxious persons. There were rumors of a heavy engagement long before intelligence of the bombardment of Fort McHenry was received. The greatest agitation prevailed, and the chances of an attack upon Philadelphia were canvassed. While this state of uncertainty prevailed, the city treasurer addressed the Councils to know if he had authority to remove the public books and papers, if the Committee of Defense should so decide. A resolution granting him this privilege was passed, and the city officers were ordered to pack up their papers, books, and documents so that they might be easily removed. The news of the British retreat caused great rejoicing. September 29th, Gen. Winfield Scott was received with military honors and escorted to his hotel. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines was at this time commander of the Fourth District, including Philadelphia.

Many applications were made to the committee by inventors. Joseph G. Chambers, in September, proposed to organize a company to act with repeating fire-arms, and the sub-committee reported favorably. Chambers was then authorized to form a company, and the Secretary of the Navy ordered fifty such guns to be made. In October, Robert Fulton, of New York, sent a letter to Bernard Henry, which was referred to the Committee of Defense, in which he said,—

"I have prepared for you a torpedo, with its fulminating lock, from which any number required can be made, either for anchoring or for the various modes of attack and defense which I have explained. But it is to be understood that I do not give to you, or to the Committee of Defense of Philadelphia, any right to draw emolument for the use of my invention. A law has been passed by Congress, with a view to encourage the practice of torpedoes, that grants half of the estimated value of all vessels of an enemy that shall be destroyed by means other than vessels of the government. Having labored for fifteen years to introduce the practice of submarine explosions, and being inventor of the machinery, I cannot throw away the fruits of so many years of exertion and expense; nor will the public, who seek only for protection, require it of me."

This torpedo was sent on, and the committee paid Mr. Henry one hundred and thirty dollars for it.²

Some experiments were made on a floating chain,

"I am at present detailed by the commanding general of this district as acting inspector-general, during the arrest of Col. N. Gray.

"Soliciting your attention to my application, I am, with sentiments of the highest regard, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"P. P. WALTER,

"Capt. Co. I, Thirty-second Regiment, Acting Inspector-General Third Military District."

² Jan. 1, 1815, Fulton wrote again, describing a new invention of his, a torpedo-boat with a submarine wheel. The committee wisely concluded that it would be prudent to insist that such a boat should first be tested. The Secretary of the Navy was then written to, to inquire whether he approved of Fulton's torpedo-boat, whether it would be accepted as a temporary substitute for the frigate, and if the money raised for building a frigate could be diverted for the torpedo-boat, but the reply was unfavorable.

costing one hundred and eleven dollars. Over twenty-one thousand dollars was paid for hulls sunk in the Delaware. In November, George Clymer sent a letter to the committee relative to the defense of the Delaware by steam vessels of war. The sub-committee said it was "unable to comprehend Mr. Clymer's mode of warfare for want of accurate description. Every inventor is bound to exhibit either a demonstration of his invention on known principles, or the result of actual experiment attested by competent judges."

The steam frigate "Fulton the First" had been launched at New York, and great expectations were entertained of the value of the vessel. The "Committee of Vigilance and Safety," of the city of Baltimore, in November applied to the Secretary of the Navy, William Jones, for the construction of a steam floating battery. He replied that if they would raise one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and place the sum to the credit of the United States in any bank of Baltimore, the amount should be applied to building a battery, and the government would give the builders six per cent. United States stocks to the amount of the subscriptions. Secretary Jones then wrote to Philadelphia, making similar offers. He said, "A single vessel of this kind, together with the defenses and obstructions, now, I understand, in operation at the Pea Patch, would render the Delaware perfectly secure, and would supersede the immense expenditure, loss, and anxiety which the inhabitants of its shores must otherwise sustain."

The Philadelphia committee, November 18th, resolved to raise money for a steam frigate. A few days afterward they resolved to call upon New Castle, Wilmington, and the inhabitants of the adjacent country to contribute toward the expense of the defenses on the Pea Patch and the building of a battery. Wilmington subscribed fifteen thousand dollars, and paid five thousand dollars to the Philadelphia committee within five weeks. The committee in regard to subscriptions for the steam frigate reported that subscriptions to the amounts expected could not be procured. It then was resolved to petition the Legislature for an appropriation of the auction duties usually paid into the State treasury, but the news of the negotiation of a treaty of peace, which reached the city after the beginning of the year 1815, put an end to this, and the Wilmington money was refunded. Late in November the Secretary of the Navy authorized George Harrison, navy-agent at Philadelphia, to enter into a contract for the building of a steam floating battery upon the plans of Fulton, adopted in building the frigate at New York. Permission was given to build it in the navy-yard, either by the builders of the "Fulton" or by others.

The troops at Camp Dupont were drilled steadily during the summer and autumn. About the middle of November six companies, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Raguet, were marched to Camp Gaines,

two miles below New Castle, until that time occupied by Col. Irvine with a detachment of regular troops, who were ordered to take up a new station farther down the Delaware, to prevent an anticipated landing of the enemy. Col. Raguet remained at Camp Gaines until a storm occurred, which filled many of the tents with water. Repairing to New Castle, the soldiers were quartered in a church, the court-house, and a private dwelling. In addition to these troops, composed of citizens of Philadelphia, there had been nearly ten thousand State militia encamped near Marcus Hook, under the command of Gen. Isaac Worrell. November 30th, "the Advance Light Brigade" broke up the encampment at Dupont, and marched to Wilmington, where the detachment from Camp Gaines and New Castle joined it. The whole body, numbering over three thousand, then took up the line of march homeward, and on the 2d of December entered the city, presenting to their delighted kindred and friends such a sight as had not been seen in Philadelphia since the Revolution. They were marched over the permanent bridge to the headquarters of Gen. Gaines, at Eleventh and Market Streets, and thence to the State-House, where they were dismissed. Shortly afterwards they were mustered out of service, but were expected to be ready for more efficient action in the spring. The brigade of Gen. Snyder marched back a few days afterwards. And thus ended the military operations of 1814 in Philadelphia. A few days later, Gen. Sperry, commanding a brigade of militia quartered at the Arch Street prison, made application to the Committee of Defense for assistance in procuring shoes and stockings for his men, who were about to march over a dreary country to their homes, and four thousand dollars were appropriated.

Local politics were not entirely suspended even during the excitement of the war. Col. Robert Patton, postmaster since Oct. 2, 1789, died January 3d, and after a fierce struggle Dr. Michael Leib, in February, carried off the prize. Richard Bache, aided by Binns and Randall, was his chief opponent. Ingersoll, Conard, and Seybert, congressmen from Philadelphia, voted for a suspension of the embargo, and were abused by their party friends. Binns, in his *Democratic Press*, charged the Society of Friends with having declared against war contribution, and in October some of them wrote to Governor Snyder denying it. In autumn the Democrats nominated for Congress Adam Seybert, Charles J. Ingersoll, William Anderson, and John Conard. The Federalists nominated Jonathan Williams, Joseph Hopkinson, William Milnor, and Thomas Smith. In the county the new-school Democrats nominated for the Assembly Jacob Holgate, J. Holmes, John Carter, John D. Goodwin, and Joel B. Sutherland. The old-school Democrats, belonging to the Leib party, held the usual opposition meetings, and nominated for the Assembly Joseph Engle, George Morton, John Kessler, Corne-

lius Trimnell, Samuel Castor, and John Cochrane. In the city the Federalists nominated for State senators Nicholas Biddle and William Magee. At the election the political status of the previous year was reversed, and the Federalists carried the city and county for their congressmen, senators, assemblymen, city councilmen, county commissioners, and auditors, every office, in fact, except coroner, to which John Dennis was elected by a small majority. For Governor Col. Isaac Wayne, Federalist, received in the city and county 5674 votes; Simon Snyder, Democrat, 4573 votes. By this victory the Federalists, for the first time in many years, sent a county delegation (J. Whitehead, C. Wheeler, Dr. De Benneville, Samuel Breck, T. Bird, and J. Thum) to the Assembly.

March 18th, a bill to charter forty-two new banks was passed, vetoed by the Governor, and passed over his veto. Three were to be in Philadelphia and two in the county. August 30th, after the capture of Washington, the banks of Philadelphia suspended specie payments, a measure which was followed by the banks of New York, and by all others throughout the country. The banks said that they were compelled to suspend in order to keep the entire specie capital of the country from being exported. A meeting of merchants and traders was held at the Coffee-House on the day after the suspension, Thomas M. Willing chairman, and Robert Richie secretary. It was resolved to sustain the banks, and to take their notes as usual.

The suspension eventually caused a great deal of trouble. The scarcity of coin for the purposes of business was so general that large numbers of notes for small sums, or "shipplasters," were issued by individuals.¹ In November a proposition was made that the city should issue small notes, less than one dollar in amount, but the Councils refused.

Early in 1814 resolutions were introduced into Councils in favor of having watchmen and lamps in Centre Square. It was finally agreed to place watchmen at the Centre Square engine-house only. The lighting of the city was somewhat difficult in consequence of the increasing scarcity of oil,—a result of the war, which interfered with the whale fisheries. In February, E. Clark proposed to light the city with tallow and old fat instead of with oil. In March the City Commissioners were authorized to make experi-

ments, and in April a resolution was introduced into Common Council to purchase Clark's patent-right for lighting streets for six thousand dollars. An amendment to pay two thousand dollars was carried, but the project was finally rejected. In September a plan of Philip Mason's for burning tallow was examined. Five hundred dollars were soon appropriated to alter the public lamps in accordance with Mason's plan for burning tallow or lard. In December further action was taken in that direction.

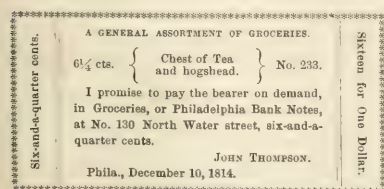
The Athenæum originated in this year at a meeting held February 9th, of which Roberts Vaux was chairman. It was resolved to establish a reading-room at the southeast corner of Chestnut and Fourth Streets. Upon the permanent organization of the association, William Tilghman was elected president, James Mease vice-president, and Roberts Vaux secretary.

The Washington Benevolent Society and the Washington Association celebrated February 22d with orations from Condé Raguet and Richard S. Cox. July 4th the Washington Benevolent Society listened to an oration by Dr. Charles Caldwell, and then dined at the Lebanon Garden. Their new hall was begun this year. Proposals were issued for a loan of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The corner-stone of Washington Hall was laid in August by Robert Wharton. The Society of the Cincinnati on the same day dined at the Mantua Hotel, north of Hamilton Village. The Tammany Society celebrated their anniversary day in May by a parade and celebration in the wigwag at Richmond, kept by Brother Trotter. They also had a celebration, July 4th, at the wigwag in Spring Garden.

A meeting was held in February, of citizens of Southwark and of New Jersey, and it was resolved to establish a steamboat to run between the Point House and Gloucester Point. The steamboat "Bristol," launched this year, ran from Arch Street ferry, under the control of Jacob Meyers. He announced that the boat was built at the "joint expense of citizens of Burlington, Bristol, and Philadelphia, without any view to profit, but merely for the accommodation of the public." A few other items are perhaps worth record. March 22d a company was incorporated for improving the navigation of the river Lehigh. Among the commissioners were Robert Wallace, John Naglee, lumber merchant of the Northern Liberties, Thomas Stewardson, and Joseph Grice. George Clymer gave notice in April of this year that he had completed on a new plan an iron printing-press, which was to be seen at William Fry's printing-office, Prune Street, between Fifth and Sixth Streets. Certificates were given afterwards by Professor Robert Patterson and Oliver Evans.

In April, Mr. Palmer proposed to the Councils to filter the water at Fairmount. A contract was authorized with Oliver Evans in June for building an engine at Fairmount, with power to raise three million five hundred thousand gallons of water from the

¹ The following is a specimen of this sort of currency:



Schuylkill in twenty-four hours, at a cost not exceeding twenty-three thousand dollars. On the 3d of August the First Regiment of Artillery, Col. Powell, fired a Federal salute at Potter's Field in honor of Gen. Brown's victory over the British army in Canada. In September the Common Council resolved that all the "uninclosed part of northeast public square east of Seventh Street and south of the oil-house be cleared off, so far as the same is not inclosed, and that the militia, or any company or companies thereof, or any military association, shall be permitted to drill or parade on said open ground when cleared." Permission was given at the same time to use the southeast square for military exercises. A whale was taken in the Delaware near Trenton, in the autumn, and was exhibited near the High Bridge, Kensington. It was twenty-four feet eight inches long, and the girth of its body was fifteen feet.

But nothing that had occurred for years had a greater bearing on the future of Philadelphia than certain experiments with Schuylkill coal, reported December 14th in the *Union and United States Gazette*. They took place at the wire-mills of White & Hazard, Falls of Schuylkill. Figures were printed showing the amount of work in heating and rolling iron, which had within a certain time been done by aid of the Pennsylvania coal, and also a statement of what was usually accomplished by the use of Virginia coal in the same period of time. The result was greatly in favor of anthracite coal. This may be said to be the first successful experiment in the use of the anthracite coal made in Philadelphia, and it was the beginning of the use of an article of fuel the value of which in subsequent years is beyond all estimate. Charles V. Hagner, in his "History of the Falls of Schuylkill," thus describes the circumstances attending this experiment:

"White & Hazard were using, in their rolling mill, bituminous coal. They knew of the large body of anthracite at the head of the Schuylkill, and early commenced making experiments with it. They had some brought down in wagons, at an expense of one dollar per bushel,—twenty-eight dollars per ton,—expended a considerable sum of money in experimenting, but could not succeed in making it burn. The hands working in the mill got heartily sick and tired of it, and it was about being abandoned. But, on a certain occasion, after they had been trying for a long time to make it burn without success, they became exasperated, threw a large quantity of the 'black stones,' as they called them, into the furnace, shut the doors, and left the mill. It so happened that one of them had left his jacket in the mill, and in going there for it some time afterwards he discovered a tremendous fire in the furnace, the doors red with heat. He immediately called all hands, and they ran through the rolls three separate heats of iron with that one fire. Here was an important discovery, and it was, in my opinion, the first practically successful use of our anthracite coal, now so common. This important discovery was the simple fact that all that was wanted to ignite it was time, and to be 'let alone.' All this may appear strange now, but the men employed in that mill—and every one else who used the bituminous coal—were accustomed to see it blaze up the moment they threw it on the fire, and because the anthracite would not do so they could not understand it, and the more they scratched and poked at it—an operation necessary with the bituminous coal—the worse it was with the anthracite. Upon making this discovery, Josiah White immediately began to make experiments in contriving various kinds of grates to make the anthracite applicable for domestic use, in which he finally succeeded to admiration."

This coal was sent down from the Lehigh by Hill-house, Miner & Cist. It was the first ark-load of that coal which had reached the city. It was delivered August 14th to Stellwagen & Knight, who were selected as agents to dispose of it. The ark held twenty-four tons, and the expenses of getting the coal to the city, including mining, hauling, and the building of the ark, were three hundred and thirty dollars and seventy-seven cents, so that the coal cost the owners about fourteen dollars a ton to land it in Philadelphia. It was a portion of this cargo that went into the hands of White & Hazard.

Charles Miner, in a letter to Samuel J. Packer, written in 1833, says further,—

"But while we pushed forward our labors at the mine,—hauling coal, building arks, etc.,—we had the greater difficulty to overcome of inducing the public to use our coal when brought to their doors, much as it was needed. We published handbills in English and German, stating the mode of burning the coal, either in grates, smiths' fires, or in stoves. Numerous certificates were obtained and printed from blacksmiths and others who had successfully used the anthracite. Mr. Cist formed a model of a coal-stove, and got a number cast. Together we went to several houses in the city, and prevailed on the masters to allow us to kindle fires of anthracite in their grates, erected to burn Liverpool coal. We attended at blacksmiths' shops, and persuaded some to alter the 'too-iron,' so that they might burn the Lehigh coal; and we were sometimes obliged to bribe the journeymen to try the experiment fairly, so averse were they to learning the use of a new sort of fuel so different from what they had been accustomed to. Great as were our united exertions (and Mr. Cist, if they were meritorious, deserves the chief commendation), necessity accomplished more for us than our own labors. Charcoal advanced in price, and was difficult to be got. Manufacturers were forced to try the experiment of using the anthracite, and every day's experience convinced them, and those who witnessed the fires, of the great value of this coal. Josiah White, then engaged in some manufacture of iron, with characteristic enterprise and spirit brought the article into successful use in his works, and learned, as we have understood, from purchases made of our agent, its incomparable value."

The year 1815 opened with abundant preparations for a vigorous campaign. News of the battle of New Orleans, January 8th, was not received at Philadelphia till February 5th, and the "*Guerrière*," lying in the Delaware, fired a national salute. Before that time Gen. Jackson was scarcely known; but his services and bravery, even at this early period, brought the idea of his being an available Presidential candidate to the minds of some of the people. On the 4th of July, at various dinners in honor of the occasion, complimentary toasts to Gen. Jackson were received with great applause. All of them were eulogistic in tone, and declared that his services at New Orleans demanded the admiration of the country and some future reward.¹

On the 13th of February news of the signing of a treaty of peace with England was received in Philadelphia. Mayor Wharton announced that there should be a general illumination, which took place

¹ At a dinner held at the wigwam, on Sixth Street, Spring Garden, among the toasts was the following, from Mr. Gray, of the firm of Gray & Wylie, teachers, residing in Locust Street, above Ninth: "Maj.-Gen. Andrew Jackson, for his services a Presidency of the United States." This toast was laughed at and laid aside for awhile, but it was so often called for that they reluctantly read it. This was probably the first nomination of Jackson for President.

on the evening of the 15th of February. The two bridges over the Schuylkill were illuminated brilliantly. Paul Beck's shot-tower, near Arch Street and the Schuylkill River, rose up like a pillar of fire, the top being crowned with one hundred and sixty lamps. There was an illuminated arch thrown over the streets at the intersection of Eighth and Callowhill Streets. Another, at Eighth and Market Streets, was decorated with a transparency representing an Arcadian shepherdess attending a flock of merino sheep. At Locust and Eighth Streets an arch was decorated with paintings of ships and naval trophies. At Eighth and Sansom Streets a painting representing Peace bore the motto, "Peace is the Nurse of the Arts." In front of the Masonic Hall was a gigantic figure of Charity. The theatre was adorned with appropriate emblems. Peale's Museum shone brilliantly. The office of Poulson's *Daily Advertiser* was likewise decorated. The private houses generally were adorned with appropriate devices, among the most conspicuous of which was the mansion of Jacob Gerard Koch, northwest corner of Ninth and Market Streets. There were afterward various galas and festivities. John Scotti gave, in May, at Vauxhall Garden, northeast corner of Broad and Walnut Streets, a brilliant ball in honor of peace and of the hero of New Orleans. The ball-room was illuminated with six thousand lights.¹

Proposals were issued for striking a historical medal, the design to be drawn by Sully, and the engraving to be done by Reich, "from the designs of a well-known literary character, corrected by persons of acknowledged patriotism and taste." The medals were to be from two to three inches broad. The price of a copy in gold was to be fifty dollars; in silver, ten dollars; in bronze, one dollar. A grand Te Deum, with full accompaniments, was sung at St. Augustine's Church on the 26th of February.

At the conclusion of the war some of the privateers belonging to the city were at sea. The "Spencer" put to sea on the 11th of January, the commander being ignorant of the treaty of peace and of the battle of New Orleans. The "Young Wasp," Capt. Hawley, at the beginning of February sent in the "Margaret" as a prize, and on the 7th of March sent in a brig. The "Perry," privateer, arrived a day or two previously. In the middle of March there were still

several vessels at sea under privateer commissions. The "Young Wasp" came in at the end of March. Shortly afterward the flotilla of 1813-14 was disposed of by auction, and eighteen gun-boats, three barges, and one pinnace were sold at the navy-yard. The frigate "Guerrière" sailed for New York about the middle of March. The "Franklin," seventy-four, was launched from the navy-yard on the 21st of August of this year.

The city assumed the debts contracted by the Committee of Defense, and paid the Bank of Pennsylvania the interest on the sum of \$100,000 advanced by that corporation. The committee having a cash balance of \$13,000, paid the city \$11,666.66, and to the districts of Northern Liberties and Southwark \$666.66 each. They likewise held \$95,000 in six per cent. stock of the United States, which was thus divided: to the city, \$85,258; Northern Liberties and Southwark, \$4871 each. The bank received the stock from the city as collateral security for the loan of \$100,000. In September the Committee of Defense transferred \$48,270.23 of stock to the city, which was also assigned to the bank. Thus closed the war of 1812, and the citizens of Philadelphia turned with renewed energies to the development of their commercial and industrial interests.²

¹ In 1868 a number of the surviving soldiers of the war of 1812 met in the Supreme Court room, Philadelphia. Alderman Peter Hay presided, and in the course of his opening remarks he said, "Most of our members served in defense of Baltimore or of Philadelphia, and were instrumental in saving these cities from capture, or worse. So late as 1814 Philadelphia was utterly without defense, if we except the weak and imperfect work of Fort Mifflin. The advance light brigade, under Gen. Thomas Cadwalader, the main army at Marcus Hook, with the New Jersey brigade of militia near Billingsport, under the gallant old Revolutionary soldier, Gen. Ebenezer Elmer, in all probability preserved Philadelphia from a worse fate than that of Washington; and what was of hardly less importance, though perhaps not generally known to the mass of our citizens, saved from destruction the powder-works of Messrs. Dupont, which, at that time, furnished nearly the whole supply of that indispensable article for the United States troops. The Philadelphia volunteers received no bounty, furnished their own uniforms, the officers their sidearms, were not paid even the paltry sum then allowed till months after the restoration of peace, and then in a depreciated currency. These, however, are things of the past, generally unknown or forgotten."

Col. John Thompson, of the Executive Committee, reported forty-four deaths during the previous year. Among these deaths were three of the vice-presidents of the association, Messrs. Samuel Sappington, Matthew Newkirk, and Col. John S. Warner. We notice the decease of a number of other active members,—William Weaver, Owen T. Abbott, Joseph Worth, Charles Haverstick, Isaac Barnes, Dr. William Gibson, Capt. Thomas Hand, George Rockenberg, Hugh Dean, Francis Lasher, and John Miller.

The committee submitted the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That whilst we rejoice that our State Legislature, at its last session, had the grace to re-enact the law of 1866, granting an annuity of forty dollars to certain Pennsylvania soldiers of the war of 1812, which, by some unexplained legislative legardement, had been repealed shortly after it went into operation, we regret exceedingly that, in order to receive even this pittance, applicants are required to prove themselves paupers by their own oath, supported by the oath of another citizen, rather than do which some prefer to suffer penury in silence.

"Resolved, That we earnestly request the Senate of the United States, before the close of the present session of Congress, to pass the bill sent to that body from the House of Representatives, granting pensions to the few remaining soldiers and sailors of the war of 1812, whose numbers are daily diminishing with fearful rapidity, and many of whom are

² The first vessel which sailed for the United States with news of the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent was the schooner "Transit," Capt. Hughes, which brought as passenger Mr. Carroll, Secretary of Legation, with a copy of the treaty. The "Transit" was the official vessel, and ought to have been the first to arrive. But she was beaten by the British sloop-of-war "Favorite," which sailed from Falmouth ten days after and arrived at New York Feb. 11, 1814, two weeks before the "Transit" reached a Northern port. The hull of a vessel entitled "The Messenger of Peace" was after the war drawn up on Windmill or Smith's Island, and used for many years as a bar-room. The masts were taken down, and the hull was roofed over. Access to the vessel was obtained through a door cut near the stern, to which high wooden steps led. The stern of the vessel was toward the river, with the name "Messenger of Peace" painted upon it. It was probably the hull of the schooner "Transit."

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE TREATY OF GHENT TO THE CLOSE OF
THE QUARTER-CENTURY.

THE war of 1812, with its varied incidents, reflected honor upon the devotion of Pennsylvania. She had contributed her full quotas of men, her full proportion of money, and her sons had distinguished themselves on land and sea. Commodore James Biddle, the hero of the "Hornet," was born in Philadelphia. Stephen Decatur, that Bayard of the sea, spent much of his life in this city, and his remains lie in the cemetery of St. Peter's Church. Two of the five commissioners who signed the Treaty of Ghent were Philadelphians. One James A. Bayard, graduate of Princeton, was a lawyer and leader of the Federalists; the other, Albert Gallatin, native of Switzerland, tutor in Harvard, Democratic leader of the House, Secretary of the Treasury, minister to France, president of distinguished societies, was one of the most remarkable men that ever came to the United States. Dec. 24, 1814, that treaty was signed, and the news, reaching Philadelphia early in 1815, was celebrated, as described in the last chapter. But still our privateers were at sea, still British ships were captured, still battles went on by land, still prisoners languished in dungeons, for news in those days traveled slowly.

George Coggeshall's "History of American Pri-

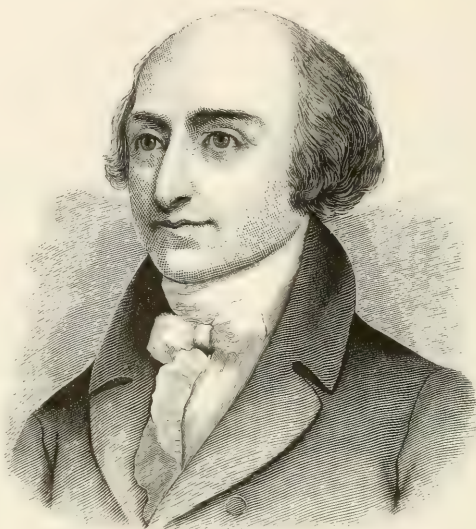
dependent on public charity or the aid of their old companions in arms for the supply of their urgent necessities, none of whom can be under the age of threescore years and ten."

The following members were elected officers for the ensuing year: President, Peter Hay; Vice-Presidents, Capt. William T. Elder, James Peters, Col. John Swift, Col. Joseph S. Riley, Col. Francis Cooper, Col. John Agnew, Col. Joseph P. Leclerc, Capt. John Wilson; Corresponding Secretary, Hiram Ayres; Recording Secretary, John H. Frick; Assistant Secretary, Gen. Charles M. Prevost; Treasurer, James Benners; Executive Committee, Col. John Thompson, Capt. Jacob H. Fiesler, Col. C. G. Childs, Robert O'Neill, Gen. John Davis, of Bucks County, Charles Lombaert, and Joshua M. Bethell.

vateers and Letters of Marque" is full of thrilling stories of the sea and episodes of desperate courage. Vessels fitted out by private merchants laid the foundations of many a princely fortune through the dark days of the war of 1812, and did much to convince England of the impossibility of the task she had undertaken. The "Shadow," of Philadelphia; the "Saratoga," "Governor Tompkins," and "General Armstrong," of New York; the "Comet," "Non-such," "Chasseur," "Kemp," and "Lottery," of Baltimore; the "Decatur" and "Saucy Jack," of Charleston; and dozens of other vessels made famous records, capturing or destroying thousands of dol-

lars' worth of property, and creating the most wide-spread terror. In all there were two hundred and fifty private armed vessels sent out, forty-six with letters of marque. Baltimore, New York, Salem, and Boston sent out one hundred and eighty-four, and Philadelphia, Portsmouth, N. H., and Charleston, S. C., sent out the rest. About sixteen hundred British merchantmen were destroyed. Manuscript log-books still contain much that has never been published in reference to the adventures of these gallant free-lances of the ocean. The famous "Hartford Convention," with its twenty-six delegates, was still

in session when the war closed, and January 4, 1815, they presented the result of their labors, in resolutions deeply tinged with States-right doctrines, and advocating restrictions on the powers of Congress. When the news of peace reached Washington, Feb. 13, 1815, stocks and government bonds rose. Merchandise fell one or two hundred per cent. Private expresses were sent in every direction. Medals and commemorative designs were made. One of the finest allegorical pictures of the time was published in Philadelphia, by P. Price, Jr. Madam Plantou was the artist, and Chataignier the engraver. Minerva dictates terms of peace to Britannia; America passes in triumph to the Temple of Peace; the ruins of the



Albert Gallatin

capitol lie in the background. It is a composition possessing distinct features of merit.

Feb. 17, 1815, the treaty was ratified by the Senate. It in no wise secured immunity from the "search and impression claims" of England, but it settled disputed boundaries, and acknowledged our exclusive right to navigate the Mississippi. In England the treaty was very unpopular. It was welcomed by all classes in America. Too long had we been kept from what was instinctively felt to be our appointed task,—the development of the great West, the sowing of the prairies, the conquest of the Rocky Mountains, the dominion of the Pacific slope, the shaping of mighty States, the building of new cities, the government of commonwealths as yet unnamed, the weaving of networks of steel over leagues of desert, to link town with town, ocean with ocean,—these triumphs, and such as these, awaited the keen American intelligence.

When the war of 1812 closed the grand total of American capital in both personal and real property, including public lands estimated at \$1,000,000,000, was only about \$7,200,000,000. The President wished a standing army of twenty thousand men, but half that number was considered sufficient as a peace establishment. The Northwestern Indians were pacified at a great council held in September. In the House of Representatives there were in 1815 one hundred and seventeen Democrats and sixty-five Federalists. Harrison of Ohio, and Tyler of Virginia were among the new members; Clay was again in the Speaker's chair.

The currency of the country was in a bad way; New York bank-notes at fourteen per cent. discount, and Philadelphia and Baltimore notes at sixteen per cent. The new debt was \$63,000,000 in 7's and 6's, and \$17,000,000 in treasury notes, besides many claims of individuals. The necessary expenditures were over \$40,000,000 a year, and to meet this a tariff on imports was increased to an average of forty per cent. over the ante-war rates. A suggestion that was made in Congress about this time, by Rhea of Pennsylvania, excited much comment. When appropriations were being made to rebuild the capitol he made a fiery speech in which he proposed to encircle the ruins with iron railing, to let the ivy grow and cling to the smoke-blackened marble, and to write on a brazen tablet, "This is the effect of British Barbarism."

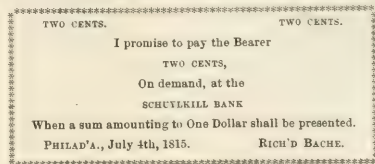
Philadelphia, as we have seen, settled quietly back into the paths of peace and commercial progress, after one enthusiastic illumination in honor of the treaty. But we have sufficient evidence that the financial difficulties of the times were very great. Suspension of specie payments had put every one in debt. The Assembly had, in December, 1814, given banks privilege to issue more notes than before, and this privilege lasted till February, 1815, in which interval a great many were issued. There was no coin in circulation; notes of two cents face-value were issued and were circulated in immense numbers, often by individuals

who never redeemed them, and in fact never expected to.¹

Politics were as lively as ever. The Federalists often joined forces with the old-school Democrats. In September the latter published a three-column review of local politics in Philadelphia for a dozen years previous. John Goodman was chairman and James Thackara secretary of the meeting which promulgated it. The document recommended John Sergeant as a candidate for Congress, Col. Isaac Boyer as State senator, John Miller as county commissioner, and Robert McMullin as auditor. For representatives to the Legislature in the county, the old-school Democrats nominated Michael Leib, Cornelius Trimmler, Jacob Winnemore, Samuel Castor, Andrew French, and John P. Colcord. The Federalists also nominated John Sergeant for Congress, but severed on the others. For senator they named Benjamin R. Morgan; for county commissioner, Frederick Axe; and for auditor, Cornelius Stevenson. In the city they nominated for Assembly, Thomas McEuen, John Hallowell, John Reed, Thomas Rutter, and John M. Scott. The new-school Democrats nominated a full city ticket, but without hope of election. They also nominated for Congress, John Conard; senator, John McLeod; county commissioner, Timothy Matlack; auditor, Philip Peltz; and a full Assembly ticket in the county: Joel B. Sutherland, Jacob G. Tryon, Jacob Holgate, Joseph B. Norbury, John Holmes, and George Morton. At the election the Federal and old-school candidates were generally successful. Sergeant was elected to Congress, Morgan to the Senate, Axe as county commissioner, and Stevenson as auditor. In the county the old-school legislative ticket was carried by majorities of less than three hundred.

Among the events of the early part of 1815 were the formation of the "Religious Tract Society for the Dissemination of Religious Sentiments in the Community;" also, the purchase by the commissioners of the Northern Liberties of the old barracks property on Third Street, below Green, after the Revolution used as a tavern, and by act of February 8th, converted into "Commissioners' Hall." The poor suffered much during the winter of 1814-15, and February 27th Chief Justice Tilghman presided at a meeting for the relief of the poor, held at the county court-house. In April the committees reported that

¹ The following is a copy of a two-cent note of this period, the dimensions of which were four inches in length by two in breadth:



they had collected \$6376.24, and had distributed \$3358.11 in the city. This winter a soup-distributing society was formed, Mordecai Lewis being president. The charitable societies connected with the various churches were kept busy responding to the numerous calls for help.

A long struggle, of which little has hitherto been said, came to the surface early this year in a petition to the Legislature from the City Councils asking for leave to make all the country people pay rent for their stalls, stands, etc., in the markets. The hucksters and retailers were at the bottom of the movement, but it failed, the Legislature stoutly refusing to curtail the ancient privileges of the farmers, market-gardeners, and ruralists generally. The Councils on March 23d established a fish-market on High Street, east of Water Street. At this time the cattle-market was on the west side of Southeast Square, on the line of Seventh Street, and petitions were sent to the Councils to have it removed. In April it was resolved that the cattle-market should cease at that place after the 1st of May, and that "persons bringing cattle to market should be notified that they could take them to the place where the hay-market is kept, in Sixth Street, above Callowhill."

The Legislature passed a new State apportionment bill in March. The city and county were made one senatorial district, to elect four senators. The city was given four members in the House, and the county six. An act was passed to authorize the Governor to appoint commissioners to lay out and mark a road, beginning at or near the west end of the Middle Ferry bridge over the Schuylkill River, thence along the road called "the Marlborough Street," etc., to the bridge "now erecting at McCall's Ferry over the Susquehanna, in Lancaster County." The Pennsylvania and New Jersey Steamboat Company was incorporated by act of March 11th, with authority to build a ferry from Philadelphia to Kaighn's Point, N. J., capital not to exceed fifty thousand dollars; shares, twenty-five dollars each. They also incorporated "The President, Managers, and Company of the Schuylkill Navigation Company," those being days when long names abounded in such enterprises; they fixed the price of stock at fifty dollars per share, and two hundred shares had to be subscribed for to organize; among the commissioners were Samuel Wetherill, Jr., Jonathan Williams, Samuel Richards, Robert Kennedy, and Josiah White, of the city; Conrad Carpenter, Francis Deal, and Joseph Starne, of the county; and there were commissioners for other counties. Another incorporation was the "Flat Rock Bridge Turnpike Road," with nine hundred shares at fifty dollars each; they were to build a road "from where the Flat Rock bridge road intersects the Ridge turnpike, near Robinson's mill, up the river Schuylkill to Gulph Creek, and by the shortest and best route to the Gulph road, near the bridge below the Bird-in-Hand Tavern in Montgomery County." The com-

missioners were Lewis Rush and James Traquair, of the city, and Joseph Starne, Horatio Gates Jones, and William Alexander, of the county. The charter of the Gray's Ferry bridge came up again, but the Legislature insisted on arches of seventy-five feet height, and the City Councils petitioned against the height of forty feet wanted by the company.

Early in May the "manufacturers of Philadelphia" attempted to organize a society. The committee consisted of Thomas Leiper, dealer in snuff and tobacco; George Worrall, iron; James Whittaker, nails; Samuel Emory, white wax candles; John Sangy, jeweler; David Simpson, silver-plater; William Camm, hats and caps; Philip Jones, umbrellas; William Levis, paper; Jonathan Lukens, saddles; Alexander Campbell, boots and booties; Frederick Gaul, beer and ale; George Laws, tanner and currier; and William Seal, silversmith. They do not seem to have made any permanent organization. About this time the Mutual Assistance Coal Company, for the promotion of manufactures, issued an address, in which there was an interesting report upon the trials made of stone-coal as a fuel. It was declared that the coal could be easily ignited and burned, and an interesting account was given of the Schuylkill coal region.

Quite a number of city improvements were made this year. In May a resolution was adopted by Common Council that, as soon as the owners and occupiers of property in the vicinity of Southeast Public Square paid fifteen hundred dollars into the city treasury, the Councils would construct a culvert, remove the paving-stones, lumber, and dirt from the line of Seventh Street, lay the footways with gravel, put up an open fence on the Seventh Street front, and repair the fence around the remainder of the square. Shortly afterwards it was resolved that when the owners and occupiers of property near the Southwest Public Square loaned eight hundred dollars for three years, free of interest, to the city, the Councils would inclose that square with a substantial fence of rough boards. In September another bill passed the Common Council to inclose the Northeast Public Square. The money was raised for the Southwest Square, and the fence was then put up.

About this time the Northern Dispensary was opened, at the corner of Green and Budd Streets, at the suggestion of the Philadelphia Dispensary.

Steamship navigation was increasing steadily. The steamboat "Eagle," which had been on the line to New York, cleared for Baltimore in June, under the command of Capt. Rogers. This boat, two hundred and sixty-one tons burden, was intended to ply on the new line between Baltimore and Philadelphia by the way of Elkton and Wilmington. The line was completed on the Delaware by the steamboat "Vesta," Capt. William Milnor. The fare was six dollars, but in December it was raised to ten dollars. On the 29th of that month the new steamboat "Baltimore" was launched from the ship-yard of

Vaughn & Bowers, in Kensington, intended to run in connection with the steamboat "Philadelphia," being built in Baltimore. The steamboat "Burlington," commanded by Capt. Jacob Myers, which plied between Philadelphia and Burlington, was burned at the latter place in June.

July 24th, news of the disastrous fire at Petersburg, Va., having been received, Chief Justice Tilghman presided and Roberts Vaux was secretary of a public meeting, at which a large sum of money was collected for the sufferers. An appeal to the public was made a month or so later by the "Philadelphia Bible and Missionary Society," Rev. Dr. Jacob Brodhead president, and books and money were liberally given to the enterprise.

November 30th, at Peter Evans' famous tavern, one hundred guests assembled, Charles Chauncey president, to celebrate Thanksgiving, for peace had come, abundant harvests crowned the land, Pennsylvania was evidently entering upon an era of unbounded prosperity. Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely had written a song for the occasion, and speeches and toasts were given.

Early in December the city was informed of a legacy, the Councils receiving a letter from Edinburgh, Scotland, informing them that John Scott, chemist, of Edinburgh, had bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia three thousand dollars in American three per cents., to be applied to the same purposes as Dr. Franklin's legacy; also four thousand dollars in three per cents., the interest to be expended in premiums to American inventors, men or women. No premium was to exceed twenty dollars, and each was to be accompanied by a copper medal with the inscription, "To the most deserving."

December 28th, a letter was received by the City Councils from James McMurtrie, who offered to introduce gas-lights. He said that, in company with Dr. Bollman, he had, while in Europe, examined gas-works in England, and thought there was no difficulty in establishing a manufactory in which gas should be made from wood. McMurtrie and Bollman hoped to connect these works with the manufacture of pyroligneous acid, which could be used in the preparation of white lead. Mr. Leaming offered a Council resolution saying,—

"WHEREAS, Gas-lights have, by actual experience in the city of London, been found to cost less and to yield a better light than oil lamps, and there is good reason for believing that they may be introduced with advantage into the city of Philadelphia, and as the materials for making the apparatus and preparing the gas are abundant in the United States, be it

"Resolved, That a committee of two members of each Council be appointed to ascertain facts, as far as they are able, relative to the effect and economy of gas-lights, and to procure for Councils copies of such books relative to the subject of gas-lights as they may deem useful, and to consider the practicableness and expediency of facilitating and encouraging the use of them in the city of Philadelphia."

The Common Council appointed on that committee Messrs. Leaming and Thompson, and the Select Council Messrs. Rush and Vaux, but nothing was done at that time.

The year 1815 closed without any further event of note in Philadelphia,—a year of quiet and growth. National affairs had moved along peacefully, and diplomatic relations were re-established with Europe. John Q. Adams was made minister to England, and Albert Gallatin to France. America had thrilled with indignation at the tales that released prisoners told of rotting hulks and of walled inclosures on desolate Devonshire plains, such as Dartmoor, where the guards in March causelessly fired upon the prisoners, killing five and wounding thirty-three. The year 1816 opened with questions of revenue and tariff uppermost in Congress, a Presidential campaign close at hand, internal improvements the most vital issue in each State, and coal and steam recognized as the leading factors of the industrial future.

Local and State politics were decidedly brisk from January to November. The new-school Democrats lost strength in Philadelphia. The old-school wing was opposed to the caucus nomination system, by which Congress and State Legislatures signified their Presidential preferences. They therefore met in the town hall of the Northern Liberties during August, and passed a series of resolutions protesting against the system.

On the 19th of September a convention of delegates appointed at this meeting, of which John Cochran, of Philadelphia, was chairman, met at Carlisle in order to select an electoral ticket to be recommended to the suffrages of the old-line Democrats of the State. An address was drawn up setting forth certain reasons against the authority of caucus nominations, and protesting against the practice of determining in a caucus composed of members of Congress who should be nominated for the offices of President and Vice-President of the Union. The convention then nominated an independent electoral ticket headed by Charles Thompson, of Montgomery County; Andrew Gregg, of Centre County; Joseph Reed and Matthew Lawler, of Philadelphia City; and Michael Leib, of the county. The Federalists generally were in sympathy with this old-school movement, and they in Locust, South, Upper and Lower Delaware Wards passed resolutions in October "against cabals and caucuses," and the controversy helped to throw unusual spirit into the October State election. The Democrats of the Northern Liberties met again October 18th, and supported the Carlisle nominations. The *United States Gazette*, October 22d, advised the Federalists to support the independent, or "new-school" movement.

The old-school party were not contented on this occasion with following in their old beaten tracks and being satisfied with running a separate legislative ticket in the county and uniting with the Republicans on the Congressional ticket. This time they were thoroughly aggressive. For Congress they nominated William J. Duane, Thomas Forrest, Adam Seybert, and William Anderson, the two last being

also on the new-school Democratic ticket, with the addition of Jacob Sommer and John Conard. The nominees of the Federalists were Joseph Hopkinson, John Sergeant, William Milnor, and Samuel Edwards, and this ticket was elected. A Federal ticket and a new-school ticket were put in the field in the city for the Assembly, the old-school party supporting Thomas Fitzgerald, James Thackara, and Jacob Edenborn, besides three candidates on Select Council and sixteen on Common Council tickets. Both in the Assembly and the Council the Federal ticket triumphed, and the same result was seen in the county, where the old-school candidates for the Assembly were Dr. William Rodgers, John R. Neff, Andrew French, Robert McMullin, Michael Leib, and George F. Goodman, while the new-school nominees were John Holmes, Jacob Holgate, Daniel Groves, George Morton, Jacob G. Tryon, and Joel B. Sutherland. In the city the Federal assemblymen were John M. Scott, John Read, Thomas McEuen, Thomas Morris, and Joseph Watson. For the possession of the various county offices there were several candidates. Commodore Thomas Truxton, Federalist, was elected sheriff; John Thum, also Federalist, county commissioner; and John Bacon, auditor. This revolution, so unexpected and yet so complete, may be said to have brought about the disintegration of the new-school party, as the successful candidates and others in thorough accord with them politically controlled the affairs of the county in the Assembly for several years.

After the excitement attending the result of the State campaign had subsided, the interest which had been felt in it was transferred, only in larger measure, to the contest for electoral tickets. The legislative caucus ticket, which was pledged to the election of Monroe and Tompkins, was headed by Paul Cox, William Brooke, and John Conard, but the independent or Carlisle Convention ticket was not pledged to any candidate, simply being opposed to the ticket of the other party. In city and county the independent ticket received 4110 votes, and the caucus ticket 2837 votes, but in the State the caucus ticket was successful, and the electoral vote of Pennsylvania, twenty-five in number, was polled for James Monroe for President, and Daniel D. Tompkins for Vice-President.

Manufactures were not neglected, however, even in the heat of politics, and the Assembly, on January 29th, passed an act creating White & Hazard, manufacturers of wire at the Falls of Schuylkill, a corporation under the title of the Whitestown Manufacturing Company. The firm also built a suspension bridge of wire across the falls, which was said to have been the first instance of wire being used in bridge-building, at least in this country.¹

The local events of 1816 were extremely varied in character. Hardly a year for a quarter of a century had witnessed so much organization, the founding of new societies and the increase of old ones; certainly no year since the city was founded witnessed a more tragic occurrence than one which occurred in January,—the murder of Capt. John Carson by Lieut. Richard Smith. It was one of those passionate tragedies unhappily far too common in overwrought modern society. Capt. Carson in 1801 had married Ann Baker, daughter of a naval captain; in 1812 he went to Europe, remaining there till January, 1816. When he returned he found that his wife had sold the property, set up a china-shop, and, representing herself a widow, had been married, at Frankford, in October, 1815, to Lieut. Richard Smith, nephew of the noted Daniel Clark, of Louisiana. This was the situation when Carson returned. He agreed to forgive his wife, and Smith promised to leave the city, but on the evening of January 20th he went to the house, entered the room where Capt. Carson, his wife and children, also Capt. Baker and his wife, were sitting, and, drawing a pistol, shot Carson dead. The jury found him guilty, and he was hung; but while yet in prison Ann Carson attempted to force his pardon. She hired or persuaded several desperate men to make an attempt to steal the child of John Binns, who was Governor Snyder's most intimate friend; this failing, she endeavored to have the Governor himself kidnapped. These strange and audacious plots came to grief, and her agents were arrested and imprisoned until some time after Smith's execution.

The benevolent ladies of Philadelphia on January 29th incorporated the Orphan Society; membership two dollars a year, or thirty dollars for life members. The following ladies were elected officers: First Directress, Sarah Ralston; Second Directress, Julia Rush; Secretary, Maria Dorsey; Treasurer, Mary Yorke; Managers, Susannah Latimer, Elizabeth McLane, Rebecca Gratz, Abigail B. Warder, Hannah Parke, A. Denman, Sarah Henry, Margaret Latimer, Letitia Buchanan, Elizabeth Abercrombie, Debbie H. Malcom, Elizabeth Harkins, Wilhelmina Minor, E. Smith, Sarah Bacon, Eliza Brodhead,

a time, including rude boys running backward and forward." Charles V. Hagner ("Early History of Falls of Schuylkill, Manayunk," etc.) says, "White & Hazard had two mills on the western side of the river, —one a saw-mill, the other a mill for making white lead. The wire-mills were on the east side of the river. There were two buildings at one time. On one of the occasions of the breaking down of the Falls bridge, White & Hazard erected a curious temporary bridge across the river by suspending wires from the top windows of their mill to large trees on the western side, which wires hung in curve, and from which were suspended other wires supporting a floor of boards eighteen inches wide. The length of the floor of this bridge was four hundred feet, without intermediate support. The entire cost was one hundred and twenty-five dollars. They charged a toll of one cent per passenger, and when, from that revenue, the cost of the structure was realized they made the structure free. The works on the east side of the river were those of White & Hazard, and separate from those on the west side, which were established under water-power leases by White & Gillingham."

¹ This bridge was one of the great curiosities of the time. Notice was given that only eight persons would be allowed on it at a time, but "A Visitor," writing to the *Gazette*, said that he "saw thirty people on it at

Ann L. Eyre, Rebecca Ralston, J. H. Phillips, Mary Richards, and Hannah Jones. This society grew out of one organized March 20, 1814, by ladies connected with the Second Presbyterian Church. They established a home for orphan children March 3, 1815. After this incorporation Messrs. John Cooke, Jacob Justice, James Wilmer, and Jonah Thompson presented to them a lot at the northeast corner of Cherry and Schuylkill Fifth Streets, now Eighteenth Street. The foundation was at once laid, and the building was occupied in 1818.¹ Other charitable and religious societies also prospered.

The Philadelphia Auxiliary Bible Society, which had been established in 1813, was assisted in its object by the institution of auxiliary societies in various parts of the city and county. The association of the southwestern section, including Middle, South, Locust, and Cedar Wards, was formed at a meeting February 6th, of which Alexander Henry was chairman. Two days afterward the Northwest Auxiliary Bible Society was formed within the limits of North Mulberry and South Mulberry Wards, and S. P. Glentworth was chairman. The Northeast Bible Society was formed February 14th, for High, Upper Delaware, and Lower Delaware Wards, and John White was chairman. Next day the Southeast Bible Society was formed for Chestnut, Walnut, Dock, and New Market Wards, and William Phillips was chairman. February 23d, the Auxiliary Bible Society of the Northern Liberties was formed, and March 16th, the Spring Garden Bible Society. Before this, however, on January 3d, in fact, the New England Society for Charitable and Social Purposes was formed, with Charles Chauncey president; Enos Bronson, Otis Ammidon, J. Barnes, Gideon Fairman, vice-presidents; Revs. William Rogers and E. S. Ely, chaplains; Thomas Lyman, secretary; George Hailes, assistant secretary; Asaph Stone, treasurer; Humphrey Atherton and William H. Dillingham, counselors; J. F. Waterhouse and Nicholas C. Nancrede, physicians; George A. Bicknell, Samuel Nevins, George Fobes, and John W. Lyman, stewards. Early in May were also organized the Religious Historical Society, for the purpose of collecting and preserving interesting historical documents, particularly those of an ecclesiastical nature. In 1816 Charles M. Depuy was secretary. The officers in Philadelphia were, in 1817, Jacob Brodhead, D.D., president; Rev. Jacob J. Janeway, Rev. James Milnor, New York, Rev. William Staughton, D.D., Rev. Samuel B. Wylie, Rev. Anthony A. Palmer, and Robert Ralston, vice-presidents. Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely was corresponding secretary; John Welwood Scott, recording secretary; Nathaniel Chauncey, treasurer; James R. Wilson, librarian. There were only thirteen members at this time; but they collected a fair library, some of which were manuscripts. Papers were read before the so-

ciety at its meeting, and some of them were published in the *Religious Remembrancer* by J. W. Scott. In December the friends of the deaf and dumb met, Chief Justice Tilghman presiding, John Bacon secretary, and tried to raise funds for the proposed Hartford Asylum. Laurent Clerc, a deaf and dumb pupil of the Abbé Sicard, was present under charge of Mr. Gallaudet. Charles Chauncey addressed the meeting, and considerable money was secured. Not long afterwards the newspapers advocated the founding of an asylum in Philadelphia, and the suggestion was afterwards adopted. During this year (October 1st) the Washington Benevolent Society took possession of their new marble building on the west side of Third Street, north of Spruce. All in all, the Philadelphia of 1816 had a right to feel proud of the spirit of benevolence and practical charity shown by her citizens on every occasion.

Bank-notes were continually depreciating. There were forty-one new banks chartered in 1814 by a foolish Legislature, and the suspension of specie payment enabled them to enlarge their issues to an unlimited extent. At first there was "plenty of money" and high prices, and every one was happy, but the notes of the Philadelphia banks depreciated fifteen or twenty per cent. before April, 1816. The banks took alarm, and began to contract their currency, bringing their notes to ninety-two per cent. by July, but many business failures occurred. The second Bank of the United States was established by Congress in 1816, at Philadelphia, capital, \$35,000,000. The president was William Jones; cashier, Jonathan Smith; assistant cashier, James Houston; first teller, Jonathan Patterson; second teller, Caleb P. Iddings. Among the public directors were the following citizens of Philadelphia: William Jones, Stephen Girard, and Pierce Butler. Among the ordinary directors were Robert Ralston, Chandler Price, Thomas M. Willing, John Bohlen, Thomas Leiper, Cadwalader Evans, Jr., Samuel Wetherill, Emanuel Eyre, Thomas McEuen, John Savage, Guy Bryan, John Goddard, James C. Fisher, and John Connelly. Philadelphia had a bank robbery to talk about in October. On the 21st of that month N. W. L. Learned broke into the Philadelphia Bank, but was unable to enter the vaults. From the desks he took three thousand dollars in notes, three hundred dollars in coin, and some silver plate, but was arrested and sent to prison for twelve years.

The Councils found plenty of occupation, as a brief account of various acts, local happenings, and problems in reference to streets, lights, etc., will show. The new fish market was ready for use in January. Turner Camac then issued proposals for the supply of fish and the building of ice-houses. In July, for the first time, fishing-vessels went to sea and brought the funny cargoes in ice to the Philadelphia market.

In January, William J. Allinson sent a communication to the Councils on the subject of gas-lights.

¹ This building cost twenty-six thousand six hundred and seventy-six dollars, and was of brick, three stories high, with attic and basement.

During the year the applicability of gas was made clear. In April the advertisements of Peale's Museum proclaimed that there would be shown in the apartments "gas-lights—lamps burning without wick or oil." The illumination was to be "with carbonated hydrogen gas on a new and improved plan." Dr. Kugler, a merchant, had charge of the enterprise. November 14th the Councils witnessed the successful lighting of the new Chestnut Street Theatre.¹

By an act of February 20th the act of April 4, 1798, allowing chains to be placed across the public streets in front of churches on occasion of public worship, was extended to the district of Northern Liberties. In March a law was passed which allowed piers to be sunk in the Delaware River at the borough of Chester. The military was reorganized and the uniform somewhat changed, the red and blue cockade being abolished. Jacob Mayland erected a saw-mill in Blockley township at Mill Creek, near Gray's Ferry bridge, and soon added a snuff-mill. A flour-mill had been built there several years before. In March prisoners were transferred from the old Walnut Street prison to the new one at Broad and Arch. A correction department was established for the reception and safe-keeping of "untried prisoners, witnesses, vagrants, servants, and apprentices." Some public-spirited citizens offered five hundred dollars donation to the city toward the improvement of the Southwest Public Square, a portion of which at that time was used for the reception of night-soil. The subject was referred to a committee of Councils, which reported in April that the Southwest Square, "in those parts not used for particular purposes, should be tilled and laid down with grass." Regarding the Southeast Public Square, it was proposed that the city carpenter-shop should be removed to Lombard Street. In the Northeast Square it was recommended that the high parts be plowed down and grass-seed sown. It was also recommended that the square should be planted with forest-trees, and other improvements inaugurated under the direction of the City Commissioners. The occupation of the Northeast Square by the German Reformed congregation continued. In September a fifteen years' lease of the ground to that congregation expired, and they asked that it should be renewed for ninety-nine years. The Councils gave a lease of two years and four months from the 20th of September. In December, Mr. Leaming, in Common Council, proposed the four public squares should be called Washington, Frank-

lin, Columbus, and Penn; also that statues of marble and bronze should be erected therein; but the Select Council refused to concur.

Street questions were numerous as usual. In April it was resolved that if the citizens of Penn township would pay half the expense of paving Vine Street, from Broad to the Schuylkill, the city would pass the bill. It was also desired to extend Seventh Street through Northeast and Southeast Squares, but in November the Councils passed a resolution directing that the Southeast Public Square should be fenced according to its patent boundaries, and that gates should be left open opposite Seventh Street for the use of foot passengers. The street opened on the west side of Southeast Square was named Columbia Avenue.

The smallpox prevailed in portions of the city in March, and the regular physicians and the Vaccine Society were kept very busy. In May, Mr. Vaux, in Common Council, offered a resolution providing for the gratuitous vaccination of the poor in indigent circumstances, which was passed. It provided for the appointment of vaccine physicians and the gratuitous vaccination of all persons in indigent circumstances, establishing a fee and compensation to the physician. This was the beginning of a system which has been maintained ever since. The city was divided into four districts, in each of which was a collector of vaccine cases and a physician. These officers were: Northeast District, Dr. John Austin; Collector, Richard Pryor. Northwest District, Physician, Dr. David J. Davis; Collector, John Lane. Southeast District, Physician, Dr. Joseph G. Shippen; Collector, Amos Roberts. Southwest District, Physician, Dr. Joseph G. Nancrede; Collector, Chamless Allen.

March 19th there was held a meeting of citizens interested in claims upon the United States government, for remuneration for spoiliations committed by the belligerent powers during the recent European wars. Henry Pratt was president, and a committee was appointed, consisting of the latter, with Robert Waln, Robert Ralston, John Coulter, and Daniel W. Coxe, to prepare a memorial to the President of the United States. Reminiscences of the war abounded, and gifts to its heroes were still being bestowed. The sword to Commodore Perry had cost seven hundred dollars. In January a service of plate, consisting of an urn and pitcher, made by Edward Chaudron, silversmith, had been presented by the citizens of Philadelphia to the widow of Capt. James Lawrence, of the "Chesapeake." March 5th, the Legislature resolved that a sword should be presented to "Capt. Charles Stewart, a native of Pennsylvania, for his valor in capturing at the same time the British ships 'Cyane' and 'Levant.'"

The City Councils early in the year sent a memorial to the Legislature stating that there were four thousand taverns and eighteen hundred tippling-houses in city and county. Means of repression were

¹ This was an important step forward. Warren & Wood, in their theatre bill on November 25th, said, "The theatre is to be hereafter entirely lighted with gas-lights, established under the inspection and control of Dr. Kugler. The managers are happy to be the first to introduce this system of lighting theatres, and flatter themselves that its superior safety, brilliancy, and neatness will be satisfactorily expressed by the audience." William Henry, copper and tinsmith, at No. 209 Lombard Street, near Seventh, constructed the whole apparatus. He put up a gas-machine at his own house, and invited Councils to call and examine the process. This was the first private residence in the United States lighted by gas. The gas committee made a report on the subject, but no definite action was taken.

urged. Educational matters attracted much attention. The act of April 4, 1809, had been altered in March, 1812, as before noted, but the war prevented the matter from receiving much attention. In November, 1815, the County Commissioners proposed a plan of education to the City Councils, which led, in January, 1816, to the appointment of a committee to consult with the commissioners of Southwark and of the Northern Liberties. It was not until 1818 that the details were sanctioned by the Legislature, when an act was passed providing for the education of poor children at the public expense in the city and county of Philadelphia, and forming the "First School District of Pennsylvania." Meanwhile the State-House was a source of difficulty. March 11th, the Legislature directed the sale of the building and lot. The city was to be allowed to purchase subject to certain conditions for \$70,000. The east and west wings of the State-House were confirmed to the city of Philadelphia.

On the 11th of April the mayor was authorized to contract with the Governor for the purchase of the State-House on the terms prescribed, and the money was raised by loan. A writer in the *United States Gazette* of April 19th declared that, so far as the law proposed to cut a street through the State-House yard, and to sell it out in lots to private purchasers, it was beyond the power of the Legislature, which already had been, by the act of 1769, pledged to keep the tract "a public green and walk forever."

In June the grand jury presented as a public nuisance the practice of flying kites in the streets. The mayor supplemented this, a few months afterwards, by a proclamation, in which he specified as nuisances the flying of kites, the rolling of hoops, the ringing of bells by vendors of muffins, the sweeping of gravel from the interstices of stone pavements, and the placing of merchandise on the footways.

Jacob Rush, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, some time in June asked the attention of the Councils to the subject of connecting the Walnut Street sewer with the sewer which passed through the county prison at Sixth and Walnut. The citizens who agreed to loan five hundred dollars for this work had paid the money into the treasury.

In June, also, the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Steamboat Company bought Fulton's patents as far as related to their use "five miles north and south of Kaighn's Point." Peale, of the Museum, urged the claims of his collection, and some time during the summer a public meeting was held, Charles Biddle, chairman. The resolutions declared that "the dispersion of the Museum by the death of the present aged proprietor, and the division of his property among his numerous descendants, would be a serious disadvantage to the city." Perhaps the most amusing event of which we have any record during this summer was the reappearance of Redheffer, the perpetual-motion claimant. He succeeded in securing the for-

mation of a committee of reputable gentlemen to examine his machine, but when the day of trial came refused to set his machine in motion, and the smiling public, after a fit of laughter, turned its back forever on the fraudulent inventor.

The last month of 1816 was marked by few important events except the reception by the Councils of letters from citizens of Lower Delaware Ward relative to "attempts lately made to fire the city." The mayor was authorized to offer five hundred dollars reward for the arrest of incendiaries; and a reward of twenty dollars was authorized for the arrest of persons who should raise false alarms of fire, and a nightly patrol was established.

Early in December a Council committee was appointed to look out a place for a public burial-ground in lieu of the Lombard Street lot, according to an act of the last Legislature granting said lot to the city. This was the lot on the south side of Lombard Street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, running from street to street. It was three hundred and eighty-six feet in breadth, and seventy-six feet in depth north and south.

About the same time John A. Woodside was paid sixty dollars for painting the city arms, which was put up in the Common Council chamber, in a space formerly occupied by the central window, in the recess or "bay." This was the first instance of such a decoration of the Council chambers.

The national appropriation for internal improvement was three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, though six hundred thousand dollars more had been asked for. New York revived the Erie Canal scheme; Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, all started extensive projects. Congress voted money for a custom-house at Philadelphia. The duties levied on cotton and woollens were to favor the industries that had been created by the embargo and the war. The cotton manufacturers employed one hundred thousand persons, consumed twenty-seven million pounds of cotton, and produced eighty-one million yards of cloth, which sold for \$24,300,000. The value of the woollens produced was \$19,000,000. During 1815 and 1816 New England was shaken to its foundations by ecclesiastical disputes between Unitarians and Trinitarians, between Dwight and Channing. The discussion extended to Pennsylvania, as is amply shown in the chapters on Religious Denominations in this work. Western Virginians met in convention at Staunton, dissatisfied with their representation. Indian sessions in the Southwest enlarged the bounds of Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee. September 28th, Col. Clinch attacked and destroyed the Floridian fort on the Apalachicola, held by three hundred and fifty Indians and runaway negroes. This was the beginning of the Seminole wars. The government resolved to cease receiving irredeemable paper on Feb. 20, 1817. In October, 1816, Dallas resigned the treasuryship, and was succeeded by Crawford. To Congress, in

December, the revenue was reported as \$47,000,000, and the debt at \$105,000,000.

The year 1817 opened with a resumption of specie payments by the government. The new national bank went too freely into discounting notes of certain stockholders at Philadelphia and Baltimore, and curtailed its capital. Attempts to secure payment of our claims against Spain, France, Russia, and other governments were made, but with little success. John Trumbull was authorized to "paint four Revolutionary scenes" for the Capitol. Alabama Territory was established. The "American Colonization Society" was formed at Washington by Clay, Randolph, Judge Washington, Wright, of Maryland, and others. Monroe, soon after his inauguration, set out on a tour through New England, and "the era of good feeling" was fairly begun. Establishments of Spanish-American adventurers on Amelia Island, off northeast Florida, and on Galveston, on the Texas coast, were suppressed by United States expeditions. Late in November an Indian massacre on the Appalachiecola roused the country.

Philadelphia had a good deal of "local politics" during 1817. In March a letter was published which had been written by Dr. Joel B. Sutherland, physician at the Lazaretto, to Joseph McCoy, who had been associated with him in the Legislature. This letter was dated at the Lazaretto, June 27, 1816, and directed to McCoy at the "New Market." In that epistle Sutherland said, referring, as was alleged, to the uncertainty of the Democratic nomination for Governor in the next year, "You may think me a d— strange creature, to be vacillating between Boileau and Findlay. But as you and I, and all politicians, are men of principle in proportion to our interest, I have written to you undisguisedly on this matter." McCoy, in April, published a letter in regard to the subject, in which he said, "During the last summer a letter addressed to me by Dr. Sutherland was taken from the mail, and carried to a haunt of political intrigue in this city, which it is not necessary to mention" (meaning Binns' *Democratic Press*). He added what he represented to be a true copy of Sutherland's letter, in which the last sentence was as follows: "But as you and I *know well*, these politicians are all men of principle in proportion to their interest." Binns then gave an account of the manner in which he got a copy of Sutherland's letter. He copied it, and sent for Josiah Randall, with whom he verified the copy and the original. Randall then wrote a certificate that it was correct, after which Binns sent a copy to Governor Snyder, also to Boileau and Findlay. He added that the letter published by McCoy, although it might be in the handwriting of Sutherland, was not the original letter, and he declared that the original phrase was, "But as you and I are politicians in proportion to our interest." Sutherland, on the publication of the letter, was removed, and Dr. George F. Lehman appointed. He

thereupon took the case to the Supreme Court, and it was decided that Lehman's commission was illegal.

The quarrel between the new-school and the old-school Democrats was prosecuted with its usual intensity. The new-school party favored nomination by a caucus, to be held by members of the Legislature at Harrisburg. In March the Federalists of the Northern Liberties resolved that they would not support a candidate nominated by the Harrisburg caucus, and that they would support the anti-caucus candidate, whoever he might be. The new-school Democrats, at Harrisburg in April, nominated William Findlay for Governor. A little later the opposition convention met at Carlisle, and nominated Joseph Heister.

In the city the Federalists nominated for the Assembly William Lehman, Griffith Evans, Samuel Worrall, Samuel Hodgdon, and John Purdon. The independent Republicans, or anti-caucus Democrats (the old-school party), nominated for Assembly in the city William J. Duane, James Thackara, Lewis Rush, Robert Kennedy, and Edward D. Cox. The caucus, or Findlay, Democrats nominated George M. Dallas, John Jennings, Samuel Jackson, James Harper, and John Lisle. At the election, the Federal Assembly ticket was carried over the caucus, or Findlay, ticket by majorities exceeding twelve hundred. The old-school Democrats ran from five hundred to six hundred behind the new-school faction. For State senators the Federalists nominated John Read and Samuel Breck. The caucus Democrats named Horatio G. Jones and John Connelly. The independent Republicans (Heister men) nominated Thomas Fitzgerald and Joseph Stouse. The Federalists carried the whole ticket by votes of about four thousand eight hundred, gaining the election by majorities of from fifty to one hundred. The independent Republicans, or Heister men, had votes of less than two thousand five hundred. The Federalists elected their auditor (Samuel Pancoast) by a small majority. The caucus Democrats elected Philip Peltz county commissioner by a majority of six. John Dennis, caucus Democrat for coroner, ran eleven hundred above the highest opposition, though there were nine candidates in the field.

The contest for Governor was animated, and showed a serious division among the Democrats. In 1814 the entire vote for both candidates was over 80,000, but in 1817 Findlay and Heister polled an aggregate vote of more than 124,000. Findlay received 67,905 votes and Heister 66,300. In Philadelphia the vote was: For Heister, city, 3946; county, 3537; total, 7483. Findlay, city, 1551; county, 3030; total, 4581. Heister's majority, 2902. Such Federalists as voted cast their ballots for Heister. When the Legislature met in December three petitions were received, each signed by fifty persons, protesting against the election of Governor Findlay. Slaymaker, in the House, moved

to suspend the inauguration, which was lost. Two days afterwards two of the petitioners attended the Senate and asked to be heard. The parties desiring to contest the election were required to go on and make out their case after the Governor was in office. The real object was to prevent or postpone Findlay's inauguration, and this design having failed the contest was not carried any further.

At the beginning of the year the times were hard, business was dull, and as many people were turned out of employment, much suffering followed among the poorer classes of the community. Meetings for relief were held and considerable money subscribed, but in order to render the public benevolence systematic it was determined to form a society "for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the poor, and for removing or preventing the causes which produce mendicity." Dr. Mease proposed a "savings-bank," under corporate authority. On the 13th of May "The Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy" was organized. It was determined there should be standing committees on the following subjects: Poor Laws, Public Prisons, Domestic Economy, Public Schools, etc. Robert Ralston was elected president, Robert Wahn and Thomas Leiper vice-presidents, and Samuel Hazard secretary.

One of the first subjects which interested the members of the society was that of education, and the Lancasterian system of instruction was introduced into several of the schools in the city.¹ The assessors of the city and county returned in the summer of this year that the number of poor children to be schooled by direction of the County Commissioners, under authority of law, were three thousand and ninety-two.

Financial affairs were rather worse than better. Early in January, 1817, the second Bank of the United States went into operation. Being under a penalty of twelve per cent. per annum to pay specie on demand, it was against its interest that it should be the only institution which redeemed its notes, and consequently the first move of the directors was to induce the other banks to resume specie payments. They were not in a condition to carry out this measure, but they trusted to the forbearance of the community. A committee of the Legislature, in 1820, said that the resumption, which took place February 21st, was nominal, and adduced as a proof the fact that for a long time afterwards American and foreign

coins were at a premium. By this means, however, the United States Bank checked the tendency to draw coin from it. Having effected this much, loans began to increase enormously, and in a few months there were more bank credits than there had been before the State banks began the work of curtailment.

The interesting acts of Council and Legislature during the year referring to Philadelphia were numerous. In January, the Councils wished to borrow six hundred dollars from citizens to improve the Southeast Square. The same month John Wheatley presented to the city five hundred and fifty dollars, being the proceeds of one night's performance of West's Equestrian Company at the circus; to be used for charitable purposes, one-fourth for firewood for the poor. In January, also, the Legislature passed an act to authorize the Schuylkill Falls Bridge Company to sell its corporate rights to persons "who will undertake to erect a permanent bridge." A new chain bridge was soon commenced from the design of Louis Wernwag, architect, which was completed by Isaac Nathans, the builder, in the month of December. In March the Assembly passed an act incorporating the Gloucester and Greenwich Point Ferry Company. They also prohibited horse-racing on any of the public roads of Philadelphia City or County, under penalty of fifty dollars and the forfeiture of horses engaged in it. The same month the Governor was authorized to subscribe for one thousand shares of stock of the Schuylkill Navigation Company. At the same time eight thousand dollars were appropriated for building piers at Chester, on the Delaware. The Council committee on lights reported in March, and a standing "committee on gas-light" was appointed "to recommend when they think proper its general adoption." Some time in April John Hart, high constable of the city of Philadelphia, was tried before the United States District Court, Judge Bushrod Washington presiding, upon an indictment for having stopped the United States mail. He had charged the drivers with breaking city ordinances, in one case with "driving faster than six miles an hour," in another with not having bells attached to the horses, but was acquitted. In the Common Council June 5th, on motion of Roberts Vaux, resolutions of inquiry into recent steamboat disasters were passed, and Messrs. Vaux, Smith, and Lehman being appointed, addressed many questions to persons supposed to be acquainted with the subject. They made a long report, but could only recommend partitions of great strength between the engines and the cabins. Among the persons consulted were Professor Thomas Cooper, Joseph Cloud, Jacob Perkins, and Frederick Graff. The committee recommended, in the first place, a monthly boiler-inspection, with double safety-valves; one to be kept locked and accessible. The Common Council passed a bill in September to arch the dock and draw-bridge, and abolish the sand-dock at the corner of Dock and

¹ "A Complete Lancasterian School for Females" was opened in Pear Street in April by James Edwards, teacher. In the same month John Daniel Weston notified the public that he had introduced the Lancasterian system into the Northern Liberties at No. 422½ North Fourth Street, seven doors south of Poplar Lane. He said that he had acquired his knowledge of the system by having taught for four years under Joseph Lancaster in London. In June, Benjamin Shaw delivered an address before the Public Economy Society in favor of establishing schools on the Lancasterian system. Abel S. Trood opened a school on the Lancasterian system at No. 5 Appletree Alley in June. Edwards called his school the Lancasterian High School in the latter portion of the year. Edward Baker set up a Lancasterian school at No. 48 South Fifth Street in December.

Front Streets, but the Select Council demurred. Petitions were presented in October saying that Chestnut Street and several other streets leading westward "were too steep for a safe and convenient passage from the river Schuylkill; this was occasioned, they said, by the tunnel laid in Chestnut Street to convey the water from the Western to the Centre Engine-Works, which was no longer requisite." In December the Councils granted to the American Philosophical Society for seven years "the southeast and southwest rooms in the basement story of the centre house, at the Centre Square, and so much of the circular part of said building as is above the basement; and the roof of the said story, for the purpose of an astronomical observatory."

Society proceedings, receptions, and celebrations deserve a word of comment. Early in the year the "Belles-Lettres Society" was organized, with G. R. Barry as secretary. The Washington Benevolent Society at this time was under the conduct of the following officers: President, Commodore Richard Dale; Senior Vice-President, Robert Wharton. It held its usual celebration on the 22d of February, at Washington Hall. Charles Chauncey delivered the oration before the Benevolent Society and the Washington Society (another association), of which Charles S. Cox was president. In the evening a birthnight ball was given at Washington Hall. The room was lighted by two thousand wax candles. Rush's statue of Washington was placed in a conspicuous position. Five hundred persons were present at these festivities.¹ Early in the month of May Joseph Bonaparte, ex-king of Spain, and Marshal Grouchy were in the city, and attended Gillies' concert at Washington Hall. But the greatest society event of the year was the visit of President Monroe, in June.

A meeting of the civil officers of the United States and State governments had been previously called, and it was arranged that a committee composed of seven representatives of each branch of service should be appointed to wait upon him. The following were selected: Federal officers, John Steel, Robert Patterson, David Caldwell, William Duncan, William Jones, James Glentworth, and Dr. John White; State officers, Joseph B. McKean, John Goodman, Thomas Truxton, Joseph Reed, Timothy

Matlack, Jacob Rush, and Peter A. Brown. At Fort Mifflin the barge of the "Franklin," seventy-four, decorated and manned by sixteen seamen, was ready. Having previously visited New Castle, he landed at the fort early on the morning of the 6th, and was received by Col. Moses Porter with a national salute. He was then rowed up the Schuylkill to Gray's Ferry, where he was received by the volunteer cavalry and a large number of citizens on horseback. Proceeding thence by the Hamilton road, he was received at the western end of the permanent bridge with a Federal salute fired by the Franklin Flying Artillery, Capt. Richard Bache. At the eastern side of the Schuylkill Gen. Thomas Cadwalader's brigade was drawn out to receive him, and the procession proceeded through the principal streets to the Mansion House. The next day he breakfasted with Mayor Robert Wharton, Joseph Reed, recorder, and the presidents of the Councils. He then visited the prison, the Pennsylvania Hospital, Peale's Museum, and Sully's gallery of paintings. From thence he went to the navy-yard, where due honors were paid by the officers and crew of the "Franklin." On his return he was waited upon by the Society of the Cincinnati, and addresses were delivered. He inspected the custom-house, the Bank of the United States, the mint, and the lot near the draw-bridge proposed as the site of the new custom-house, and left Philadelphia on the 7th for Trenton, N. J., on his way to New York and Boston. The last "society note" of the season is to the effect that in November a meeting was held at Renshaw's, at which was adopted the following: "*Resolved*, That within the city of Philadelphia, the residence of so much elegance and the resort of so much gayety, there ought to be public dancing assemblies." It was determined to open subscription-books at twenty dollars for each subscriber. The religious organizations of the city were active. In May the Philadelphia Sunday and Adults' School Union was formed, Alexander Henry being president. It was upon this foundation that the American Sunday-School Union was afterward established. The new orphan asylum at the corner of Cherry and Schuylkill Fifth Streets was opened on Sunday, May 4th, and a sermon was preached by Bishop White. July 23d there was a meeting to organize an auxiliary colonization society. Bishop White presided, and Jonah Thompson was secretary. This subject excited much attention among the negroes, who were opposed to the scheme. They held a meeting at Bethel Church, James Forten president, and Russell Parrot secretary. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the colonization scheme. In August they held another meeting, and a memorial addressed to citizens of Philadelphia was adopted requesting them not to join in the formation of such a society. But this opposition was not successful, and on the 12th of August "The Philadelphia Colonization Society auxiliary to the American Society for

¹ This ball was determined upon at a meeting held at the Washington Hall Hotel on the 4th of January, of which William Meredith was chairman, and Joseph P. Norris, Jr., secretary.

The meeting "*Resolved*, That on the eve of the approaching anniversary of the birthday of George Washington a ball shall be given by the citizens of Philadelphia; that the following gentlemen, members of the Cincinnati, be respectfully requested to act as managers of the ball: Mr. Charles Biddle, Maj. Lenox, Maj. Jackson, Commodore Dale, Commodore Truxton, Gen. Steel, Commodore Murray, Gen. Robinson, Judge Peters, Capt. Markland.

"That the following gentlemen be requested to assist as managers on the same occasion: Mr. Binney, Mr. Gillaspy, Gen. Cadwalader, Mr. Meredith, Capt. James Biddle, Mr. J. B. Wallace, Gen. Izard, Col. Prevost."

Colonizing the Poor People of Color of the United States" was organized. Bishop William White was elected president; Rev. William Staughton, Rev. Thomas Sargent, M.D., and Rev. J. J. Janeway were vice-presidents. In December "The Common Prayer-Book Society of Pennsylvania" was founded. Its object was to furnish prayer-books to poor Episcopal congregations. William Tilghman was president.

There were two disasters during the year. The first, in March (the 4th), was the burning of the house of a shoemaker named McDermott, No. 287 South Front Street, by which his five children were burned to death, a misfortune that created the warmest sympathy. The other disaster, in July, was the burning, fortunately with no loss of life, of the steamer "Vesta," of the new Baltimore line. The steamboat "Sea-horse" was brought from Elizabethport and took the "Vesta's" place. At this time the "Philadelphia," upon the Delaware, and the "Olive Branch," at the New York end of the route, formed one line between the two cities. Stages were run overland, carrying passengers and freight between the boats. The land carriage between Trenton and New Brunswick was twenty-six miles, and the fare in November was \$5.62. The "Sea-horse" ran to Bristol and Burlington, and connected with the Industry line of stages. The "Active," Capt. Bennett, ran independent to Burlington. The old line to Baltimore was composed of the "Delaware," Capt. Wilmon Whildin, and the "Baltimore," Capt. M. C. Jenkins, on the Delaware River; the "Chesapeake," Capt. J. Owen, and the "Philadelphia," Capt. E. Trippe, on the Chesapeake. Sixteen miles of land carriage connected these boats. The new Baltimore line, *via* Wilmington and Elkton, was composed of the "Superior," Capt. William Milnor, and the "New Jersey," Capt. Moses Rogers. Passengers were taken from Philadelphia on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays of each week. Before the burning of the "Vesta," the "Eagle" ran upon the Chesapeake, making a daily line. After the "Vesta" was burned the "Eagle" was withdrawn. The next year, 1818, there were some improvements in the river and bay steamboat lines. The Baltimore steamboat line, by way of Elkton, was established with increased conveniences, there being running on it the "Pennsylvania," Capt. Branson; the "Ætna," Capt. Kellum; and the "Bristol," Capt. Myers. Capt. Rogers formed an association with the design of building a steamship to run between Savannah and Philadelphia, but the effort was not successful. A packet line of sailing-vessels to New Orleans was, however, established in the month of August by Chandler, Price & Morgan. It was composed of the ships "Ohio," Capt. Simeon Toby; "Felician," Capt. N. Franklin; "Orleans," Capt. Grover; and "Margaret," Capt. H. Benner. In the navigation of the river there were some changes. The team-boat "Peacock" ran from Market Street Ferry to the Mineral Springs on the Rancocas and to Mount Holly.

The team-boat "Phoenix" was placed upon the line between Gloucester and Greenwich Point. It was propelled by the action of eight horses. A post-coach line was set up between Philadelphia and New York by way of Paulus Hook, starting from Judd's Hotel every morning at five o'clock, and arrived in New York the same afternoon. The United States mail coach, of the same line, started at three o'clock, and arrived at New York the next morning. A second line of post-coaches was connected with the steamboat "Bristol," which left Market Street every afternoon at three o'clock for Burlington. The coaches crossed New Jersey, and connected with a steamer, passengers reaching New York at 2 P.M. the next day. Another line of coaches left the Green-Tree Inn at 8 P.M., and reached New York at eleven the next morning.

National affairs in 1818 were largely occupied with our foreign relations. The government in April returned in a measure to the old system of commercial retaliation, but soon found it unprofitable. The slavery question began to loom up in greater proportions. A new fugitive slave law was passed. Gen. Jackson in January took the field against the Seminoles, captured the Spanish fort at St. Marks in April, and Pensacola in May, hung several Indian chiefs and the white men whom he found with them, and returned in triumph. Already he was widely spoken of as a future President.

Early in January Richard Bache established a new journal, *The Franklin Gazette*, in Philadelphia, chiefly to support Governor Findlay, and at the same time supersede the *Democratic Press*, but this hope proved futile. The old-school and new-school Democrats still kept up their contest over methods of nomination. The Federalists were disposed to take advantage of these dissensions, and passed resolutions declaring that they were opposed to manifestations of party spirit, and would "discard party distinctions, and unite with those who will sacrifice political prejudices and support men without reference to party names." Duane then advocated a union, and argued that the principles of the Democrats and the Federalists were the same. C. W. Hare, Independent candidate for Congress in the First District, published an address in October against caucus nominations. The Federalists adopted the independent Republican (or old-school) ticket, and ran for Congress, for the district comprising the city and county of Philadelphia and the county of Delaware, Thomas Forrest, John Sergeant, Joseph Hemphill, and Samuel Edwards. For senators, Michael Leib (old-school Democrat) and Condé Raguet were nominated. The new-school Democrats nominated Nicholas Biddle, John Connelly, George G. Leiper, and Jacob Sommer; for senators, Samuel Wetherill and Daniel Groves. In the city the Federal and old-school ticket for the Assembly was composed of John Purdon, William Lehman, George Emlen, James

Thackara, and Edward D. Coxe. The Democrats nominated Andrew M. Prevost, Dr. Samuel Jackson, Samuel Rush, James Harper, and John Wurts. In the county the Federalists and old-school Democrats supported for the Assembly Robert McMullin, James Dyre, Andrew French, William Binder, George F. Goodman, and Robert Carr. The new-school ticket was composed of John Holmes, William Weaver, Richard F. Bowers, Nathan Jones, Jacob Souder, and Joel B. Sutherland. John McLeod was run as an independent candidate against Sutherland. The Federalists nominated for county commissioner, Robert Brooke; for county auditor, William J. Baker. The new-school Democrats supported Mr. Ingalls for county commissioner and Peter Herzog for auditor. The Federalists carried their Congressional ticket—Forrest, Sergeant, Hemphill, and Edwards—by majorities ranging from 1000 to 1400. They elected their county commissioner, Robert Brooke, and auditor, William J. Baker. In the city the Federal Assembly ticket was carried. In the county Holmes, Weaver, Bowers, Souder, and Jones, new-school Democrats, and Robert McMullin, independent Republican and Federalist, were elected.

One of the first acts of the Councils during 1818 was the presentation to Commodore Perry of the costly sword voted in 1813 and finished in 1815.

The Councils had under consideration during 1817 a proposition for the purchase of the water-power of the river Schuylkill from the Schuylkill Navigation Company, but in January it was reported to be inexpedient to buy it. The subject of internal improvements now began to be urged, and Philadelphia subscribed to five hundred shares of the stock of the Schuylkill Navigation Company. A meeting was held in the Northern Liberties in February to urge the authorities of that district to introduce Schuylkill water for use within their jurisdiction. In February the Councils resolved that Charles W. Peale should pay twelve hundred dollars per annum for the use of the State-House, that they disapproved of his manufacturing gas in the State-House, and said he would be held responsible for any damage which might ensue. The two rooms on the lower floor of the State-House, occupied by the Supreme Court and by the District Court, were authorized to be rented to the county commissioner for twenty-six hundred dollars a year. Citizens residing west of Broad Street held a meeting at the Centre House Tavern in March, and protested against the manner in which the Southwest Square was allowed to be made a depository for filth, as also a lot near the Arch Street prison, with many other lots in the western part of the city. The Councils at length ordered the dirt and filth to be removed and the Square plowed. In May, Councils ordered that the public burying-ground lot purchased in March, 1816, adjoining the Vineyard, should be inclosed with a fence, and the Northeast Public Square

should be closed as a burying-ground after the 15th of June. A house for the gravedigger was built at an expense of three hundred dollars. This ground was on the northwest side of George Street, near the intersection of Charles Street, in the village of Francisville, at some distance west of the Ridge road. That portion of Francisville is now obliterated. The old burial-ground, which cost two thousand dollars, is intersected by the present Twentieth and Parrish Streets. The trouble with the German Reformed congregation, which had possession of a portion of the Northeast Square, continued. The church maintained its position in favor of a ninety-nine-year lease, which Councils were not willing to grant.

Late in the year the Councils agreed to appropriate five hundred dollars for a clock in the Market-Hall steeple, at Pine and Second Streets, provided that citizens raise the balance required, and a subscription-list was started.

The city was anxious to have the new custom-house well located, but the draw-bridge lot, which seemed very desirable, could not be sold without legislative permission, which was petitioned for but refused. This lot had originally been a swamp, and was intended to be granted to the city, on the 25th of October, 1701, with liberty to dig docks and make harbors there. Before that time, through inadvertence, it had been patented to John Marsh. John Penn afterward, about the year 1758, purchased it from Marsh and presented it to the city, as was intended by the charter. But in time the swamp became fast land, Dock Creek filled up, and the swamp was high ground. Vessels could not approach nearer than two hundred and fifty feet. The lot could not be used according to the original intention, and remained neglected for many years.

When the State Legislature first met a charge was brought by John Wurts, member from the city, against Thomas Sergeant, Secretary of the Commonwealth, accusing him of misconduct in office. A committee of the House reported in favor of Sergeant. The latter had tried to do a favor for Wurts by obtaining a clerkship for a friend of his, and the committee said that he was not guilty of corruption. In February the Legislature passed an act dividing the Northern Liberties into seven wards. The boundaries of the First Ward were from Vine Street to Willow, and from the Delaware River to Third Street; the Second Ward, from Third Street to Sixth, and from Vine to Willow; the Third Ward, from Third Street to the Delaware, between Willow and Green Streets, and Wells' Alley, commonly called Whitehall Street; the Fourth Ward, from Third Street to Sixth, between Willow and Green; the Fifth Ward, from Third Street to the Delaware River, between Green Street and Poplar Lane, and that part of Cohocksink Creek called the Canal; the Sixth Ward, from Third Street to Sixth, between Green Street and Poplar Lane; the Seventh Ward, bounded by the

Cohocksink Creek on the north and east, Poplar Street on the south, and Sixth Street on the west. An act of Assembly was passed March 3d, which declared that all real estate in Spring Garden should be subject to the debts of the commissioners in pitching, curbing, or paving streets. This was the commencement of the municipal lien-claim system, afterward extended to the other districts so as to include charges for water-pipe and culverts. Application was made to the Legislature of New Jersey in November for authority to erect a bridge across the Delaware River to Windmill Island, opposite the city. It was represented that the distance from the shore to the island was twenty-two hundred feet, and that the latter was eight hundred or nine hundred feet wide. From the west bank of the island to the wharves of the city the distance was about eight hundred feet.

An article in the *Portfolio* in May showed clearly the condition of the city as regarded street improvements, and gives a pleasant picture of steady growth and progress. A portion of this article reads as follows:

"It must be gratifying to every liberal-minded man to see the gradual improvement of our city. The buildings which have been erected, and the streets which have been paved during the past ten years, by far surpass the most sanguine calculations of former days. Vine Street is built and paved as far as Ninth. Race Street is built and paved as far as Broad. Arch Street is built out entirely to Twelfth with beautiful houses, and is paved to Eleventh. Market Street is paved to Schuylkill Sixth, and is entirely built up as far as the Centre Square, and is partially built up on all the squares between Broad Street and the river Schuylkill. Chestnut Street is entirely built up nearly as far as Twelfth, and is paved and partially improved as far as Schuylkill Seventh, which is two squares west of Broad. Walnut Street is nearly built out to Eleventh, is paved as far as Twelfth, and will shortly be paved up to Thirteenth. Spruce Street is built up to Eleventh, and is paved to Broad. Pine Street is built and paved up to Ninth. South Street is partially improved as far as Broad, and is paved to Ninth. Broad Street is paved from Centre Square to Vine Street. All the streets running north and south as far west as Eleventh, and most of the intermediate and secondary streets, are paved in whole or in part, according to the extent of the improvements. What has very much contributed to the great extent of pavements within the last few years has been the enterprise—or, if you choose, the calculating spirit—of some of our citizens, who, in order to procure pavements in front of their property before the regular period arrived at which they would be made by the public, have loaned the money to Councils, free of interest, for such a term as would be likely not to make them a public burden before their regular turn. Thus, for the pavement of Chestnut Street west of Broad the money was loaned by the owners of the property interested for fourteen years, without interest. For the pavement of Walnut Street between Eleventh and Thirteenth the money was loaned without interest for seven years. And so of other streets. It is probable that further extensions of the pavements may be called for in the present and ensuing years upon the same principles of anticipation, and we hope that Councils will act upon a liberal system, and grant them, whenever the loan is for so long a period as to make it an advantageous contract for the city. It would not be difficult to show that where a loan is for a long period, the increase of taxes upon the property paved, arising from improvements and its increased value, would produce an extra revenue to the city more than sufficient to clear the city the whole cost of the pavement. Should this be the case, what motive could there be for refusing so reasonable a request as an offer to put money into the city treasury?—which unquestionably would have been the case in several late arrangements."

There were a few local events of the year that deserve mention. The Philosophical Society gave up

the idea of maintaining an observatory for a few years to come. The Washington Benevolent Societies of Philadelphia, Germantown, and other places celebrated the Fourth of July; Charles Pierce was orator. In June, Perkins & Jones advertised a "supply-pump" they had invented. George Bruorton about this time began an enameling and gilding establishment on Chestnut Street. Sellers & Pennock announced the manufacture of "riveted fire-hose." Oliver Evans gave notice that he had patented high-pressure steam-engines, "using strong globular or cylindrical boilers, being the only form admitted by Nature or Art by which the principles described, or elastic steam, can be used with safety." The city firemen met in July and declared, "There are now in the city and liberties thirty-four engines and fifteen thousand feet of hose, under the direction of forty-nine companies. These companies are all willing to receive new members. It is asked that Councils will pass an ordinance to prevent the use of water from the plugs, except under license from the city government." The "Philadelphia Southern Society" met in May, Pierce Butler president, and toasts were drunk to Southern patriots and leaders, from Capt. John Smith to Thomas Jefferson. The first mention of an association for the purpose of "securing country air to the children of those whose limited circumstances deprived them of it" was this year. There was procured from the Board of Health for this purpose the use of a wing of the City Hospital at Bush Hill, where accommodations, food, and medical attendance were provided for sick children and their mothers.

The Bank of the United States in April bought the old Norris mansion on Chestnut, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, paying one thousand dollars per foot, and offered five hundred dollars for the best plan of a building. John Haviland secured it in August. Bank loans had been curtailed since October, 1817, and by October, 1818, the reduction reached seven million dollars, resulting in a severe money stringency. In December, at the Coffee-House, a meeting of merchants passed resolutions that Congress should be petitioned to prohibit exportation of specie from the United States. A committee was appointed, but when its members assembled it was found that they were opposed to obeying their instructions. Three declined to act, three refused to draw up the petition, and only one was in favor of it.

Rut the subject that attracted most attention in Philadelphia during 1818 was the Lancasterian system of teaching, of which something has already been said. James Edwards, who had established himself in the city in 1817, claimed to be the only certificated teacher from Joseph Lancaster in Philadelphia. Edward Baker, in January, delivered a lecture on the Lancasterian system. Edwards came out shortly afterwards with a long statement, claiming his position as the only teacher of the real and

true Lancasterian system, which he followed strictly, "excepting such corporeal punishments as are not permitted by the laws of this country." In a subsequent advertisement Edwards admitted that he never had learned the system from Lancaster, in fact, had never seen that person, but had obtained his knowledge in Canada from William Scott, who was one of Lancaster's pupils. Baker claimed to have organized the Lancasterian schools in New York. Mr. Cullen lectured upon the system in the Lancasterian high school in January. Mrs. Baker opened a Lancasterian school for girls at No. 48 South Fifth Street in March. John B. Weston opened a new model school at No. 7 Pear Street in June. Meanwhile the system had attracted legislative attention. It offered a cheap and seemingly feasible way of educating large numbers of pupils with great speed. Without some such incentive the free-school system could not have been adopted so soon, nor have propitiated a bitter opposition. Lancasterian methods were received with great enthusiasm. The Legislature had in 1817, as we have said, declared the city and county the "first school district" of Pennsylvania. The city was declared to be the first section, Northern Liberties and Kensington the second section, Southwark, Moyamensing, and Passyunk the third section, and Penn township the fourth section. Another act directed that City Councils should elect annually twelve directors, the Commissioners of Northern Liberties six directors, and the Commissioners of Southwark, Moyamensing, and Spring Garden, each six. The directors of each section were authorized to elect one person from among every six of themselves to be a member of a select body, to be called "The Controllers of the Public Schools for the City and County of Philadelphia." The number of sections was also increased. Oxford, Lower Dublin, Byberry, and Moreland were made the fifth section, Oxford and Lower Dublin having four directors, and Byberry and Moreland each two. Germantown, Bristol, and Roxborough constituted the sixth section; Germantown with four directors, and Bristol and Roxborough each with two. Blockley and Kingsessing formed the seventh section; Blockley having three directors, and Kingsessing two. The directors of the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections were authorized to superintend the schooling of poor children within the district. The directors of the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections were to be appointed by the Court of Quarter Sessions. The law declared that "the principles of Lancaster's system of education in its most improved state shall be adopted and pursued in all the public schools within the district, with the exception hereinafter mentioned." The exceptions were in the outer districts. The controllers organized on the 6th of April, and established two schools in Southwark, two in Moyamensing, two in the Northern Liberties, and two in Penn township. In the second section the Adelphi School was adopted as a public school. Edward Baker opened a school

at No. 48 South Fifth Street, which was continued until the arrival of Joseph Lancaster, who was engaged by the controllers to superintend the working of his system in Philadelphia. The model school was first established in a building on Fifth Street, adjoining St. Thomas' African Episcopal Church, below Walnut Street. The house was afterwards used as a place for exhibitions, under the name of Maelzel's Hall. A building for the purpose of a model school was then contracted for. It was built of brick, upon the east side of Chester Street above Race, and school was begun on the 21st of December by Joseph Lancaster. At the end of the first quarter there were in the school four hundred and thirteen boys and three hundred and twenty girls. The boys were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the girls were taught the same branches, also needlework. At the end of the first year the number of pupils was two thousand eight hundred and forty-five. The cost of maintaining the schools in teachers' salaries (excluding buildings, rents, etc.) was \$5082.75, a great reduction on the amount formerly paid by the county under the poor-school law, which was from ten to twelve dollars for teaching each pupil. Lancaster delivered a course of lectures upon educational topics and other subjects, and his employment for the purpose of superintending the schools was considered a most judicious movement on the part of the controllers.¹

¹ The Lancasterian system was at this time an object of general attention in Great Britain and the United States. Joseph Lancaster, usually considered the founder of this plan of instruction, adopted a system originated by Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, chaplain and teacher of orphan children at Madras. The principal point in Bell's system was that as it was impossible in his school to obtain the services of ushers, the school should be conducted by the scholars themselves, the master superintending all. Bell published a pamphlet on the subject on his return to England in 1797, and Lancaster took it up and applied the principles of what he called the "Monitorial System" to the education of poor children. He was in Baltimore, New York, and other cities, and established numbers of schools. He also published a pamphlet and a book, now quite rare, in Philadelphia, descriptive of his system, with illustrative sketches. Thomas Dunlap, for many years president of the Board of Controllers of the public schools, spoke in the following manner, in 1851, of the Lancasterian system, as he found it when he entered the Board of Directors of the public schools, in 1824: "I found (and for several years saw nothing better) seven school-houses, containing fourteen schools, in each of which about two hundred children were to be educated; that is, imbued with valuable learning, and trained to future usefulness, on a patent scheme, the visionary hallucination of a wild, though perhaps benevolent, enthusiast. And what were its requirements, its promises, its hopeful machinery? It formed schools—pardon the misnomer—where the young idea was to be developed into penmanship by scratching with sticks in a sand-bath, and showing educational agility by quickly erasing the crow tracks; developed into arithmetic by the doleful, simultaneous chant of the multiplication-table, in which neither scholar, monitor, nor master could detect one intelligible sound, or, in Saxon vernacular, 'hear their own ears'; developed into poetry and morals by howling in horrid chorus certain doggerel ballads, or Lancasterian (not Pierian) hymns; schools where the baly of five was the all-sufficient teacher of the baly of four, save that the latter, if stoutest, generally practiced more successfully in flogging his monitor than in figuring in his sand-box; and where, but too often, a master—whose qualifications for teaching, like the reading and writing of a certain distinguished functionary, 'came by nature'—lounged through two or three hours of the morning, and as many of the afternoon, in gazing down upon the

The year 1819 was the year of a new convention with Great Britain, the acquisition of Florida, and practically of Oregon also, the beginning of the Missouri Compromise struggle, the rousing of the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and the reassembling at Philadelphia of the convention for promoting abolition. This movement originated in the Middle States,—in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York, soon spreading to Massachusetts. We shall hear more of these important issues and discussions.

Local politics in Philadelphia were unusually virulent. The Wurts charges against Thomas Sergeant, secretary of the State, were revived. The old-school Democrats nominated for senator in the county Robert McMullin; county commissioner, John Y. Bryant; sheriff, Thomas Elliott or Caleb North; auditor, John Roberts. The Federalists generally supported these nominations. The old-school party in the Northern Liberties called a meeting in September, and were driven from the hall by the Findlayites; but, meeting elsewhere, nominated an independent ticket for commissioners, among whom were Dr. Michael Leib and Mordecai Y. Bryant. The new-school Democrats nominated John Connelly for the Senate. When the election came off McMullin received 6482 votes, and Connelly 3603. There were eight candidates for sheriff, and Caleb North was elected. For county commissioner, George Ingalls, and for auditor, John Roberts, were elected. In the city the Democrats carried both Councils. The old-school elected to the Select Council, Stephen Girard, Anthony Cuthbert, Elijah Griffiths, and William Delaney. Joseph Worrell succeeded to the presidency of the Common Council, and George Vaux succeeded Robert Waln as president of the Select Council. In the city the Federal ticket for Assembly was Benjamin R. Morgan, George Emlen, William Lehman, Thomas McEuen, and Henry Solomon. The Democratic ticket for Assembly was James Thackara, Josiah Randall, William J. Duane, Dr. Richard Povall, and Alexander H. Cox.

An unexpected element was introduced into the city canvass, which controlled the election for the House of Representatives. This disturbing influence came from the volunteer fire companies in the city. They found that the cost of maintaining the companies was increasing annually. The insurance companies gave them no assistance. An association was therefore formed among the fire and hose companies for the purpose of assisting themselves, but a bill which was presented to the Legislature for a charter making the association an insurance company was lost, and it was charged that the influence of the old insurance companies had prevented its passage. The firemen therefore determined to enter the political

contest in the city with a firemen's ticket, nominated October 2d, at the Falstaff Hotel, upon which were the names of William Lehman and Henry Solomon, Federalists, and James Thackara, Josiah Randall, and William J. Duane, Democrats, this being a combination ticket. This movement caused the greatest excitement among the politicians, nor were the firemen themselves unanimous in support of the step. The politicians were therefore able to start a counter-movement, and on the 9th of October a meeting of firemen, at which John M. Scott presided and Richard Price acted as secretary, was held at the mayor's court-room. About five hundred firemen were present, and resolved that "fire companies were instituted for the sole purpose of promoting the public good by exertions at fires;" that "the nomination by firemen who lived in the county of candidates to represent the city in the Legislature was highly improper;" and that "the proceedings of the Fire Association emanated from but a small portion of that influential body, the fire department." Members were present from the following fire companies: Resolution, Niagara, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Humane, Hibernia, Federal, Hope, Reliance, Friendship (Northern Liberties), Friendship (city), Vigilant, Harmony, United States, Sun, Relief, and Washington; and from the following hose companies: Neptune, Hope, Phoenix, Washington, Fame, Resolution, and Columbia. The Southwark Hose Company published a card declaring that they would support the firemen's ticket, and the Resolution Hose Company published a card stating that they did not belong to the Fire Association, and would oppose the ticket. This company at that time numbered the Dutilhs, Destouets, Chaudrons, Bosquets, and other natives of France, among its members, and was called the French company. The members of the Diligent Fire Company were unanimously in favor of the firemen's ticket. They formed the company into a committee of vigilance to secure its success, and ordered all members to be waited upon to secure their votes. The firemen's movement proved successful, the vote being as follows: Morgan, 2277; McEuen, 2346; Solomon, 2115; Emlen, 2315; Lehman, 2543; Povall, 2380; Randall, 2519; Cox, 2349; Duane, 3012; Thackara, 2494. Messrs. William Lehman, James Thackara, Josiah Randall, and William J. Duane—four out of the five on the firemen's ticket—were thus elected.

Local politics immediately after the fall elections centred again about the charges against Sergeant and Governor Findlay. A memorial was sent to the General Assembly charging the Governor with misconduct in office; with corruptly exercising his official duties for the purpose of advancing his own private interests; with misusing his patronage to obtain pecuniary advantages for himself, family, and friends, from applicants for office; with misconduct in awarding auctioneers' licenses, and various other abuses of his position.

Intellectual pandemonium beneath his rostrum, diversifying his educational labors by not unfrequently bringing his rattan in as third man between the stout baby and the cowardly baby monitor."

The Legislature passed several important acts relating to Philadelphia. In January there was a strong but unsuccessful effort made to create a new county to be called Decatur. It was to consist of the townships of Roxborough, Germantown, Bristol, Oxford, Lower Dublin, Byberry, and Moreland, and such parts of the Northern Liberties and Penn as should lie eastward, northward, and westward of a certain line "beginning on the north side of the Delaware River at Gibson's wharf, and including the same, and from thence in a direct line to Penn's Solitude, on the west side of the river Schuylkill, and from thence to where the division-line of Kingsessing and Blockley intersects Mill Creek on the property of Jacob Mayland, and thence along said township line until it strikes Cobb's Creek, and thence along said Cobb's Creek until it strikes the Montgomery County line, and thence along said line until it strikes Roxborough township." The district thus defined was intended to become a separate county on the 1st of November. On the 25th of February an act to incorporate the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society was passed. The corporators were Andrew Bayard, Samuel Archer, Richard Bache, Charles N. Bancker, Clement C. Biddle, Samuel Breck, Turner Camac, Reuben Haines, Thomas Hale, Adam Konigmacher, Louis Krumbhaar, John McCrear, Samuel B. Norris, Isaac W. Norris, Richard Peters, Jr., Condy Raguet, Joseph Rotch, William Schlatter, Samuel Spackman, John C. Stocker, John Strawbridge, Roberts Vaux, John Vaughan, Daniel B. Smith, and Matthew C. Ralston. March 16th, the Legislature incorporated that part of the township of the Northern Liberties lying between Sixth Street and the river Delaware, and between Vine Street and Cohocksink Creek, as "Commissioners and Inhabitants of the Incorporated District of the Northern Liberties." This was an alteration and an amplification of the first act incorporating the district, passed March 28, 1803. "The Indigent Widows' and Single Women's Asylum of Philadelphia," the "Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture," and the "Schuylkill West Branch Navigation Company" were also incorporated in March. The latter intended to use lock-navigation, and to have a canal "from the mouth of the west branch to its intersection with the east branch on the farm of Daniel Dreibelbis, on the Centre turnpike, five miles from the town of Orwigsburg."

Early in January the pioneer in the coal trade of the Schuylkill, whose name, however, was not given, advertised in the *United States Gazette* that orders would be received for Lehigh coal at No. 172 Arch Street, "in quantities not less than one ton, between the 1st of April and the 1st of December, at thirty cents per bushel of eighty pounds. The coal may be seen burning at the above place." The house referred to was the residence of Josiah White, who, with his partner, Erskine Hazard, had previously demonstrated the value of anthracite coal. At the price

mentioned, the cost of a ton of Lehigh coal was eight dollars and forty cents. The origin of the manufacturing town at Flat Rock, afterward Manayunk, dates from this spring.

In February the Schuylkill Navigation Company published proposals to supply water-power from the Schuylkill. They had erected a dam at Flat Rock, completed a canal, and had power for the extensive manufactories. "The price is for the present at three dollars per annum, in the nature of a ground- and water-rent for each square inch of aperture under a three-feet head. An aperture of one hundred square inches is computed to yield water sufficient to grind about ten bushels of wheat per hour." The point at which the dam was erected, which was called Flat Rock, was so named from a peculiar rock now in the upper part of Manayunk. Ariel Cooley was brought from Connecticut to construct the dam. The first power was sold to Capt. John Towers April 10, 1819, who built a mill, the pioneer manufactory in the village afterward known as the Falls of Schuylkill, and still later as Manayunk. Charles V. Hagner purchased the second power in September, 1820. It was fifty inches, and subsequently he added fifty inches more. Here he commenced making oil and grinding drugs, afterward adding a fulling-mill and a number of power-looms for weaving satinets, the first power-looms used in Pennsylvania for weaving woolen goods. Coal and new manufactories gave business a decided impetus, but there were complaints from some that the new water-works would ruin property along the Schuylkill. "Judge Peters will lose an island of two or three acres. Mr. Johnson, Mr. Burd, and others will suffer considerably. Bingham will lose a fine meadow of twenty acres, and Breck a meadow, a fine island of sixteen acres, a wharf, and a distillery." The "Association for the Promotion of the Internal Improvements of New York" authorized its secretary, in September, to report on the practicability and expense of a canal between New York and Philadelphia by the Raritan and Delaware Rivers, or by any other practicable route. This was the first movement toward inland water-communication between the two cities.

Philadelphia had two fires in 1819. The first, January 28th, at 11 P.M., burned "the old red stores" on the second wharf below Race Street on the Delaware, owned and used by William T. Elder, cotton and hay presser. On the night of March 9th the Masonic Hall on Chestnut Street was totally destroyed by fire. The loss was thirty-five thousand dollars, partly covered by an insurance of twenty thousand dollars.¹

¹ This fire was long remembered as a grand spectacle. Roofs and street were covered with snow. It began in a defective flue, about nine P.M.

² Room after room was gained by the flames; and in about an hour after the first alarm a wild burst of fire and smoke betokened that the roof was nearly consumed. The beautiful steeple, the pride and glory of the Order, was the next object of attack. The bright flames ran rapidly up the wood-work to the spire. In a short time the entire tower

On the day after the fire the Masons met at Washington Hall. Thomas Elliott, Grand Master, presided, George A. Baker acted as secretary. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Rogers, the Grand Chaplain. Committees from the various lodges were appointed to receive contributions. Victor Pepin, manager of the Olympic Theatre, at Ninth and Walnut Streets, a member of the fraternity, volunteered to appropriate the proceeds of a benefit. Warren & Wood, the managers of the new theatre, Chestnut Street, expressed their wish to do the same. Labbe, the famous dancing-master of the day, gave a grand ball at his room on Library Street,—since called Military Hall. Hupfeldt, Lefolle, Danenburg, and Schetky, the principal instructors in music, gave a grand concert at Washington Hall, and the fraternity succeeded in disposing of six thousand tickets. After the destruction of the Chesnut Street building, the brotherhood appear to have returned to the old hall on Filbert Street, between Eighth and Ninth, although Concordia and L'Amenite lodges held their meetings on Taylor's Alley.

An act of March 27th required an exact list of births in the city, to be registered alphabetically. Another act, passed the same day, vested in the Board of Health the burying-ground in Blockley township, adjoining the grounds of Elizabeth Powel and the corporation of the city of Philadelphia. This was the southernmost of the two burying-grounds lying on the banks of the Schuylkill, upon the east side of the street or road leading from High Street to the bridge at the Upper Ferry. It was the ground which the Society of Friends had claimed in former years. The preamble to the bill recited that the lot belonged to the Society of Friends under an equitable title, but that the "Monthly Meeting had by a formal act ceded and relinquished to the Board of Health all their rights and claims."

The City Councils in February memorialized Congress to remit customs duties upon iron pipes imported from London for the water-works. The joints had to be nine feet long, and of twenty and twenty-two inches diameter. It was difficult to procure contracts for such large-sized pipes in this country. Congress, however, took no action on this memorial. In March the Councils ordered the city commissioners to open a street fifty feet in width on the western boundary of the Northeast Public Square to connect Race and Vine Streets. After it was opened the commissioners were ordered to close up Seventh Street. Some citizens who were opposed to this change commenced proceedings in the Quarter Sessions in June to reopen Seventh Street.

A proposition to erect a bridge across the Delaware in front of the city led to strenuous opposition from the Councils, who objected that there was no restriction as to the abutments, and urged that they should not be allowed to approach each other nearer than two thousand three hundred feet. They finally desired that the Legislature would postpone the consideration of it until the next session, which was done. A meeting in opposition to the building of this bridge was held in December at Elliott's tavern.

The clock and bell at the new market, Second and Pine Streets, was finished in August, and six hundred dollars appropriated by the Councils towards the expense. The Councils ordered culverts built in Northeast Square, and there was talk of one on Pegg's Run. Among the important improvements of the year was the laying out and partial building of Palmyra Square, which, as originally projected, extended from Vine Street to Wood and from Tenth Street to Twelfth. The row between Tenth and Eleventh Streets, on Vine, was for a time the chosen residence of citizens of wealth and influence.

The city, early in February, gave a banquet to Gen. Andrew Jackson, who was on his way to New York, it being probably the first time that he had been in Philadelphia after his service as United States Senator for Tennessee, in 1797-98. The officers of the First Division called upon him on the morning of February 18th, and an address was made by Gen. Cadwalader, to which Gen. Jackson responded. The dinner took place at the Washington Hall Hotel. Pierce Butler presided. The 22d of February was celebrated at the hall of the Washington Benevolent Society, and the oration was delivered by David Paul Brown. Great alarm was occasioned this year by deaths from hydrophobia. Two of such instances occurred in the early part of June, and were followed by several others. The Councils passed an ordinance for the destruction of dogs, it being the first regulation of the sort. They ordered all dogs running at large to be seized, killed, and buried, and promised one dollar for each. In the summer yellow fever began in the Upper Ferry Tavern, on the north side of Market Street wharf. Two persons died in the vicinity, and twenty were affected. Energetic measures were taken, and not more than ten or twelve deaths took place. It probably originated in a filthy condition of several yards and cellars, no suspected vessels having arrived. July 4th the Society of the Cincinnati reported \$3576.59 on hand for their proposed monument to Washington. July 12th, the new custom-house building, on the west side of Second Street, near Dock Street, William Strickland architect, was opened for business. Rush was the carver of a wooden statue of Commerce near the apex of the gable. July 30th, a number of prisoners in the Walnut Street jail made an unsuccessful attempt to escape. One man was stabbed in the fight. In August, the gold medal

was wrapped in the embraces of the glowing destroyer and stood a pillar of fire! In an hour after the first alarm the flames were roaring and triumphing with vindictive fury within the walls of the edifice. In half an hour more the steeple had fallen; and by three o'clock the next morning the only memorials of the late Masonic edifice were the blackened walls, fitfully revealed by the light of burning embers."

voted by the Pennsylvania Legislature to Capt. Jesse Duncan Elliott for his gallant services in Perry's victory on Lake Erie in September, 1813, was presented to him in Philadelphia. August 2d, the Point Pleasant Market, at the corner of Frankford road and Maiden Street, was completed, and the stalls were rented a few days later. In December a meeting was held at the mayor's office, and contributions were secured for the persons burned out at Wilmington, N. C. Mayor Barker was chairman and Robert Ralston was secretary.

One of the events of the year was a riot which grew out of a series of balloon ascents. September 2d, Lee, Bulkley & Pomeroy were to have a balloon ascent at Camden, and thirty thousand persons visited the spot, but the inflation failed, and the angry crowd slashed the balloon with their pocket-knives. It was repaired and used successfully several days later. Soon after this Monsieur Guille announced that he would make an ascension about the 20th of September in this city. But Monsieur Michel forestalled him, and fixed upon the 8th as the time for his ascension from Vauxhall Garden with balloon, gondola, and parachute. At the height of two thousand feet he proposed to cut loose and descend to the earth as near Vauxhall as he could. He was aided in the preparations by M. Stanislaus; and they expected a rich harvest, as the price of admission was one dollar. At that time the grounds about Vauxhall were open commons; and the entire neighborhood from the Centre Square to George [Sansom] Street, south nearly to Locust Street, eastward to Thirteenth Street, and westward nearly to Schuylkill Eighth Street, was covered with people, thirty or thirty-five thousand persons being crowded together.

On the previous day another attempt had been made to ascend with the Camden balloon. Mr. Lee took his place in the parachute. The aerostat was blown against a tree, and a hole made in it. It was then suffered to escape, and soared to parts unknown. This failure was heard of by those who went to witness the ascent of Stanislaus and Michel's balloon, and no doubt contributed towards the belief that all aeronautic endeavors were impositions upon the public. About noon September 8th the inflation of the Vauxhall balloon began, but the wind was very unfavorable, and caused many delays. Michel expected to be able to start at 5.15 P.M., but postponed the time one hour. At 6 P.M. the balloon was hardly a fourth filled. The crowd now became impatient, angry, and excited.¶[About this time a boy, who endeavored to climb over the fence of the garden, was struck by an attendant of the establishment, and seriously injured. It was reported that he was killed, and a number of persons seized sticks and stones, rent the silk of the balloon, tore down the fence, and rushed in. Some one took the money-box, containing nearly eight hundred dollars. Others broke the barrels containing the acids, demolished the pipes, and did every possible

injury. They attacked the bars, drank the liquor, broke the bottles and glasses, and then commenced operations in the pavilion, where they tore down the scenery, carried off the dresses, and finally set fire to the building. It was after eight o'clock when this occurred. The fire and hose companies were early upon the ground, but in a short time the pavilion was in ashes. Mr. Magner, the proprietor of the garden, was the greatest sufferer. The balloonists lost twenty-five hundred dollars. A concert was afterwards given at Washington Hall for the benefit of Mr. Magner by Mr. Keene, vocalist. Messrs. De Luce and Brennan assisted. It is a comment upon the manner in which newspapers were then conducted that Poulson's *Advertiser* and the *Aurora* contain not a word in relation to this riot. Local news was not much attended to by old school newspapers. The *United States Gazette*, speaking of the affair, says,—

"A mobbing spirit has not been characteristic of Philadelphia, and it is with regret that we publish that such a disgraceful riot has taken place."

We have spoken of the anti-slavery agitation that grew out of the Missouri contest. The meeting held in Philadelphia in November, this year, was of historic importance. The *Aurora* of November 29th published the following report of the meeting:

"On Tuesday afternoon a very numerous and respectable meeting was held in the State-House, in the same chamber in which the Declaration of Independence was declared. The object was to 'consider an application to Congress to rescind the extension of human slavery in the new States that are about to be, or may be hereafter, added to this confederation.' Jared Ingersoll, Esq., was called to the chair, and Robert Ralston was appointed secretary.

"The business of the meeting was opened by Mr. Horace Binney in a very perspicuous and eloquent speech, in which he most ably and clearly developed the inhumanity, impolicy, and injustice of slavery generally, 'its pernicious tendency in human society, and its incompatibility with republican institutions, with the spirit of our Revolution and Constitution, and with divine and human laws.' He also clearly demonstrated the power of and obligation on Congress to prohibit the extension of slavery in new States. His argument on the constitutional part of the question was so explicit and perspicuous as to place that point beyond the possibility of controversion. After Mr. Binney had thus opened the business, he offered a series of resolutions, which were read and unanimously adopted."¹

¹ These resolutions were,—
"The slavery of the human species being confessedly one of the greatest evils which exist in the United States,—palpably inconsistent with the principles upon which the independence of this nation was asserted and justified before God and the world, as well as at variance with the indestructible doctrines of universal liberty and right, upon which our Constitution is erected,—it unavoiably follows that personal bondage beyond those States which were originally parties to the confederation must be deprecated, and should be prevented by an exertion of the legislative power of Congress; therefore.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting it will be inconsistent in principle, unwise in policy, and ungenerous in power, to allow States, hereafter to be created members of the American Union, to establish or to create slavery within their jurisdiction, and that every lawful means should be employed to prevent so great a moral and political transgression.

"Resolved, That this meeting will adopt a memorial, to be signed by our fellow-citizens, imploring the Congress of the United States to exert all its constitutional power for the prevention of slavery in States hereafter to be admitted into the Union.

"Resolved, That a committee of correspondence, consisting of twenty-five, be appointed; that it be requested to circulate these proceedings throughout the State of Pennsylvania, and be further authorized to

The following gentlemen were appointed as a committee of correspondence, viz.: Jared Ingersoll, William Rawle, Horace Binney, Robert Ralston, Thomas Leiper, Robert Walsh, Jr., Caleb North, Roberts Vaux, Dr. George Logan, Gen. John Steel, Charles Chauncey, Peter S. Duponceau, William Sansom, Manuel Eyre, Joseph P. Norris, Moses Levy, James C. Fisher, Samuel Breck, James N. Barker, Benjamin R. Morgan, John Hallowell, John W. Thompson, George Latimer, John Connelly, and Timothy Paxson.

In November the people of color held a meeting to protest against the colonization scheme, James Forten being chairman.¹

The year 1820 was an important one in the history of the city. It was signalized by the return of the yellow fever in a much more malignant form than it had assumed during its brief visitation in the previous year, and although the Board of Health took measures to stop its progress by barricading the streets in which it had gained a foothold and ordering away the shipping from the vicinity, the malady increased, and so much alarm was created that some citizens removed from the city. The first case made its appearance on the 24th of July in Water Street, near Race. From that time until the 2d of August fourteen persons residing in the neighborhood were attacked, and ten died. Then there was a lull, and the temporary hospital in Schuylkill Front Street was closed. August 9th, eighteen cases were reported near Walnut Street wharf, and the hospital was reopened and put in charge of Dr. Burden. On the 19th of August the City Hospital at Bush Hill was opened and placed in the charge of Drs. Hewson and Chapman. September 7th, when the seventy-four-

gun frigate "North Carolina" was launched from the navy-yard, the Board of Health requested citizens not to assemble. Between August 19th and September 10th thirty-six patients, eleven of whom died, were received at the hospital. September 12th, leading merchants, Paul Beck, Marsden & Bunker, and others, published an address to citizens of other States, intended to disprove rumors in reference to the extent of the fever in Philadelphia. It said that the infection had been confined to a part of the city but rarely frequented by Western or Southern merchants; also that danger was then over, and strangers might visit the city with safety. In order to show the mild character of the disease, a table of deaths in Philadelphia and New York, between the 22d of July and September 12th, was published, by which it was shown that the deaths in this city in the period above were but seven hundred and fifty-seven, while in New York there were seven hundred and ninety-three. Philadelphia had then a larger population than New York. During the summer the negroes of Philadelphia were affected with a fatal disease peculiar to themselves. A letter was also published, signed by Samuel Archer, R. M. Whitney, and Charles Biddle, Jr., addressed to Dr. Samuel Jackson, president of the Board of Health, who replied that there was not a single case of yellow fever at that time in the city or liberties. On the 16th, John Tremper, Peter Shade, and others residing in Front Street, between Market and Arch, published a statement similar to that of the merchants' memorial.

On the 22d of September the Board of Health officially announced that they would grant the usual bills of health, and that the epidemic had ceased. The whole number of cases of fever between the 24th of July and the 30th of September was one hundred and three, and the deaths were sixty-seven. The loss occasioned by this epidemic was estimated as follows, in a paper prepared a month later:

"In 1820 there were three hundred and twenty-four families removed, consisting of two thousand and fifty-five persons. Moving, at eight dollars each, out and home, six thousand four hundred and eighty dollars. Two hundred and eighty-nine dwellings shut up, and one hundred and fifty-two stores, counting-houses, and shops; total, four hundred and forty-one, at two hundred and fifty dollars per annum, on an average of seventy-five days, twenty-two thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight dollars. One hundred and ninety-three persons supported by the Board of Health, averaging, at about forty days, one thousand six hundred and eleven dollars. Additional expenses of the Board of Health, say—*independent of their usual expenses*—five thousand dollars. The mercantile loss of the most productive months in the year cannot be estimated at a less sum than five hundred thousand dollars. Total, five hundred and thirty-six thousand and fifty-nine dollars."

The attention of the public was directed to the subject of sanitary improvement of the dangerous parts of the city. Paul Beck, Jr., an eminent merchant, suggested a return to a certain extent to the original plan of William Penn. The right to all the wharves and buildings, from the Delaware to the east side of Front Street, inclusive, and between Dock and Vine Streets, was to be first purchased. All the

make such publications in support of the opinions of this meeting as it may deem proper."

A memorial afterwards adopted was,—

"Resolved, That the committee of correspondence be authorized to appoint committees to offer the memorial for signature to the citizens in their respective wards and districts.

"Resolved, That the ward and district committees supply any vacancies which may occur in their several circuits, and that they be requested to deliver the memorials, when signed, to the committee of correspondence, to be transmitted to Congress.

"Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be given to the chairman for his dignified conduct in the chair.

"Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be presented to Horace Binney, Esq., for his very eloquent and conclusive arguments before the meeting.

"Ordered, That the proceedings be published."

¹ Among the resolutions passed by the colored people were these,—

"Resolved, That how clamorous soever a few obscure and dissatisfied strangers among us may be in favor of being made Presidents, Governors, and principal men in Africa, there is but one sentiment among the respectable inhabitants of color in this city and county,—which is, that it meets their unanimous and decided disapprobation.

"Resolved, That we are determined to have neither lot nor portion in a plan which we only perceive to be intended to perpetuate slavery in the United States. And it is, moreover,

"Resolved, That the people of color of Philadelphia now enter and proclaim their most solemn protest against the proposition to send their people to Africa, and against every measure which may have a tendency to convey the idea that they give the project a single particle of countenance or encouragement."

buildings were to be torn down, and blocks of stores erected, each twenty feet front by one hundred feet deep, and two and a half stories high, between the east line of Front Street and the boundaries of the wharves. This would leave a wide space on each side of the stores, and would promote the circulation of air. A wall, with iron railings, it was suggested, should be erected on the east side of Front Street, and the view being uninterrupted from the stores on the west side, would render the property much more valuable. The improvement, it was estimated, could be effected for \$3,651,000. To recompense this outlay, the sale or rent of the stores was the first source of income. It was also expected that a privilege of levying wharfage upon foreign and domestic imports might also be obtained, and that the annual yield would amount to more than six per cent. But it was obvious that the levy of a wharfage-tax at this part of the city would drive business to that part of the city front below Dock Street, so the purchase of the property from Dock to Cedar [South] Street was suggested. A meeting of citizens in favor of this plan was held at the Coffee-House in December, and it was there agreed that the entire city front, from Vine to Cedar Street, would require the improvement. It was estimated that two million dollars would be amply sufficient to accomplish the work, as the proceeds of sales of the stores would supply the balance. Accordingly it was resolved to form a stock company, in shares of one hundred dollars each, and to apply to the Legislature for a charter. The scheme was, however, too extensive for general approbation, and the levy of a wharfage tax in that district would have driven the shipping business to Southwark and the Northern Liberties. The plan met with much opposition, and the matter was finally abandoned.¹

¹ After this epidemic a report was made to the Councils in reference to yellow-fever visitations previous to 1820. It was as follows:

"The committee appointed to estimate as far as practicable the losses which have been sustained at different periods by the prevalence of malignant fever in the city of Philadelphia, report that, having entered on the subject submitted to them, they have found it encumbered with difficulties of no ordinary magnitude. The deficiency of all the necessary data precludes them from presenting a calculation in all its details accurate, and founded on established principles. The Committee of Health for the year 1793 have left, however, among other documents which they collected during that period of arduous duties, a very complete census of the city and Liberties. The document has furnished your committee with the means of estimating with tolerable correctness the losses sustained by our city in that memorable and fatal epidemic. In those particulars in which it has been necessary to resort to hypothetical positions we have endeavored to approach the truth, and have sought carefully to avoid any exaggeration. We have wished to err rather in the lowness of the estimate than otherwise. The particular items of the calculation will be found in the annexed schedule, from which it appears that the whole loss suffered by the city in that year may be fairly taken at \$1,751,449. In the year 1797, although the pestilence was not so general as in 1793, yet nearly, if not quite, as many persons abandoned the city, and the stagnation of business was equally great. And in 1798, the disease assuming a still more malignant and fatal character than in 1793, a far greater proportion of the citizens fled from their homes. Dr. Currie, in his account of the fever of 1798, states that on the 9th of October no more than 1654 houses remained opened from Vine to South Streets, and from the Delaware to Twelfth Street. By some it was conjectured that 40,000 persons had retired to the country,

A meeting was held in January at the City Hall, and money raised for the relief of sufferers from a great fire which took place in Savannah, January 11th, when four hundred and sixty buildings were burned, and a loss of four millions of dollars was caused. Chief Justice Tilghman was chairman, and Mayor James N. Barker was secretary. Rev. Abner Kneeland preached at the First Independent Church of Christ, in Lombard Street (Universalist), for the benefit of the fund. Another meeting in July raised money for the sufferers at a fire in Troy, N. Y.

In February and March great alarm prevailed in consequence of supposed attempts to "fire the city," and the mayor addressed the Councils. A resolution offering two hundred dollars reward for the detection of the incendiaries was increased to five hundred dollars, and afterwards to one thousand dollars. An additional police force was also authorized. This excitement was increased by the entire destruction of the Chestnut Street Theatre, on Sunday evening, April 2d. The origin of the conflagration has never been satisfactorily ascertained. It was attributed to an incendiary, but Mr. Wood, one of the managers of the theatre, has since, in his published autobiography, ascribed it to a chance spark which may have fallen from one of the torches used by a fire company

and it was the general opinion that full three-fourths or five-sixths of the inhabitants had deserted their houses. It cannot, therefore, be considered far from the truth to estimate the losses of each of those years as equal to those of 1793, which would give for three years the sum of \$5,254,347. Your committee have not been able to obtain any information that would enable them to enter into a detailed estimate of the losses sustained in years when the disease only partially prevailed. But in 1802 and in 1805 some thousands of persons left the city, and commerce and most other business were completely arrested. On a mere conjecture, the losses occasioned by the disease might be set down as equal in the two years to the losses of 1793, which will give us a total loss for five epidemics of \$7,005,796. The committee have been furnished with materials which have enabled them to calculate the loss produced by the appearance of the disease the last summer and autumn with some degree of accuracy. The result is presented in the annexed schedule. An opinion may be formed of the immense loss that necessarily attends the prevalence of pestilential fever, even to a small extent, by the facts disclosed in the report of the Board of Health of New York on the fever of 1805. It there appears that only 645 cases of the disease occurred, and 302 deaths; and that 26,996 persons removed from the city out of a population of 75,770. It is not considered requisite to dwell on the enormous losses that we endeavor to show must have been sustained by our city from the different epidemics that have laid it waste. But it is well to bear in mind that the aggregate loss of the epidemics of 1793, 1797, 1798, 1802, and 1805 occurred in the short space of fifteen months,—an average of three months for each year, or \$467,053 per month. No exertions should be esteemed too great to guard against the occurrence of similar evils. There is one circumstance, however, which we cannot forbear to press on your attention. The table of deaths in different streets in 1793, in the accompanying schedule, exhibits clearly that the disease does not spread in the more cleanly and well-ventilated parts of the city. This is now the unanimous opinion of medical men, founded on experience and observation, however different may be their theoretical doctrines. From the unquestionable nature of this fact it is demonstrated that it is not a matter of ingenious theory or conjecture that, whether malignant fever be imported, or is of domestic origin, its ravages can be prevented. It can be rendered perfectly innocuous by removing whatever vitiates the air or renders it confined.

"PAUL BECK, JR.
"SAMUEL JACKSON."

located in the building on the Carpenter Street front. Nothing was saved but the green-room mirror, a model of a ship, and the prompter's clock. The scenery, a most valuable wardrobe, a choice and rare musical and theatrical library, and great stores of theatrical property, were destroyed, and the loss was estimated at more than one hundred thousand dollars.

Early in February a meeting was held at the room of the Carpenters' Company, on the east side of Carpenters' Court, to establish a library for the use of apprentices, and Horace Binney was president. The library was opened at Carpenters' Hall, No. 100 Chestnut Street, in May, the time for giving out books being Saturday afternoon. The preamble to the original charter, obtained in April, 1821, declared that it would "promote orderly and virtuous habits, diffuse knowledge and the desire for knowledge, improve the scientific skill of our mechanics and manufacturers, and increase the benefits of the system of general education." The library was in 1821 removed to old Carpenters' Hall, and kept there until September, 1823, when it was removed to a building on the north side of Carpenter (now Jayne) Street, east of Seventh Street. Subsequently it was stored in the old United States Mint building, Seventh Street, above Sugar Alley, now called Filbert Street. The Free Quaker Society, in 1841, leased the second story of their meeting-house, Fifth and Arch Streets, to the library company, the rent to be fifty dollars a year, which was returned as a gift. The library was opened here July 17, 1841. Some years afterward a library for girls was also opened, and the use of the whole building was obtained. A reading-room was also established.

We have spoken of efforts to aid the deaf and dumb asylum in Hartford. In February or March of this year David G. Seixas came to Philadelphia and established a school for the instruction of the deaf and dumb "on the south side of Market Street, the third brick house west of Schuylkill Seventh Street." A meeting was held April 12th, at the hall of the American Philosophical Society, for the purpose of establishing an asylum. Seixas was present, and it was shown that for some months past he had conducted a school, and had instructed ten or twelve deaf-mute children without pecuniary recompense. The persons present at this meeting resolved to establish a school under the auspices of a society entitled "The Pennsylvania Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb." An exhibition was given at Washington Hall on the 24th of May, and William Rawle delivered an address. Measures were taken to enlarge the institution, and by the end of the year Seixas had accommodations for sixty or seventy pupils.

The Windmill Island bridge project was steadily fought by the Councils in the Legislature, and several meetings were held to express the public feeling. One in January in Southwark, Benjamin Martin chairman, and Samuel Sparks secretary, was in favor of the bridge. Another meeting was held at the

county court-house in favor of the bridge a few days afterwards. Timothy Matlack was president. The Commissioners of the Northern Liberties adopted resolutions protesting against the passage of the bridge law. On the other hand, a meeting of citizens a few days afterward favored a bridge, but not at Windmill Island. These parties passed resolutions in favor of "a bridge across the Delaware, from shore to shore, within two miles of the iron-foundry of the city." City Councils sent a committee to Harrisburg in February to oppose the passage of the bridge law. The Legislature passed the bill to incorporate "The President, Directors, and Company of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Communication Company." The commissioners were Pierce Butler, Robert Waln, William Meredith, Andrew Bayard, Charles Penrose, Edward Pennington, Edward Sharp, Caleb Newbold, Isaac Mickle, Samuel L. Howell, Samuel Harris, and Henry Chew. The bridge was to commence at New Street, Camden, about three hundred feet south of Wild's Ferry, and thence to extend direct to the island or sand-bar in the river Delaware opposite the city. If the Councils of the city, with the Commissioners of the Northern Liberties and Southwark, and the board of wardens of the port should represent that the bridge "has created or is creating a bar or bars in said river injurious to the navigation thereof, or otherwise injurious to the port of Philadelphia," the Governor might appoint commissioners to make report, which, if unfavorable, would justify him in ordering the bridge to be taken down. It was to be thirty-six feet wide and twelve feet above the water without a draw, and was to be built within six years. The company was given authority to establish a ferry between the west of the island and the city. The proviso placed in the bill operated against its success, as the risk of having the bridge abated as a nuisance, kept prudent persons from subscribing to the stock.

Some of the minor events of the year are worth record. Col. Biddle's regiment was reviewed by Maj.-Gen. Scott on the 22d of February, and Joseph P. Norris afterwards delivered a patriotic address. In February, also, the "Musical Fund" Society was formed, "to relieve distressed musicians and their families." March 6th, the Kensington District of the Northern Liberties was incorporated.¹ March 13th, took place

¹ The boundaries of the district were,—"Beginning at the mouth of Cobocksink Creek and the line of the incorporated district of the Northern Liberties; thence northward along the river Delaware to the south line of the land late of Isaac Norris, deceased, and now of J. P. Norris; thence along the same line, the several courses thereof, across the Frankford road to the Germantown road; thence down the eastwardly side of the said Germantown road to the middle of Sixth Street continued; thence along the middle of the same to the line of the incorporated district of the Northern Liberties; thence along the line of the same to the place of beginning." There were to be fifteen commissioners, who, after the expiration of three years, were to be elected, five persons annually, for three years. Upon this board the Legislature conferred all the public landings within the district, "the market-houses lately erected on Beach and Maiden Streets, in the said district, and the lots thereunto belonging."

a notable "butchers' procession." There were sixty carts in the line, forty-four of which carried beef, and the others mutton, pork, and goat flesh. The drivers were attired in white frocks, with hats ornamented with ribbons. The horses were adorned with portraits of Washington and Franklin. Each cart bore a white flag with the word "Pennsylvania" printed on it. A number of butchers accompanied the carts upon horseback. There was a boat on wheels, the "Lewis Clapier," in which were persons who heaved the lead and executed nautical manoeuvres. Books of subscription to the stock of the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company were opened at the Merchants' Coffee-House on the 24th of April, and eight thousand shares of stock were offered at one hundred dollars each. In June a dinner was given to Henry Baldwin, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, by the "friends of national industry," at the Peacock Tavern. June 20th, an attempt to rob the Philadelphia Bank by digging in from a sewer was discovered, but the parties engaged in the enterprise escaped. In October the "Union Adult Society" opened four free schools,—two for whites, and two for negroes.

Next to the deadly assaults of yellow fever the event of the year was the insurrection which broke out, March 27th, in the Walnut Street prison. This was one of the most remarkable outbreaks on record in the United States, and grew partly out of the difficulty at that prison the previous year. Powell, the colored man who had then interfered for the protection of Keeper Armstrong, was an object of much dislike to the other prisoners. March 27th, Powell had a quarrel with another convict named Hedgeman, in which the latter was badly stabbed. The other convicts rushed to the spot, and with the cry "Murder the snitch!" some forty of them, armed with sand-spades, made an attack on him. Powell fought bravely, but fell back until he reached the blacksmith-shop, seized a bar of iron, and stood at bay. Bars of iron, stones, tools, and other missiles were hurled at him. Several who approached too near were knocked down, but he was at length dislodged from his shelter by McIlhenny and others, who obtained access to the shop by a rear window. Retreating from his shelter, Powell, reaching the jail-yard, was met by a convict, who struck him with an iron bar, crashing through skull and brain, and McIlhenny stabbed him with a clasp-knife. The inspectors met shortly afterward, and resolved that the ring-leaders should be put in cells to await trial. The next morning, accompanied by keepers, the inspectors went to the door of the room in which McIlhenny and the more desperate of the prisoners were confined. McIlhenny came out, seized an iron bar from the hands of a keeper, and attacked inspectors and keepers, being reinforced by some forty convicts, who rushed out of the room in which they had been confined. The keepers and inspectors fled, and the convicts, black and white, proceeded to the doors of the various prison-rooms, and

tore them open. In a short time two hundred prisoners were added to the wild force, and the apartments of the women convicts were also forced. The prisoners repaired to the yard and made energetic efforts to escape. An alarm spread through the city. Citizens assembled in the neighborhood of the prison, and mounted the sheds and buildings of Carter's livery-stable, adjoining the eastern wall of the prison. They were armed, and John Runner, a mulatto prisoner, was killed by shots fired from that direction. A number of the prisoners obtained a heavy plank, and used it to batter down a gate leading to Sixth Street. Some muskets were fired at this party, and three were wounded in the limbs, after which they dispersed. Foiled in the attempt to escape, the prisoners roamed about the yard in squads and gangs, shouting, hallooing, and seeking means of escape. Meanwhile citizen soldiers had assembled. A company of marines was brought from the navy-yard. Caleb North, the sheriff, put this force under the command of Col. Biddle, who marched his men into the prison-yard with loaded muskets and bayonets fixed. Col. Biddle mounted a marble block, and said, "I give you three minutes to march to your rooms. Any hesitation will bring upon you a volley from these muskets." This intimation was sufficient. Forty-five of the most prominent prisoners were arrested and put in their cells. For three or four nights fifty armed men patrolled the building, when, order being restored, they were discharged. Thirteen or fourteen of the convicts who took part in the murder of Powell were tried, but the prosecution failed.

There were several more balloon ascensions attempted. One by Monsieur Guille, who had failed at Vauxhall in 1819. July 10th, at Camden, he made a trial, but his balloon escaped before he could get in the car. In October he made another trial, and landed at Pennington, N. J. November 23d he again ascended, sent a monkey down in the parachute, and landed himself at Mantua village.

August 19th, the cadets from the United States Military Academy at West Point, under their regular officers, arrived in the city. They were received by the volunteers, marched to Mantua village, and encamped. They were two hundred in number, and had marched from the Academy across New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. They were under the command of William J. Worth, afterward a major-general. The uniform of the cadets was very neat. The coat was of gray, with no facing, and little trimming; pantaloons of white, and cap of leather, surmounted by a tall narrow black feather; cartouch and bayonet belts of white. August 21st, the cadets drilled at their encampment in the presence of thousands, after which the citizens gave them a dinner at the Mantua Hotel. The mayor presided, assisted by Gen. Cadwalader, Charles Ingersoll, and Richard Bache. The mayor and Gen. Cadwalader made speeches of welcome,

which were responded to by Maj. Worth and Cadet Holland. The next morning they struck tents, and marched back to West Point over the same roads.

Local politics in 1820 hinged entirely on the gubernatorial contest. The new-school Democrats gave Governor Findlay a unanimous nomination; Joseph Hiester, his opponent, was supported by old-school Democrats and by the Federalists. The patronage of the executive was very considerable under the Constitution of 1790, and it was useless for any man, no matter how able a politician or honest and wise a leader, to hope to use this patronage without rousing jealousy, party faction, private hatred, and public assaults. Governor Findlay was defeated, and at the general elections of the following year the Democrats gained entire ascendancy in the Legislature.

The last important event of the year was a Tariff Convention, composed of delegates from various parts of the United States opposed to high-tariff rates, which met at Washington Hall in November. William Bayard was elected president. They adopted resolutions in favor of a low tariff and "the encouragement of commerce, which would increase importation but not encourage smuggling." The merchants of the city gave them a dinner November 4th, Thomas M. Willing acting as president.

The year 1821 has generally been considered by historians of national affairs as an epoch-marking period, a dividing line between the old landmarks and the new. It witnessed the reannexation of Florida and its claims acknowledged to the Pacific; it saw the effort to part out those new domains between South and North,—freedom and slavery. The party tests and political doctrines of the generation that fought the war of 1812 were already of the past, were dead and forgotten issues; the quarrels of the Duanes and Binnses were of no consequence to mortal man any longer. Questions of finance, internal improvement, and tariff demanded a new sort of political training. Old Mathew Carey's economic doctrines were being studied; the works of Franklin and Hamilton were read by young American statesmen. But nearer and more portentous than any or all other issues, the slave interest, crystallized into a unity of purpose, and led by men of absolute genius, began to battle for the control of the national policy. Calhoun and nullification were at hand; the guns of Sumter were but forty years below the time-horizon. From 1821, the close of Monroe's first term of office, the era of American politics that closed with the end of the late war may properly be said to date its beginning.

With the year 1821 there were many subjects of importance brought before the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The subject of city taxation was already becoming more interesting by reason of the increase of the burden of contributions to the public support, which was growing heavier every year. A meeting

was held in Dock Ward on the 18th of January, at which a method of relief to tax-payers was proposed, which was in advance of the times, indeed, was more than thirty years ahead of the popular favor. John Leamy was chairman, and Robert A. Caldwell was secretary. Resolutions were adopted declaring that the visits of tax-collectors were inconvenient, ill-timed, and caused irritation. It was declared that the opening of a central tax-collection office for the reception of the taxes of citizens who would pay voluntarily, with an allowance and deduction to those who pay in proportion to the time of payment and the amount due, would be a measure of wisdom. A committee was appointed, consisting of the president and secretary, with Messrs. Levi Garrett, John McMullin, Henry Tumbleston, Thomas Mitchell, William Abbott, and Thomas Dunlap, to draft a memorial to the Councils in favor of this change. As an illustration of the value of the plan, it was stated that the collection of the United States direct taxes in Philadelphia in the years 1815 and 1816 had been made in that way, and without a single loss to the public. A meeting was held in Walnut Ward in the succeeding month favoring the same plan. But the proposition was entirely too soon. The influence of the tax-collectors was very powerful in city politics, and became much stronger in after-years. The increase of pauperism was one of the causes which added to the burdens of taxation, and it was expected that something practicable would be elicited in regard to the prevention of that evil in the report of the commission on the causes of pauperism appointed by the Legislature in the preceding year. That report was sent to the Assembly in due time, and was of considerable length. It was successfully shown that pauperism had increased. But the material duty of the committee, which was to show *why* it had increased and what means should be taken to reduce the evil, was not discharged.

The consumption of coal in the city was by this time becoming more extensive. In this year the Lehigh Navigation and Coal Company sent three hundred and sixty-five tons of coal to Philadelphia.

March 20th, the Legislature passed an act to provide for the erection of a State penitentiary within the city and county of Philadelphia. The commissioners appointed to erect it were Thomas Wistar, Dr. Samuel P. Griffiths, Peter Meircken, George N. Baker, Thomas Bradford, John Bacon, Caleb Carmalt, Samuel R. Wood, Thomas Sparks, James Thackara, and Daniel H. Miller. They were given authority to select a site and to make contracts for the building, which was to be on the plan of the penitentiary at Pittsburgh. They were also to sell the Arch Street prison to the Commissioners of the County of Philadelphia if they would pay fifty thousand dollars for it. These commissioners advertised in May for plans for the building, promising to give one hundred dollars for the design of a prison of two hundred and

fifty cells. In the early part of the year they selected the Cherry Hill farm property, on the north side of Francis Lane (since Coates Street and Fairmount Avenue), west of the Ridge road. Improvements since made have placed this lot between Corinthian Avenue and Twenty-first Street. John Haviland was selected as the architect.

One of the most important reforms accomplished in this year was the breaking up of the auction monopoly, which had prohibited auction sales except by a few licensed auctioneers, appointed by the Governor. This office had become very valuable, and was conferred for political reasons. If not a source of actual corruption, it had subjected the administration of Governor Findlay to much suspicion. By the act of April 2d the business was thrown open without limitation. It was then declared that a first-class license to sell within two miles of the State-House should be given to any one who should apply for it, give proper surety, and pay a license fee of two thousand dollars in advance. Licenses to sell horses, cattle, and carriages, it was directed should be furnished for one hundred dollars per annum.

Political affairs in the early part of the year were quiet. The defeat of Findlay was not accompanied by sufficiently important results in the Legislature to furnish Governor Hiester with a working majority. Findlay's friends were very active in pushing him for United States senator. At the joint meeting of the Legislature in January three ballots were taken, but no candidate could obtain a majority over all others. The convention therefore adjourned *sine die*. In April Governor Hiester arrived in Philadelphia, and put up at the Rotterdam Hotel, in Fourth Street above Race. A week afterward ex-Governor Findlay was in the city, and his admirers gave him a complimentary dinner at the house of William Stewart, No. 46 North Sixth Street.

The local election contests of 1821 were about as lively as usual. An "Administration ticket," supported by Federal Independents (old-school Democrats), was nominated, having for senators Stephen Duncan and William Wurts, in place of William McMullin, resigned; county commissioner, Robert Brooke; auditor, Samuel Patton. In the city, what were called the Federal Republican nominations for Assembly were William Lehman, James M. Broom, John Edwards, Jr., George Emlen, and Joseph Robertson. In the county the Independent Republicans (old-school)—Hiester men—met at the house of Bartholomew Graves, in Spring Garden, and nominated for the Assembly Lynford Lardner, Robert Carr, Algernon S. Logan, Tracy Taylor, Charles Levering, and John Thompson. The new-school (late Findlay) Democrats nominated John Conrad, Jacob Holgate, Jacob Shearer, Nathan Jones, and Joel B. Sutherland. At the election the Administration party carried most of the city and county, and elected Senators Duncan and Wurts, County Commissioner Brooke, and

Auditor Patton, also getting control of the Legislature.

Among other interesting events of 1821 was the incorporation of the Apprentices' Library, also the establishing of the Philadelphia Law Library, under the auspices of "The Society for the Promotion of Legal Knowledge and Forensic Eloquence." This year occurred the death of Elias Boudinot, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was born in Philadelphia in 1740, of Huguenot ancestors, and was eminent in law, politics, and literature. At the time of his death he was president of the American Bible Society.

The year 1822 was marked by the usual political conflicts. Indeed, the study of the past is enough to convince any one that heated political contests are not a modern invention; that rancor, charges and counter-charges, "mud-throwing and wire-pulling," were not unfamiliar sixty or seventy years ago. For more than twenty-five covered by this narrative we have seen the annual elections, city, county, State, or national, conducted with an energy and plain-speaking unsurpassed. The disposition to attack all in power, and to call them sharply to account for their doings, had long been exercised almost without limit or discretion. Governor Hiester, in 1822, called the attention of the Legislature of Pennsylvania to the chief causes of this. "Permit me to suggest," he said, "whether it would not be possible to devise some method of reducing the enormous power and patronage of the Governor, . . . and whether the annual sessions of the Legislature might not be shortened?" Early in 1822 ex-Governor Findlay was elected to the Senate of the United States for the full term of six years from the preceding 4th of March. Two of his brothers were in the House of Representatives at the same time.

Philadelphia politics were divided about as usual. The Federalists nominated on the county ticket for sheriff, William Milnor; county commissioner, John Simmons; auditors, John Roberts and Isaac Boileau; senator for the county, Mr. Jones; senator for the city, James Robertson. The Federal nominations for Congress were: First District, Samuel Breck; Second, Joseph Hemphill; Third, Thomas Forrest. The Democrats of the old school, under the title of the "State and Administration ticket," nominated for senator in the county, Joshua Jones; Assembly, William Wagner, Joseph Parker, Tracy Taylor, Lynford Lardner, Robert Carr, George Rees, and John Johnson. They supported for Congress in the Third District Thomas Forrest, the Federal candidate. The Federal nominations for the Assembly were William Lehman, Dr. George Gillespie, Henry J. Williams, Charles Roberts, of Arch Street, and George M. Lynn. The new-school Democrats nominated for Congress in the First District Joel B. Sutherland; in the Second District, Adam Seybert; and in the Third District, Daniel H. Miller. The new-school candi-

date for county commissioner was Jeremiah Peirsol; senator in the county, Daniel Groves; senator in the city, Joseph Barnes; sheriff, Jacob G. Tryon; auditors, John C. Tillinghast and George A. Baker; County Assembly, Jacob Holgate, Jacob Shearer, John Conrad, James S. Huber, George N. Baker, Nathan Jones, and Joel B. Sutherland. The latter also ran upon the Congressional ticket in the First District, thus holding on to two chances. There was strong opposition to Sutherland in the First District, upon the ground that he was responsible for that part of the Congressional apportionment bill which divided Philadelphia and Delaware County into districts, and had thrown his influence towards carving out the First District in such a manner as would make an opportunity for himself. Sutherland was also charged with being an opponent of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. The principal objection to Breck was that he had voted for a bill taxing the retailers. The *Union* said, "Mr. Sutherland is a young man, noisy and vapory. His age alone is a sufficient objection to him as a candidate for Congress. We have no predilection for boy legislators. 'Woe to that nation whose prince is a child!'" When the election was held Sutherland was defeated for Congress, but was re-elected to the Legislature on the new-school ticket. Breck and Hemphill, Federalists, carried respectively the First and Second Districts for Congress; and Daniel H. Miller, new-school Democrat, succeeded in the Third District. Tryon was elected sheriff; Tillinghast and Baker, Democrats, auditors; and Peirsol, Democrat, county commissioner. Groves was sent to the Senate from the county. The new-school ticket was elected in the latter, while in the city the Federalists had their usual fortune,—carrying senators, Assembly, and City Councils.

During the year but few events of permanent interest occurred. Manufactures increased, city improvements extended into the suburbs, the public squares preserved a better appearance; the sentiment in favor of free schools for rich and poor alike, not merely for the children of the indigent, increased steadily. On the 24th of January there occurred a fire which destroyed the Orphans' Asylum, and in which twenty-three children perished. The Mercantile Library was formed, and the College of Pharmacy and also the Museum were incorporated. It is interesting to note that the American edition of Rees' *Cyclopedia*, in forty-one volumes, with six additional volumes of plates, was completed this year in Philadelphia. It contained one hundred and forty-seven engravings, and was, up to that time, the most costly publication attempted in the United States.

The Fairmount Water-Works were fairly completed by the end of this year, the dam being finished and the water-wheels in order. The substitution of iron pipes for wooden pipes was not entered upon until 1818; and at the end of 1822 there were still thirty-two miles of wooden water-pipes in use in the city.

The year 1823 was marked by the usual political campaign, this time chiefly for Governor. Hiester had long before announced that he was not a candidate, and refused to allow his name to be used. In January a legislative caucus was held at Harrisburg, which recommended a nominating convention at the same place, March 4th, to choose a Presidential candidate and to make up an electoral ticket. This convention was held, and it not only arranged an electoral ticket, but went into nomination for Governor, George Bryan and Samuel D. Ingham being prominent candidates. John Andrew Shulze was a third candidate. After several ballots, Ingham and Bryan leading the votes, the convention adjourned. Before it assembled on the second day an arrangement had apparently been made between the friends of Ingham and Shulze, which resulted in the abandonment of Ingham and the union of his friends with those of Shulze, who was nominated by a vote of ninety-six to thirty-five for Bryan. This result caused surprise and dissatisfaction, Shulze being little known, though certainly a man of much ability.

The Federalists met at Lancaster, James Buchanan presiding, and nominated Andrew Gregg, of Centre County, an old Democrat. A number of discontented Democrats sent delegates to this convention, and perhaps influenced the nomination. Other considerations beside those of State politics were involved in the nomination for Governor. The Presidential question intervened. Calhoun and Crawford were strong candidates against Gen. Jackson, and the nomination of Shulze was supposed to be made in the Calhoun and Crawford interest. A meeting of Democrats was called at the county court-house, June 12th, in reference to the nominations, of which Thomas Leiper was president and Josiah Randall secretary. Mr. Wurts made a motion to approve the nomination of Shulze; but confusion ensued, and the meeting adjourned without taking any action. Shortly afterwards another meeting was called of the supporters of Shulze. The *American Sentinel*, supporting Shulze, said that seven hundred or eight hundred persons were present; but the *United States Gazette* said there were not more than three hundred and fifty. The Gregg party next day met in the State-House yard. The *United States Gazette* said that two thousand persons were present. Col. Thomas Forrest was president, and Mr. Wurts offered a series of resolutions. The journals of the city which were attached to the new-school party supported Shulze, but were on most unfriendly terms with each other. Binns said of the *Franklin Gazette*, "It is doubtful whether that paper be more conspicuous for folly or dictation." The *Franklin Gazette* said of Binns, "The Democratic party would much rather be in a minority than in a majority that would elect a Governor over which the alderman had any influence." The *Columbian Observer* remarked, "John Binns is a notorious rascal, and the *Franklin Gazette* not much better." Binns

was indignant at the *United States Gazette* for publishing these extracts. When the time came for local nominations the Gregg party in the county nominated for the Legislature George Gorgas, William Binder, Jesse Y. Castor, Samuel F. Moore, George De Benneville, Evan W. Thomas, Jr., and John Durney. The new-school (Shulze) Democrats nominated in the county for the Legislature, Jacob Holgate, Jacob Shearer, George N. Baker, James A. Mahany, Joseph B. Norbury, Joel B. Sutherland, and Samuel Neill. The Federal ticket for the Assembly was: For senator, George Emlen; Assembly, William Lehman, John Keating, Jr., John M. Read, Charles Graff, Henry J. Williams, and Henry Wikoff. Jacob G. Tryon, the sheriff, whose term had not expired, died during the early part of the year, and nominations were made for that office. The Federalists and Gregg party nominated Robert Brooke; the Shulze Democrats, John Douglass. For coroner, John Dennis was nominated in the Shulze interest, and George Ritter by the friends of Gregg. For county commissioner, John Markland was nominated by the Gregg party and Conrad Wile by the advocates of Shulze. For auditor, Stacy Potts (Gregg); Benjamin S. Bonsall (Shulze). The result upon the Gubernatorial ticket was that Gregg had in city and county 7757 votes and Shulze 6654. This majority ought to have carried through all the candidates on the Gregg ticket, but Douglass for sheriff and Dennis for coroner, by personal popularity, overcame it, and polled good majorities besides. John Markland, an old Revolutionary officer, was elected county commissioner, and Stacy Potts auditor, beating the Shulze candidates. The Federal tickets carried the city, and the new-school (Shulze) Democrats, as usual, elected their assemblymen. In the State, Gregg was badly beaten. Shulze received a very large German vote, while Gregg lost a good many Federalist votes on account of his former political career as a Democrat.

The settlement of the State canvass did not end the political agitation of the year. The Presidential question to be determined in 1824 was of great interest. It was said that the interests of the Shulze party were in favor of Crawford or Calhoun, and that Ingham was bitterly opposed to Gen. Jackson. The opposition to caucus nominations by legislative bodies which was developed in Pennsylvania during the State canvass was now turned against the Congressional caucus system of nominating candidates for President of the United States. The friends of Jackson were opposed to a Congressional caucus, it being evident that the majority in Congress was favorable either to Calhoun or to Crawford. A meeting of Democrats was held December 20th at the county court-house, Chandler Price, chairman, James Thackara and Henry Horn, secretaries. Col. John D. Goodwin offered resolutions denouncing the caucus and in favor of the nomination of Gen. Jackson; also order-

ing the appointment of a committee to go to a convention at Huntingdon, to form a Jackson electoral ticket for the State. John Binns was at this meeting with resolutions in favor of the Congressional caucus, which were negated by a large majority. The convention appointed as delegates to Huntingdon, Thomas Leiper, Henry Toland, Washington Jackson, John N. Taylor, Stephen Simpson, William Duncan, Nathan Jones, of Blockley, Chandler Price, John D. Goodwin, Dr. George W. Riter, William Moulder, James Ronaldson, and Isaac Worrell.

March 31st the Legislature passed an act to incorporate a company to construct a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia, in Lancaster County. The preamble said,—

"Whereas, It hath been represented by John Stevens, in his memorial to the Legislature, that a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia would greatly facilitate the transportation between those two places,—suggesting, also, that he hath made important improvements in the construction of railways,—and praying that, in order to carry such beneficial purposes into effect, himself and associates may be incorporated."

It was ordered that John Connelly, Michael Baker, of Arch Street, Horace Binney, Stephen Girard, Samuel Humphreys, of Philadelphia, Emmor Bradley, of Chester County, Amos Ellmaker, of Lancaster City, and John Barbour and William Wright, of Columbia, should be constituted the president and directors of a company to be called "The President, Directors, and Company of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company." Connelly was named as president until an election was held under the provisions of the act. The law granted a term of fifty years for the existence of the company, with power to lay out a railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia not more than forty feet wide,—to be located so as to do the least damage to private property. The *United States Gazette* said, in May, that "the Pennsylvania Iron Railroad is to commence at Hamiltonville." The shares were to be six thousand, of one hundred dollars each; and the road was to be laid out under the superintendence of John Stevens. So little was this plan understood that a correspondent of the *Philadelphia Gazette*, in April, inquired of the editor, "What is a railroad? What does this plan mean?" And the editor himself wisely responded that it was probable some of his correspondents "might be able to explain." In the latter end of the month the same paper published an article on railroads in England. Among other things it was said that a horse could draw from twenty to fifty tons. No allusion was made to steam. It could not be in utter ignorance of the idea of railroads that these comments were made, after the discussions caused by Oliver Evans' plans. The object probably was to discover the plan of Stevens, which was claimed to be original. The Senate passed, during this session, a bill to incorporate a company to build a railroad from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh, but it failed in the other House.

May 22d, the corner-stone of the "New Penitentiary" was laid at Philadelphia. This building was in-

tended for solitary confinement of prisoners, and the great outbreak, of which we have given an account, doubtless led to the plan. There were to be cells secure and separate. It was a year of severe drought, and forest fires were unusually abundant. The great fires in Maine during the summer and the nearly total destruction of Wiscasset, Alna, and other villages caused widespread sympathy, and a public meeting was held in Philadelphia, at which a large sum was raised for the sufferers.

During this year the Schuylkill water was introduced into three thousand nine hundred and fifty-four private houses and one hundred and eighty-five manufactories in Philadelphia; four hundred and one private baths were supplied with it.

An event of national importance was the signing, March 13, 1824, of the convention between Great Britain and the United States for suppressing the slave-trade. April 5th a treaty was signed at St. Petersburg with Russia relating to the boundaries of what was then Russian America. Gen. Lafayette, under invitation from Congress, came to America, arriving in New York August 13th, and his triumphal tour through the prosperous and united land that he had aided to make free is one of the pleasantest episodes of our history. Said Edward Everett, the eloquent and polished orator, addressing Lafayette, August 25th, at Harvard University: "With the present year will be completed the first half-century . . . from the commencement of our Revolutionary war." Lafayette "has returned in his age to receive the gratitude of the nation to which he devoted his youth. Enjoy a triumph such as never conqueror nor monarch enjoyed, the assurance that throughout America there is not a bosom which does not beat with joy and gratitude at the sound of your name." Of Lafayette's reception in Philadelphia we shall have more to say hereafter.

During 1824 national and local issues were closely intertwined in politics, since it was the Presidential year, and the Democratic party was rent by the fierce struggle between Jackson, Crawford, Adams, and Clay. The Federalists made no nomination, and the overwhelming strength of the Democratic party, together with the want of systematic nominations, rendered the canvass uncertain, because there were no means of ascertaining the relative strength of each candidate, and the fight among them became more bitter. Controversy ensued as to the manner in which the Democratic nominations should be made. Heretofore a Congressional caucus settled upon the candidates for President and Vice-President on behalf of the Democratic party; but the spirit of opposition to caucus decrees which had commenced in Pennsylvania during the gubernatorial canvass of 1817, and which had been intensified in later years, had gradually spread over the Union, and feelings of opposition to that method were particularly strong among those who favored Gen. Jackson. From an examination of the roll of Congress it was thought that a

caucus of the members of that body would favor the nomination of William H. Crawford. The friends of Gen. Jackson, of Adams, and of Clay, therefore, opposed a caucus, and argued against it long before the conference was held. Governor Hiester, of Pennsylvania, in his message, suggested some amendment of the law relating to Presidential electors. He recommended that the law of the commonwealth relating to the meeting of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States should be changed so as to designate some other place for the meeting of the electors than that in which the Legislature was in session, because the electors, if they met at the seat of government, would be under the influence of the Legislature, and could not freely exercise their judgment. A committee was appointed by the House of Representatives to consider this recommendation, and it undertook to defend the legislative right to govern political nominations by consultation. When this report was presented, Gen. Ogle, of the House, said that it had "a squinting toward a Congressional caucus, where, it was supposed, William H. Crawford would be nominated." The majority of the House of Representatives wisely refused to become committed in relation to this question. A resolution to strike out those portions of the report of the committee which related to the rights and wrongs of the caucus question was adopted by a vote of sixty-two to twenty-six, and a resolution against changing the place of meeting of the Presidential electors was then carried.

The Jackson Democrats of Philadelphia met in February, and appointed delegates to the Harrisburg Convention. This convention assembled on the 4th of March, and Jacob Holgate was chairman. Resolutions in favor of Jackson were carried with but one dissenting voice. For Vice-President, John C. Calhoun received 87 votes, Albert Gallatin received 10 votes, Henry Clay received 10 votes, William Findlay received 8 votes, John Todd received 8 votes, and Daniel Montgomery received 1 vote. At the delegate elections in August the Jackson ticket swept the city and county, carrying every ward. The Crawford party held a convention at Harrisburg in August, in which ten counties were represented. Philadelphia City sent as delegates Josiah Randall, T. F. Gordon, Maj. Samuel H. Perkins, Col. Joseph Strahan, Joseph Diver, and Lambert Keating. From the county the representatives were James McEwen, Capt. David Hardie, Joseph P. Le Clerc, Col. James Dyer, John Johnson, and John R. Jones. A committee of correspondence at Philadelphia consisted of Judge Jacob Sommer, Charles J. Ingersoll, Manuel Eyre, Horatio G. Jones, Samuel Badger, Thomas F. Gordon, and Josiah Randall. On the electoral ticket for Crawford and Gallatin were the names of Richard Rush, Samuel Wetherill, John Geyer, and John Connelly. The friends of John Quincy Adams held a meeting in the court-house on the 18th of October, Thomas Forrest

chairman, and Clement C. Biddle and Bloomfield McIlvaine secretaries. John Purdon made an address. A committee of correspondence was appointed, consisting of Thomas Forrest, John Purdon, Clement C. Biddle, John Conard, Samuel Humphreys, and John Sergeant. The electors upon the Adams ticket from the city and county of Philadelphia were Col. Thomas Forrest and Josiah Supplee, of the county, and John Sergeant, Thomas P. Cope, and Clement C. Biddle, of the city. An Adams meeting was held at the courthouse in October, of which William Montgomery was chairman, and Richard C. Wood secretary. Committees were appointed to conduct the ensuing election on behalf of the Adams men. The Henry Clay party were not early in the field, but they formed an electoral ticket, upon which Philadelphia was represented by Langdon Cheves, John Todd, Matthew Lawler, Mathew Carey, and Mark Richards. On the Jackson ticket, when completed, were the names of Thomas Leiper, Cromwell Pierce, Philip Peltz, Alexander McCarahey, and Daniel Sheffer.

The State elections were of course influenced by the Presidential controversy. A town-meeting of Democrats was called at the court-house on the 16th of September. Alexander Cook was chairman, and Samuel Badger and William Stewart were secretaries. They agreed upon a ticket for the Assembly from the city,—Henry Horn, William Duncan, Josiah Randall, Lewis Rush, John M. Taylor, and Robert Cooper; for Congress, William J. Duane. The latter declined, and his father, William Duane, was nominated in his place. The Federalists nominated for Assembly in the city William Lehman, John M. Read, John K. Kane, George M. Stroud, John R. C. Smith, and William M. Meredith; for Congress, Joseph Hemphill. In the county Samuel Breck was nominated by the Federalists in the First District for Congress, but he declined, and John Wurts was chosen. The Democrats nominated Joel B. Sutherland for Congress. In the Third District three candidates ran, William Duncan, Daniel H. Miller, and Jacob Shearer. Three tickets for the Legislature were nominated in the county. They may be said to have represented the Jackson, Crawford, and Adams or Clay parties. The successful ticket had upon it Jonathan J. Knight, David Snyder, James A. Mahoney, George N. Baker, Robert O'Neill, and Joel B. Sutherland. At the election Wurts beat Sutherland for Congress in the First District by 95 majority. Hemphill was elected in the Second District by 576 majority. Miller succeeded in the Third District. For county officers the Democrats carried the commissioner (Conrad Wile) and auditor (Benjamin S. Bonsall).

At the election the vote in the city for electors was, Jackson, 2264; Adams, 1500; Crawford, 580; Clay, 107. In the county, Jackson, 3634; Adams, 576; Crawford, 580; Clay, 91. In the State the vote was even more overwhelming in favor of the hero of

New Orleans. It stood as follows: Jackson, 35,898; Adams, 5405; Crawford, 4186; Clay, 1701. Jackson's majority over all was 24,601, and over Adams, 30,488. He received the whole electoral vote of Pennsylvania. The election went to the House of Representatives, and John Quincy Adams was chosen President. The old parties were broken up. The name Federalist sank into oblivion, and after sailing in different sections under various titles with which the party did not broadly agree, the Whig party of ten or twelve years later substantially took the place of the old Federal party, rallying about Henry Clay, "the mill-boy of the slashes," and finding its chief strength in the great and growing West.

The Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, the construction of which had been urged for many years, was now placed in the way of fulfillment. A contract for building it was made with John Randel, Jr., on the 20th of March. On the 15th of April work was commenced upon the canal at Newbold's Landing, opposite the Pea Patch Fort on the Delaware River, in the presence of the chief justice of the State of Delaware, the mayor of Philadelphia, and many citizens, this being from the beginning essentially a Philadelphia work. The first sod was cut by the chairman of the superintending committee of stockholders, after which Thomas P. Cope delivered an address giving the history of the enterprise.

The great public event of the year was the welcome given to Lafayette. July 29th, the Councils of Philadelphia extended an invitation, and began to make preparations for the great occasion. Brig.-Gen. Robert Patterson called a meeting of the officers of the First Brigade to assist in the arrangements, and this was followed by a general meeting of the officers of the division, at which there were present Maj.-Gen. Cadwalader; Gen. Robert Patterson, of the First Brigade; Gen. Thomas Castor, of the Second Brigade; Col. Thomas W. Duffield, of the First Regiment of Philadelphia County Volunteers; Lieut.-Col. Andrew Geyer, of the First Regiment; Henry J. Williams, lieutenant-colonel of the Second Regiment; Andrew M. Prevost, lieutenant-colonel of the Artillery Regiment; and Kenderton Smith, lieutenant-colonel of the Second Regiment of County Volunteers. A committee of arrangements was appointed, consisting of Cols. Charles S. Cox, Nineteenth Infantry; Anthony Simmons, Ninety-sixth Regiment; Joseph Strahan, Ninety-first Regiment; John G. Watmough, One Hundred and Twenty-third Regiment; Lieut.-Cols. George Jeffreys, Ninth Regiment; William J. Dubbs, Seventy-fourth Regiment; Andrew Geyer, One Hundred and Second Regiment; Maj. William S. Simmons, Seventy-second Regiment; and Capt. Robert Cooper, of the Artillery Regiment.

Three days after Lafayette's arrival in New York the citizens of Philadelphia met, and were presided over by Thomas Leiper. A committee of twenty-one was appointed to make arrangements for the

reception. During the months of August and September meetings of persons engaged in various trades were held to adopt measures proper to be taken in honor of the event. Mayor Watson issued a proclamation permitting an illumination of the city, and it was resolved to have a civic ball during the time that Lafayette was a guest of the corporation. The 28th of September was appointed for the reception of Lafayette, and volunteers from different portions of the State and from adjoining States came to take part in the ceremonies. The procession was



THE LAFAYETTE ARCH.

to be divided into civic and military sections. The latter portion was under the command of Maj.-Gen. Thomas Cadwalader. Of the civic division John Swift was the chief marshal, and James S. Skerrett was the aide-de-camp. The assistant marshals were Henry Shoemaker, Bloomfield McIlvaine, James Harper, James C. Biddle, Edward S. Cox, Edward Twells, Edward Ingersoll, Thomas Penrose, Thomas Morrell, and Mordecai S. Lewis. The volunteers were ordered to be concentrated in Rush's field, on the Frankford road, half a mile beyond the first turnpike gate. A salute was ordered to be fired as Lafayette entered the field, and the troops were then to be reviewed by Lafayette before the line of march was taken up.

On the 26th of September the First City Troop left the town, and at Holmesburg it was joined by the Second City Troop and the First and Third County Troops, the whole squadron being under the command of Capt. J. R. C. Smith, of the First City Troop. The next day, at Morrisville, where the Governor had delivered an eloquent address of welcome to Lafayette, they were joined by the Second County Troop and the Bucks County Troop. They met and escorted Gen. Lafayette and Governor Shulze to Frankford, where they slept for the night at the United States Arsenal. The people of Frankford were very much disappointed at the escort arriving when it was yet too light for illumination and still too dark to give a favorable view of the procession. Lafayette visited the village the next morning and was received by Isaac Worrell, town clerk, who made a speech of welcome on behalf of the borough authorities. On the morning of the 28th the First City Troop and the

First County Troop escorted Lafayette and Governor Shulze to Rush's field, where the main body of the escort was drawn up. Here the ceremonies of review were gone through with. The two troops of cavalry were formed for escort. The barouche was drawn by six cream-colored horses, and in it, with Lafayette, was the venerable Judge Peters, of the United States District Court, Governor Shulze following in another barouche. At one o'clock the ceremonies of the review were over. The line of march was then taken up, the barouche of Lafayette being followed by those of the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, City Councils, and other dignitaries. At the stone bridge the civic procession was passed by the First Brigade and the accompanying troops, after which that portion followed the military. The rear of the procession was brought up by the Second Brigade and some of the county troops.

Upon reaching the State-House further ceremonies were held, and Lafayette was escorted to his headquarters at the Franklin House, south corner of Walnut Street and west side of Washington Square. On Wednesday, September 29th, in the Hall of Independence, the State Society of the Cincinnati waited upon Lafayette, and Maj. William Jackson delivered an address. The children of the public schools were received in the State-House yard on the 30th, and in the afternoon the general was received at Masonic Hall by members of the Masonic order. He remained in the city for a week, during which time there were many other receptions, balls, and festivities, his visit having stimulated patriotic feelings which had long lain dormant and directed the popular mind toward the history of the American Revolution, and to the contemplation of the claims which the services of the fathers of the republic had upon posterity.

Local events present nothing further of great importance during 1824. Robert Wharton, who had been for many years mayor of the city, resigned in the month of April, and Joseph Watson was chosen in his stead. The Franklin Institute was incorporated this year. A census taken by a committee of business men showed that the city contained fifty-five printing-offices, one hundred and twelve presses, and one hundred and fifty printers. Among the men of note who died this year were Rev. Dr. William Rogers, aged seventy-four (professor for years in the Pennsylvania University), and Charles Thomson, who has been called "perpetual secretary of the Revolutionary Congress," aged ninety-five.

On the 4th of October a noteworthy celebration took place in Philadelphia, being to commemorate the anniversary of the landing of William Penn, the great legislator. It took place in Letitia Court. It was intended to hold it in the cottage of William Penn, presented to his daughter Letitia. But so little did the historical enthusiasts of the time know of the real topography of the neighborhood, that they selected a house, Doyle's Rising Sun Inn, which had

not been built until long after Penn left America for the last time. Peter S. Duponceau delivered the address.

The year 1825 was in many respects more crowded with events than any year since the beginning of the century. Pennsylvania's strenuous efforts to develop internal improvements, to which cause the Legislature had pledged six million dollars, began to meet with success. Coal, iron, and manufactures were becoming triple pillars of the commonwealth, the agricultural interests of the State were more prosperous than ever before, and abundant harvests for several years previous had rewarded the husbandman's labors. The financial and industrial difficulties which had seemed so enormous but ten years before were swept away and nearly forgotten. There was, it is true, too much hopefulness, and too great debts were incurred at this period to link Lake Erie with the rivers of the South and East, and to connect Philadelphia with Pittsburgh. A debt was contracted by the State that five years later brought its finances into a deplorable condition, which required the utmost skill, firmness, and energy on the part of the Governor to remedy. But 1825 was a period when optimism was predominant.

Politics ruled throughout the year. It was the re-fluent wave after the Presidential election, the tidal rush after an earthquake. A Pennsylvanian was involved in the great struggle in the House of Representatives, and some account of the affair is necessary.

In January the official and correct list of the electoral votes of the various States upon the election of President and Vice-President was published. It stood, for President, Jackson, 99; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41; Clay, 37. For Vice-President, Calhoun, 182; Sanford, 80; Macon, 24; Jackson, 13; Van Buren, 9; Clay, 2; and one blank. There were 261 votes, and 131 were necessary for a majority. Calhoun was elected Vice-President, but for President there was no choice. The friends of Jackson stood alone, making no combinations; each of the others would have preferred any success rather than Jackson's.

At that time the position of Secretary of State was considered the stepping-stone to the Presidency,—Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe having been in that office before reaching the Presidency. On the 28th of January the *Columbian Observer* published a letter "written by a Pennsylvania member of the House of Representatives," in which it was charged that there was a coalition or arrangement to the effect that Henry Clay, of Kentucky, who was then Speaker of the House of Representatives, should be made Secretary of State if he and his friends would aid in the election of John Quincy Adams. On the 3d of February there appeared in the *United States Gazette* a card from Clay, dated January 31st, pronouncing it a base forgery, but "if genuine," calling its author a "dastard and a liar."

Two days afterward a card was published in the *National Intelligencer* of Washington City, signed "George Kremer, member of the House from Pennsylvania," avowing its authorship. On motion of Mr. Clay a committee was appointed by Congress, and it summoned Kremer to appear before it. He protested against the authority of the House, and refused to appear before the committee. He also published, March 3d, in the *United States Gazette*, a letter addressed to his constituents of the Ninth Pennsylvania District, giving his reason for the charges against Clay, and stating that his letter was written for the information of his constituents; that he supposed that Clay would call on him personally, and that this was the reason why he revealed his authorship. Clay afterwards published a letter to his constituents in relation to the attitude he held toward Adams, and denied the allegations of Kremer. He also used the words "military chieftain," referring to Jackson, and the latter in hot anger wrote a letter, published in the *United States Gazette* on March 7th, in which he spoke very strongly in relation to the imputed charges of ambition contained in the words of Mr. Clay, and in other respects. There was a subsequent correspondence, published April 8th, between Mr. Clay and John H. Eaton, in reference to the Kremer letter. The *Philadelphia Gazette* published on April 28th a letter from Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, on the Clay-and-Kremer affair. When Congress proceeded to vote for President the result was, John Quincy Adams, thirteen States; Andrew Jackson, seven; William H. Crawford, four; Clay's friends supported Adams. All the members from Pennsylvania voted for Jackson except Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia, who supported Adams. On the 4th of March, Adams and Calhoun were inaugurated. Shortly afterward Henry Clay was made Secretary of State.

The friends of Jackson in Philadelphia had formed in 1824 the Hickory Club, No. 1. This body resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans (January 8th) by a public dinner at Amos Holahan's inn, Chestnut Street, east of Sixth. Chandler Price was chairman of the first meeting, and Charles Harned was secretary. A committee was appointed to make arrangements, consisting of Gen. William Duncan, John Pemberton, Charles Harlan, Peter A. Grotjan, H. S. Hughes, Benjamin S. Bonsall, Henry L. Coryell, Frederick Stoever, William Taylor, and Edward King. The officers of the day were: Thomas Leiper, president; vice-presidents, Chandler Price, William Duncan, John Pemberton, and James N. Barker. In place of Holahan, Thomas Hieskell, of the Indian Queen, prepared the dinner. Among those present were Judge John Bannister Gibson, of the Supreme Court, and Col. John G. Watmough. Volunteer toasts were offered by Thomas Leiper, Chandler Price, William Duncan, J. N. Baker, Henry Horn, Alexander Cook, James Page, John

Curry, Sheldon Potter, John Lyle, Nathan Nathans, John Worrell, James Ronaldson, and others. Another dinner was held January 8th, at Branson's tavern.

At the fall election the Federalists in Philadelphia nominated for senator, Stephen Duncan; Assembly, William Lehman, Jacob S. Waln, Jacob F. Seeger, William M. Meredith, Cadwalader Evans, and John R. C. Smith. The Democrats nominated for senator, Mark Richards; for Assembly, William Duane, Henry Horn, Robert Cooper, Richard Poval, William Duncan, and Edward D. Ingraham. The Democratic conferees of the county nominated for senator, Joel B. Sutherland; for Assembly, George N. Baker, Jonathan T. Knight, David Snyder, Peter Hay, Joseph Bockius, Jesse R. Burden, and Jacob F. Heston; for county commissioner, Jacob Holgate; auditor, Richard Palmer. The Federalists and old-school Democrats of the county nominated for senator, Robert Carr; for Assembly, Charles Peirce, Joseph Starne, William Binder, Franklin Comly, Thomas Ryerson, John Keefe, and Nathan Jones; for county commissioner, Dr. John M. White; for auditor, Robert McMullin, Jr. An attempt was made to nominate a "Federal Internal Improvement Ticket," from which the names of Stephen Duncan and William M. Meredith were omitted. They came out in a card before the election, and said the opposition against them was because they had opposed the Schuylkill Coal Company, objecting to so great an interest being placed in the hands of a corporation, to the injury of individual mining interests. At the election, Duncan was chosen State senator by a majority of less than one hundred. On the Assembly ticket, Lehman, Waln, Seeger, and Smith (Federalists), and William Duncan and Poval (Democrats), were elected. Meredith and Cadwalader Evans were defeated. On the ticket for Select Council there were elected three Democrats and one Federalist, and on the Common Council ticket, eight Democrats and twelve Federalists. In the county, Sutherland was elected senator, and also the full Democratic ticket for the House of Representatives. For county commissioner, Jacob Holgate was successful over White by nearly four thousand, and Palmer over McMullin by three thousand six hundred. In the Northern Liberties the water question entered into the contest for the election of commissioners. The Federalists supported the ticket for commissioners who were in favor of obtaining the water supply from the city, but they failed.

Another question submitted to the people was on constitutional amendments. The Legislature in the early part of the year had authorized a vote to be taken on the question of calling a Constitutional Convention. This proposition was lost in Philadelphia, the vote being in the city,—for, 1776; against, 3450; in the county,—for, 1496; against, 2701; total city and county vote,—for, 3272; against, 6151. The vote

in the State also was largely against the proposition, and it was not until 1838 that a new constitution was adopted by the people of Pennsylvania.¹

We have spoken of the internal improvements at this time attracting the attention and increasing the taxes of the people, and shall now consider them more in detail. Early in January a large meeting of citizens was held in the court-house, Chief Justice Tilghman presiding, and Nicholas Biddle secretary. The meeting discussed the proposed Alleghany and Susquehanna Canal bill. Mathew Carey, the noted economist, desired to amend it to "a canal between Lake Erie and the Alleghany." Speeches were made by John Sergeant, Mathew Carey, Samuel Chew, Jr., Samuel Archer, William J. Duane, Charles J. Ingersoll, Thomas Biddle, Daniel W. Coxe, Judge Duncan, and Josiah Randall. The original subject and the amendment were referred to a committee; also a motion by Charles J. Ingersoll directing the committee to inquire into the expediency of railroads. An adjourned meeting was held on the 24th of January, at which the committee reported that the Schuylkill Navigation was completed, that the Union Canal was rapidly advancing, and would soon reach the Susquehanna. They reported also the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting a communication by water between the Susquehanna and the Allegheny Rivers, and between the rivers Susquehanna and Allegheny and Lake Erie, ought to be opened with all practicable expedition at such points as soon as a suitable board of skillful and experienced engineers may select.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the work ought to be undertaken by the State and executed at the expense of the State, because it requires for its completion large powers, which may be safely intrusted to the public authorities of the commonwealth under the direction of the Legislature, but which would be regarded with jealousy in the hands of an individual or corporation."

A committee was appointed, William Tilghman chairman, to memorialize the Legislature, and thanks were also voted to the "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting Internal Improvements." This society was active during 1825, as for a number of years previous, urging the public to increase the means of interior communication. They published an address early in January upon the proper means of construct-

¹ Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, was in Philadelphia on the election day, in 1824. Speaking of the State-House, he said, "In front of it we saw a great assemblage of people. We heard it was the election of the Common Council. . . . From the public-houses in the vicinity flags were displayed, to give notice what political party assembled there. Handbills were sent all over town into the houses to invite votes. From the tenor of these bills one might have concluded that the city was in great danger. The election, however, to our exceeding astonishment, passed over very peaceably. Here is one of the bills: 'Sir,—The inclosed Federal Republican ticket is earnestly recommended to you for your support this day. Our opponents are active. Danger threatens. Every vote is important. One may be decisive. Be therefore on the alert. Vote early for your own convenience and the public good. Bring your friends to the poll and all will be well. The improvement of the city is carefully regarded; good order and tranquillity abound; general prosperity is everywhere apparent. Then secure by your vote this day a continuance of the present happy state of things. Our mayor is independent, faithful, and vigilant. Who will be mayor if we fail? Think on this and hesitate no longer, but vote the whole of the inclosed ticket. [Naturalized citizens will please to take their certificates with them.]'"

ing railroads. A few days afterward an address made its appearance in relation to the importance of increasing the canal accommodations of the State of Pennsylvania. In this document it was said that in 1796 the aggregate exports of Philadelphia were forty per cent. more than those of New York; whereas now they are forty-five per cent. less. The difference was to be ascribed to the facilities for transportation afforded by the canals of New York. In March the acting committee of the society published an article on railways, with plan of a railroad, etc., taken from European sources. The *United States Gazette*, March 28th, published a description of wooden-track railroads in use near Philadelphia.¹

In April the *United States Gazette* published an account of a steam-carriage, with three wheels, invented by T. W. Parker, of Edgar County, Ill.

Some time in March the New Jersey Legislature authorized the Delaware and Raritan Canal, and this was hailed with joy in Philadelphia as another link in the Middle State system. Much nearer, however, to every citizen's thoughts was the project of uniting the Delaware and the Schuylkill. Engineers were requested by the Water Committee of Councils to examine the most suitable route. The utility of making a canal of Pegg's Run had been urged in 1821, and the Commissioners of the Northern Liberties then had the matter before them. A meeting of the citizens of that district deemed it inexpedient to press the scheme, and suggested that it would be better to wait until the works at Fairmount were completed. Those works having been finished, the project was again renewed, and two routes were examined, one commencing near the pond at Fairmount, passing near Callowhill Street, and thence along the bed at Pegg's Run to the Delaware. Another plan was to take the canal so that it would fall into the Cohocksink between Second and Third Streets. A third route was to commence near Pine Street on the Schuylkill, thence southeastwardly by a small run and by deep cutting until the Delaware was reached at Reed Street, in Southwark. The completion of the works of the Schuylkill Navigation Company, and the connection by the Union Canal with the Susquehanna, and by the projected State canal, from thence to the Alleghany, would, it was thought, bring a vast trade down the Schuylkill, and render a canal from the

Schuylkill to the Delaware necessary. This entire scheme was intimately connected with the disposal of the surplus Fairmount water-supply owned by the city. It was thought that by means of the proposed canal water-power could be taken to manufactories constructed along the route. Surveys were made by Canvass White and Samuel Hains, city surveyors. In regard to manufactures, the committee expressed a belief, in a report of July 6th, that there was no doubt that water-rights could be sold. An agreement was made with the owners of the Morrisville estate (which lay below Fairmount) for the city to purchase ground there. Negotiations were begun with the owners of the Lancaster-Schuylkill bridge to carry the water across their roadway. The owners of the Morrisville property offered to sell their water-front on the Schuylkill, below the Upper Ferry bridge, for a ground-rent of eighteen hundred dollars per annum. The expense of the southern route was estimated at \$194,758.50, with only a guard-lock at Fairmount. On the northern route there would be eight locks, and the length would be two and three-fourths miles. There was considerable opposition to the scheme, and the proposal to build a railway was renewed.² A meeting was held September 24th at the Supreme Court room, of which John D. Goodwin of the Northern Liberties was chairman, and Gerard Ralston secretary. Gen. Cadwalader presented a report and resolutions in favor of the formation of a company to build a railway between the Delaware and the Schuylkill. Estimates were ordered, "the work to be constructed on the system of levels and inclined planes, and to embrace all the necessary sidings in the single way, together with all the late improvements." The committee was composed of Thomas Cadwalader, Peter A. Browne, Charles J. Ingersoll, Paul Beck, Jr., Gerard Ralston, Mark Richards, Samuel Wetherill, Charles Goodman, John Naglee, Henry J. Williams, and Alexander Cook.

But while this discussion was going on a State convention was organized. May 6th, in the Philadelphia court-house, citizens met and chose delegates to an "Internal Improvement Convention," which met August 4th in Harrisburg, and was increased by delegates from many other counties of the State. Joseph Lawrence, of Philadelphia, was chosen chairman, and N. P. Hobart and Francis R. Shunk secretaries. Resolutions were adopted in favor of the construction of a canal from the Susquehanna to the Alleghany or Ohio River, and from the Alleghany to Lake Erie.

¹ This article said, "A wooden-rail track, which has proved very efficacious, is at present under the direction of that excellent engineer, Mr. Randall, for the purpose of removing the excavated earth of the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal below Philadelphia. A wooden railway, for the purpose of transporting ice from the bank of the river, where the depot was established, to the shipping in the Delaware, was introduced by our enterprising citizen, Turner Camac, Esq., whose early, repeated, and successful efforts to promote internal improvements entitle him to our gratitude. A model of a railway several hundred feet in length has been made by Mr. John Stevens, the gentleman who recently applied for permission to construct a railway from Columbia to Philadelphia. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the launch of every large vessel is an exhibition on a large scale of the prodigious effects resulting from a species of railways, viz., the shipways."

² A writer in the *United States Gazette*, who opposed the plan, said that the canal would not be used, and that it would cost much more than the amount named. The Union Canal boats might be able to use the proposed canal, while the boats of the Schuylkill Canal, which were much wider, would not be able to pass through it. In addition he urged the objection that a canal through the city would become a nuisance by the deposits thrown into it. Instead of paying the money which would be required for such an experiment, the writer suggested that three tow-boats of twenty-five tons each, with engines of forty horse-power, should be employed to tow the boats around to the Delaware front of the city.

It was also resolved that "application of the resources of the State, beneficially invested, increases the public wealth, improves the revenue, and greatly enlarges the ability of the State to extend aid in every quarter where it may be wanted." At the same time was published the report of William Strickland, who had been sent to Europe by the Pennsylvania Society for Internal Improvements. He took strong ground in favor of railways as preferable to canals. Under date of Edinburgh, June 5th, Mr. Strickland said, "I state distinctly my full conviction of the utility and decided superiority of railways above every other mode as means of conveyance, and one that ought to command serious attention and adoption by the people of Pennsylvania." On the 5th of September the *United States Gazette* republished an article from the *Williamsport Gazette*, in which the writer argued that railways were inexpedient in Pennsylvania, and that canals were much more economical. This was followed the next day by a long article in favor of railways. A meeting was held in the borough of Columbia on the 8th of October, urging a railway between Columbia and Philadelphia. James Buchanan, of Lancaster, made a speech supporting the proposition. In the early part of the year the city journals rejoiced over the fact that passengers had arrived from New York in nine and a half hours. There were many routes and a number of changes this year. The "Pennsylvania," Capt. Kellum, ran from Market Street each morning for Bordentown. The Union Line went by way of Trenton and New Brunswick, its steamer, the "Philadelphia," leaving at noon. The new steamboat "Trenton," which was built at Hoboken by Robert L. Stevens, arrived at Philadelphia in the spring of the year, and took her place on the Union Line, under Capt. Elisha Jenkins.¹

In April proposals were issued to receive subscriptions to the Philadelphia, Dover and Norfolk Transportation Company,—route by steamboat from Norfolk, Va., to Seaford, Del., one hundred and fifty miles; from Seaford to Simon's Creek, near Dover, by land forty-three miles; by steamboat from Dover to Philadelphia, seventy miles. This route was shorter than by the way of Baltimore. The capital stock was fixed at \$75,000, of which \$33,000 was already subscribed in

Delaware. It was said that the line could make two trips each way in one day and two nights. The probable receipts were estimated at \$39,996; freight, \$10,000; total receipts, \$49,996. The expenses were estimated at \$28,000. A new packet line to Reading was established in June by John Coleman and Jacob Peters. The canal-boat "Lady of the Lake" ran in connection with mail-coaches. Passengers were taken from the White Swan Hotel to Fairmount, where the packet lay. The fare to Reading was two dollars and fifty cents. Passengers left Reading at noon on Monday, lodged at Pottsgrove, and arrived at Fairmount early Tuesday evening. The boat left the Upper Ferry on Thursday night and arrived in Reading the next morning. There were several transportation lines for the carriage of freight between Philadelphia and New York. The new Exchange Line was managed by James McLouer and C. & F. King, proprietors, freight being taken by the "Congress" and the "Legislator." The Columbian Transportation Line was connected with the steamboats "Pennsylvania" and "Etna." The Mercantile Transportation Line also employed the same boats. In July the steamboat "Pennsylvania" was placed on the line to Cape May, carrying passengers destined for the Cape Island House.

Two steamboats were destroyed this year. May 1st the "Albemarle," which was lying at Arch Street wharf, took fire, was towed to Smith's Island, and was burned almost to the water's edge.

On the 2d of June the steamboat "Legislator," of the New York and Philadelphia Line, exploded her boiler at New York. Five persons were killed and several were badly scalded. The boat had low-pressure engines, and this disaster renewed the controversy about low-pressure and high-pressure engines for steamboats. The "Legislator" was on the New York end of the new Exchange Line, and the "Congress" was on the Delaware River end.²

Several important acts of Legislature and Councils deserve note. In January the Legislature incorporated the Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company, capital two hundred thousand dollars, which might be doubled; in February they incorporated the Philadelphia Fire Insurance Company. In February an act was passed granting eight thousand dollars per annum

¹ This boat was larger, swifter, and more handsome than any steamboat which had yet appeared on the Delaware. Her boilers were on the guards of the boat, outside the hull, and on the deck there was a clean sweep of passageway from stem to stern. The cabin was decorated with paintings, imitation marble pillars, etc. On her first trip, on April 27th, the "Trenton" beat all the other boats on the river, having a particular trial with the "Congress" of the Exchange Line, and the "Pennsylvania" of the Columbian Line. The "Trenton" went to Burlington in one hour and twenty-nine minutes; to Trenton in three hours and nine minutes,—stoppages, eighteen minutes. This boat enabled the Union Company to run two lines a day,—the "Trenton," Capt. Jenkins, at six o'clock in the morning, connecting with the "Thistle," Capt. Cornelius Vanderbilt, at New Brunswick; the "Philadelphia," at noon, connecting with the "Bellona," Capt. G. Jenkins. The fare in the morning line was three dollars and fifty cents, and by the line leaving at noon the fare was three dollars.

² After the explosion the steamboat "Bolivar" for a long time took the place of the "Legislator." In order to calm the fears of persons afraid to take passage in the steamboats, the plan of a safety-barge was suggested. The latter was to be towed by the steamboat, so that if there were an explosion the barge would escape. The proprietors of the Exchange Line now built the safety-barge "Cherry and Fair Star." There was a ladies' apartment handsomely fitted up, and the dining-table was large enough to accommodate eighty persons. On the first trip the "Congress," under command of Capt. De Graw, towed the barge to Burlington in one hour and forty-five minutes. The fare to Burlington was usually fifty cents, but in the safety barge it was seventy-five cents. On the New York end of the line the safety-barge "Matilda" was built and towed from New Brunswick by the "John Marshall." The line then changed its name to the Safety Exchange Line, the fares being two dollars and fifty cents in the steamer and in the barges three dollars and fifty cents.

to the "Pennsylvania Deaf and Dumb Asylum," the inception and growth of which we have previously recorded. A bill was reported to the Legislature in February to incorporate the Philadelphia Gas-Light Company, with authority to manufacture gas, to lay pipes in the public streets, and to furnish gas to the public. The City Councils were conservative, and raised many objections. Writers in the journals denounced gas as "unsafe, unsure, a trouble, and a nuisance," and spoke particularly of its "intolerable stench." The Legislature finally denied the petition, and the gas company had to wait for their charter. The bill for a new division of wards, which had been before the Legislature on previous occasions, was passed on March 15th. Seventh Street was made the dividing line. The eastern wards extended from the Delaware River to the east side of that street, and were,—Upper Delaware, from Vine to Sassafras; Lower Delaware, from Sassafras to Mulberry; High Street, from Mulberry to High; Chestnut, from High to Chestnut; Walnut, from Chestnut to Walnut; Dock, from Walnut to Spruce; Pine, from Spruce to Pine; New Market, from Pine to Cedar. The western wards extended from the west side of Seventh Street to the Schuylkill, and were,—North Mulberry, from Vine to Sassafras; South Mulberry, from Sassafras to Mulberry; North, from Mulberry to High; Middle, from High to Chestnut; South, from Chestnut to Walnut; Locust, from Walnut to Spruce; Cedar, from Spruce to Cedar. April 11th, a very important act was passed appointing a Board of Canal Commissioners for the State of Pennsylvania, to which was intrusted important powers in connection with the general subject of internal improvements. The commissioners were Dr. Robert M. Patterson and John Sergeant, of Philadelphia; Dr. William Darlington, of Chester County; Albert Gallatin, of Fayette County; and David Scott, of Luzerne County. Mr. Gallatin declined, and Abner Laycock took his place. In May a city ordinance was passed changing the names of the public squares. The Northeast Square, it was ordered, should be known as Franklin Square; Southeast, as Washington; Southwest, as Rittenhouse; Northwest, as Logan; Centre, as Penn.; and State-House Yard, as Independence Square. The Councils considered that the Fairmount Works were now completely finished, even to decorations, and it was so announced.

May 9th there was a fire in the Northern Liberties, on Third Street, near Brown, and nearly thirty houses were destroyed. That corporation had refused to use the Schuylkill water, and the citizens had voted against it on several occasions. Their economy was now found enormously expensive. This was the third large fire that had occurred in that region within three years. In September they again refused to use Fairmount water.

In July the ex-Empress Iturbide and her sons settled in Philadelphia. Achille and Napoleon Murat, sons of the king of Naples, were living here at this

time, and in July filed declarations of intent to become citizens.¹

Dinners, celebrations, and social events were unusually numerous in 1825, though fortunately less political than for some years previously. The Washington Benevolent Society went to Zion Church, on Fourth Street, February 22d, and were addressed by Joseph M. Doran. May 17th, a superb dinner was given at Washington Hall Saloon to Commodore James Barron, who had given up the command of the Philadelphia Navy-Yard, being succeeded by James Biddle. Mayor Watson was president; John Leamy, Gen. Robert Patterson, Josiah Randall, James M. Broom, Chandler Price, and William Craig were vice-presidents. There were present, as invited guests, Gen. Cortes, admiral of the Mexican navy; Commodore Daniels of the Colombian navy; Colonel Placio, consul-general of Colombia; Capts. Biddle, Harris, and McCall; Dr. Harris, of the navy; and Maj. Gamble, of the marine corps. The Marine Band was present. Thirteen regular and many volunteer toasts were offered. May 24th, Maj. Gamble, of the marine corps, was given a dinner by his friends at the Washington House, Fourth Street, Mayor Watson presiding. June 2d, a preliminary meeting was held to arrange for a banquet to be given to the famous De Witt Clinton, of New York, James C. Fisher, president, and E. S. Burd, secretary. June 4th, a committee of merchants and city officials met Governor Clinton, and they went, on the steamer "Trenton," to visit the works of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, but the day was extremely stormy. June 8th, the banquet took place as previously arranged for in Masonic Hall, the mayor presiding. Governor Geddes of South Carolina, and C. L. Livingston, of New York, were also present. The mayor's toast was, "The Erie and Champlain Canal, magnificent in design and prompt in execution." Clinton's toast was, "The colossal power that has one foot on the Delaware and the other foot on the Ohio: may its wisdom be commensurate with its strength, and be manifested in the flourishing state of internal improvement and productive industry." Many volunteer toasts were given.² Philadelphia welcomed

¹ The emperor Augustine de Iturbide, after having served in the revolution against the Spanish crown, was successful in securing the independence of his country under the Iguala plan of Feb. 24, 1821. He was president of the regency until May 18, 1822, when the people of Mexico proclaimed him emperor as Augustus I. He held that office until March 20, 1823, when he resigned, and was banished. He went to Italy and England, re-embarked for Mexico in 1824, landed at Soto la Marina July 14th of that year, and was taken prisoner and shot April 28th. The empress and two of their children, who had accompanied him, had also landed at Soto la Marina. The Mexican government was merciful to them. It continued to the widow the pension promised to be paid to the family at the time of the emperor's abdication, giving her privilege to live in Colombia or in the United States. She chose the latter, came to Philadelphia, and raised and educated her children here, remaining until the time of her death.

² Fletcher & Gardner, silversmiths of Philadelphia, finished in March two elegant vases of silver, intended for presentation to De Witt Clinton, by the merchants of Pearl Street, New York. The pieces were twenty-

Governor Schulze in September, and he also visited the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. The Governor, with a select company, went down the river in the steamboat "Delaware," inspected the fortifications at the Pea Patch, and partook of a public dinner at New Castle, on which occasion Gen. Thomas Cadwalader presided, and Judge Joseph Barnes and Daniel Groves were vice-presidents. In October (the 24th) the Pennsylvania Society had a dinner at the Masonic Hall. John Quincy Adams, who arrived in the city two days before, was present, as was the Duke of Saxe-Wiemar, then traveling in the United States. An ode, "The Pilgrims of Pennsylvania," was read by the author, James N. Barker, and also "Penn's Treaty Elm," a poem by Judge Peters. They also had an address at the University of Pennsylvania Hall, by Charles J. Ingersoll.

The greatest festivities of the year, however, were those that marked Lafayette's second visit to Philadelphia. He had been through the growing West, and July 16th arrived on his way to embark for Europe. A committee from the Councils met him at Borden-town, and they landed at the new Chestnut Street wharf. Then he was escorted to the Franklin House, corner of Walnut Street and West Washington Square, the whole house being appropriated to his use. Here he dined with the mayor, recorder, and aldermen. He gave as a toast, "The great and beautiful city of Philadelphia, where I was first, nearly half a century ago, welcomed as a recruit, and am now as kindly welcomed as a veteran." On Monday, July 18th, "the nation's guest" attended a concert given for the benefit of the Female Hospitable Society. On the 20th he visited Germantown. Accompanied by a committee of Councils, he was met at Logan's Hill by the Germantown companies and by citizens. They took breakfast in the Chew House, visited Benjamin Constant's academy, went to Mount Airy, and then to Chestnut Hill. On his return he listened to an address by Charles Pierce, of the Masonic lodge, at Reuben Haine's house, and visited Walter R. Johnson's academy. Returning to Philadelphia, he attended the Rush dinner, July 20th, at Washington Hall, in honor of Richard Rush, for eight years envoy to England. Among those present were Lafayette, Bishop White, and Judges Peters, King, and Morton. Chief Justice Tilghman presided, and Mathew Carey and Charles J. Ingersoll were vice-presidents. Lafayette paid "a tribute to the happy message, in 1824, of his old friend and companion-in-arms," alluding to the "Monroe doctrine." He said it was "a declaration from the government of the United States which had already determined the recognition by one European government of the independence of the American republics." Lafayette offered this toast, "The memories of Penn and Franklin,—the one never greater than

when arraigned before an English jury, or the other when before a British Parliament." On July 21st, accompanied by City Councils, Lafayette went to Fairmount to inspect the water-works. On the 22d he held a reception for the ladies at Independence Hall. On the 23d, in the evening, he visited Vauxhall Garden, where there was a grand exhibition of fire-works by Joseph Diackery. He entered the garden at nine o'clock, and was received by a numerous band of little boys and girls, each holding a torch. The stage, steps, and ornamental architecture of the garden were canopied with red, white, and gold; the American flag and the French flag were displayed. On Monday, the 25th of July, in the afternoon, Lafayette left the city, intending to visit the battle-field of Brandywine, and enter Lancaster on the 27th. An effort to have Lafayette lay the corner-stone of a monument to Washington in Washington Square deserved success, but failed because only eleven thousand dollars, or less than a sixth of the required sum, had been pledged, so that the committee were not willing to proceed.¹

A local sensation of 1824 continued to attract attention this year. John Pluck, an ignorant hostler, was elected colonel of the Eighty-fourth Regiment, as a joke and to ridicule the militia system. The election was resisted, a board of officers setting it aside as illegal, and a new election was ordered, at which Pluck received 447 votes; Benjamin Harker, 64; and John Ferday, commonly called "Whistling Johnny," 15. The successful candidate issued orders for a parade of the First Battalion on May 1st on Callowhill Street, the right resting on Sixth Street; and the Second Battalion on the 19th. "Lieut.-Col. Joseph Norbury was to command the training of the First Battalion. The colonel took charge of the Second Battalion. On the 19th Col. Pluck's famous parade took place. Numbers of persons appeared in fantastic costumes, armed with ponderous imitations of weapons. Philadelphia was not accustomed to such displays, and this parade of 'horribles' attracted much attention. Col. Pluck and Adj. Roberts were the moving spirits. The regiment marched out to Bush Hill, followed by thousands of people on foot and hundreds on horseback. The press was either silent or expressed dissatisfaction. A few days afterward Pluck issued new orders. He said, 'Well, I am an honest man, anyhow. And I ain't

¹ The Councils in June, upon the petition of the officers having charge of the Citizens' Washington Monument Fund, had passed a resolution authorizing its construction, and approved of the plan designed by William Strickland. This design, never executed, was thus described:

"It is a copy of the famous choragic monument of Thrasylbus, at Athens. Square pillars rest upon pedestals of the same form, and that on a terrace, the ascent to which is by a flight of stone steps. On each side the pillars are ornamented with pilasters in panels between faces and other ornaments, the top ornamented with entablature and garlands. The entrance into the interior of the monument from a terrace by a door on each side. The whole may be surmounted by an urn or statue. The monument will be one hundred and twenty feet high. Estimated cost, sixty-seven thousand dollars."

four inches high, and weighed about four hundred ounces. They were elegantly chased, and were enriched with scenes on the canal.

afraid to fight, and that's more than most of them can say.'"¹

The Southwark Bank, projected several years before, had now been chartered, and April 19th books for subscription were opened at Commissioners' Hall. The commissioners had ordered that only two shares should be sold to any one person. This made trouble, because all persons who desired large quantities of the stock hired porters, draymen, and other muscular persons to make subscriptions for them. The affair was conducted something like an election, the officers being inside their building and the subscribers approaching a window, of which one pane was open. The mob pushed, squeezed, and ended by kicking, cuffing, and striking. Strong and rough men clambered over the heads of others to reach the window. Many citizens had their clothing nearly torn off, and the scene was disgraceful. The bank was organized, after the stock was all taken, by electing Samuel Humphreys president, and J. J. Skerritt cashier. It was opened for business August 22d, at No. 266 South Second Street, below South.

The Pennsylvania Agricultural Society, organized some time before, obtained permission to give exhibitions "not less than seven miles from the city." In May this society offered a gold medal, valued at fifty dollars, "to the person who should conduct the business of a farm in Pennsylvania on the largest scale in two years, without using or suffering ardent spirits to be used on his property, unless prescribed by a physician." Also a silver medal to the farmer who, previously to the 1st of January, 1827, shall have made in Pennsylvania the most successful and extensive experiments in the use of fish as a manure. Their annual exhibition of cattle and manufactures was held in October, near Holmesburg.

Remembering the "Pluck parade" and many disorderly assemblages, the grand jury in June declared Bush Hill a public nuisance. This was a large open field on the north side of Callowhill Street, between Schuylkill Fourth and Schuylkill Fifth. Their presentment stated that there "men and women have resorted on various days, as well as on the Sabbath and other days of the week, between the 1st of May and the time of making presentment, as well in night as the daytime, drinking, tippling, cursing, swearing, etc." The grand jury said that it had "particular reference to the days on which regiments and battalions of militia parade, when numerous booths, tents, and gaming-tables are there erected."

The noted Franklin Institute had been meeting with much success in its work, and was now one of the well-established organizations of the city. The

directors were encouraged to raise funds for a building, and soon secured thirty-four thousand dollars in shares of fifty dollars. June 8th, the corner-stone was laid, on the east side of Seventh, below Market, by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Rev. J. Potts offered the prayer, and Peter A. Browne delivered the address. In the cavity of the corner-stone were deposited a curious medal by Abraham Eckfeldt, a medal of Monroe by the same, and a bronze head of Washington by Peter A. Browne, together with coins and other things. In the Masonic ceremonies Governor De Witt Clinton, Past Grand Master of New York, and Past Grand Master Geddes, of South Carolina, assisted. The city authorities, the Agricultural Society, the Philosophical Society, and the Academy of Natural Sciences were present. In October the institute gave an exhibition. The same month John Haviland and Peter A. Browne organized with others to build an "Arcade" on Chestnut, near Seventh, on a lot one hundred and nine feet front and one hundred and fifty feet deep. It was to cost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be two stories high, and contain eighty-eight stores, twenty-four stands and stalls, and four cellars, to be fire-proof, and estimated to rent at seventeen per cent. profit on the whole investment.

During the winter months vessels bound to Philadelphia were often in great peril in Delaware Bay, and measures were taken by the merchants to induce Congress to form an artificial harbor. December 28th, a meeting of citizens was called at the Supreme Court room. Horace Binney presided, and Samuel Jaudon was secretary. Resolutions were offered by Joseph Hopkinson and adopted. They affirmed that it would be highly useful to the commercial and naval interests of the United States if a secure artificial harbor were constructed at or near the mouth of the Delaware Bay. The attention of the general government was requested, and the influence of Congress was invoked. Two years before commissioners appointed by the Secretary of War had examined the bay, and recommended the construction of a harbor near the capes as essential to navigation. The loss of shipping in consequence of the want of a natural harbor had been immense. By statistics afterward compiled by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, it was shown that between January, 1807, and August, 1826, twenty ships, fifty-seven brigs, forty-eight schooners, forty-three sloops, and twenty-five other craft, or a total of one hundred and ninety-three vessels, had been driven on shore in the neighborhood of the capes, blown out to sea, wrecked, sunk, and damaged. Between the 28th of December, 1826, and the 15th of January, 1827, a period of only eighteen days, sixty-two vessels of all kinds, having cargoes valued in the aggregate at more than two millions of dollars, were driven to sea, injured by storms and ice, or compelled to seek a precarious anchorage in the bay, the crews being much injured and frost-bitten. The commercial ma-

¹ The *United States Gazette* said, "Pluck is the head groom at the corner of Third and Callowhill Streets. Some months ago he was chosen commander-in-chief of the 'Bloody Eighty-fourth'; but the powers that be refused to commission him. . . . The military system is a farce. Demagogues have been using commissions in the militia as stepping-stones to offices of profit and honor. A cure must be found for the evil, which is to make fun of it."

rine of Philadelphia was increased by the launch in April of the brig "Agorea," built by Haines & Vaughn, in Kensington; also by the ship "Ohio," a New Orleans packet, launched June 26th, from the yard of Joseph Ogilbie, below Almond Street, Southwark. October 27th, Tees & Van Hook, of Kensington, and Bowers & Van Dusen, launched from the ship-yard of the former a large vessel of eighteen hundred tons burden, calculated to carry sixty guns, built under the superintendence of Mr. Grice, "for a gentleman in New York, who intends her for the South American or Greek market." Several companies of militia were on board when she was launched, and twenty thousand people were spectators.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROGRESS FROM 1825 TO THE CONSOLIDATION IN 1854 OF THE VARIOUS CORPORATIONS, BOROUGHs, DISTRICTS, AND OTHER MUNICIPAL BODIES WHICH NOW, IN THEIR UNITED FORM, CONSTITUTE THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

In the years 1826-27 there were frequent alarms in relation to kidnapping colored children, which created much excitement. A story was published concerning the operations of a person residing at Rocky Springs, Miss., who had carried off five negroes. The names and residences of the boys were given, and the kidnapper was represented to have taken them off from Philadelphia in a vessel to Virginia, whence they were transported to Alabama. They were stopped at Rocky Springs, and finally returned to the city. The operations of the kidnappers were reported to have extended to the abduction of twelve persons. These facts were so well substantiated about the beginning of 1827 that the City Councils passed a resolution offering a reward of five hundred dollars for the arrest and conviction of every person concerned in kidnapping. The agitation on this subject, which continued for several months, caused the passage on the 25th of March, 1826, of an act of Assembly, which denounced the offense of kidnapping negroes or mulattoes from the commonwealth, and subjected all violators to a fine of not less than five hundred dollars nor more than two thousand dollars, and imprisonment of not less than seven years, nor exceeding twenty-one years.

The introduction of the Schuylkill water into the city by the corporation seems to have been looked upon by the inhabitants of the adjoining districts with indifference for nearly a quarter of a century. In the Northern Liberties there had been several severe fires, the destruction by which had been much increased by reason of the scarcity of water to supply the fire-engines. The necessity of a better supply for the district was urged by prudent citizens, but

resisted by the majority, who succeeded on several occasions in preventing definite action. The district of Spring Garden was the first to accede to what seemed to be a necessity. A contract was made by that district with the city in March, 1826, by which water was supplied from the Fairmount works at fifty per cent. advance to consumers beyond city rates. The commissioners of Spring Garden were to make collection of water-rents with an allowance of six per cent. with that service. This arrangement stimulated a new effort in the Northern Liberties. A meeting was held in that district in May, Dr. Joseph Martin being chairman, and Joseph Cowperthwait secretary, at which it was resolved "that it is expedient to introduce the Schuylkill water into the incorporated districts of the Northern Liberties immediately." The commissioners of the district were requested to enter into a contract on the best terms that could be obtained. The pressure was very great, and the commissioners were obliged to obey. They agreed to take the Schuylkill water from the city on the same terms as the district of Spring Garden. The district of Southwark came to the same conclusion at the same time, and on the 8th of June Councils ratified the contracts. The iron pipes were ready, and immediately afterward they were laid down in the districts. The first hydrant in Spring Garden north of Vine Street was in place and ready for use in May.

On the 3d of May, 1826, the corner-stone was laid of a building which it was expected would be an ornament to the city and a successful business enterprise. As far as regarded appearance and architectural effect these hopes were fulfilled, but as a financial project the building was a failure. The Philadelphia Arcade was the property of a joint stock company. The idea of its erection was borrowed from the city of London, where the Burlington Arcade, a collection of small retail shops in one building, was about this time successful. The Philadelphia Arcade Company purchased for the purpose of the building the mansion and grounds of Chief Justice Tilghman, on the north side of Chestnut Street, between Sixth and Seventh, which extended through to Carpenter (now Jayne) Street. Here had been erected at an early period a mansion-house by Joshua Carpenter, and in which he had lived, and afterward Dr. Thomas Graeme, John Dickinson, and others about and during the Revolution, Gerard, the French ambassador, and Chevalier de La Luzerne. Dickinson tore down a part of the old Carpenter mansion and erected in front a double three-story brick building of imposing dimensions. It was for many years the grandest house in Chestnut Street. Chief Justice Tilghman bought the property in 1798, and lived there until it was sold to the Arcade Company. The managers paid forty-two thousand five hundred dollars for the ground. They estimated that the entire property, when the building was finished, would cost

them one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. They had obtained subscriptions of eighty-eight thousand five hundred dollars when the corner-stone was laid, and there was a comfortable balance with which to commence the building. The Arcade was built upon the Chestnut and Carpenter Street fronts of Pennsylvania marble, one hundred feet front and one hundred and fifty feet deep. There were four open arches of great height in front. The interior was divided into one large central building, on each side of which was a wide open avenue leading from street to street. On



THE PHILADELPHIA ARCADE.

the east and on the west side a row of shops opened upon the avenues. The centre building was wider than the others. It contained shops running from avenue to avenue, which were capable of being divided in the centre and inclosed, so as to make a shop on each avenue. Entrance to the second story was obtained by stairways near the Chestnut Street and Carpenter Street fronts. Galleries extended through from street to street at this story, and gave access to the second-story rooms. The third story was closed and used on all sides of the building by the Philadelphia Museum, the entrance to which was by the main stairway and a stairway leading upward near Chestnut and Carpenter Streets. Over the avenues (which were paved with flags) were two skylights, of the full width of each, for the purpose of giving light to the apartments below, and making the avenues in effect covered streets, which in actual use they were, being favorite short-cut thoroughfares between Market and Chestnut Streets. John Haviland was the architect of this beautiful building. There were ten apartments running from side to side in the centre, and twelve on the sides of the avenues. The second-story rooms were of somewhat smaller dimensions. Altogether there were eighty rooms in the shop part of the building, with a museum occupying

the whole of the upper story, and in the cellar a fashionable restaurant, extensively visited, and kept for many years by David Gibb. There were niches at each flank of the Chestnut Street front, in which it was designed to place iron-bronze statues representing commerce and navigation. The project, however, never reached fruition. Over the niches there were placed in *bas-relief* the arms of Pennsylvania and of Philadelphia cut in marble. The pilasters of the arches were ornamented with heads of Mercury cut in bold relief. The construction of this building cost one hundred and twelve thousand dollars. It was finished in September, 1827, and was opened with the most flattering prospects. The rents of the shops were six thousand four hundred and seventy dollars, and of the museum seven thousand nine hundred and seventy dollars. For some years the place was popular, but it never achieved the success that was anticipated. The great current of business swept by on Chestnut Street without eddying into this bay. The tenants became discouraged and went elsewhere. The rents dropped in amount. Finally, when the museum was removed to Ninth and Walnut Streets, the upper stories were used as a music saloon and as a hotel. In the lower stories a few shops or offices were opened, but were not places of general resort. The property was finally bought by Dr. David Jayne, who, in 1863, tore down the Arcade and erected there three fine marble stores, extending through to Carpenter Street.

The militia system, which at this time required that every male between the age of eighteen and forty-five years should parade and receive military instruction twice in each year, had become worse than a farce because the State failed to provide arms or uniforms. Persons who did not regard the order of the militia officers to turn out "and toe the curbstone," as the method of alignment was facetiously called, were subjects of fine. The collectors were paid commissions on the amounts received, and were under incentive to be vigilant. They had summary powers to seize personal property and sell it, and their conduct in many instances was so rude and outrageous that they were excessively unpopular.

Statements in the latter part of the life of the venerable Thomas Jefferson that he was in pecuniary difficulties attracted much attention about this time, and stimulated many persons towards obtaining for the benefit of the patriot such contributions as true sympathy ought to accord not as a charity, but as a debt of gratitude to one who had done much in the service of his country. At a public meeting, held in May, 1836, resolutions were adopted declaring that subscriptions should be taken up in the city and county of Philadelphia limited to one dollar each, and similar subscriptions were recommended to the people of the State in all the counties. The one-dollar limitation fared as usual with such projects. The idea of allowing the whole country to contribute was

liberal, and it was expected that patriotism would be stimulated largely among individuals. It was found in a month, as was reported at a meeting of the subscribers to the Jefferson fund, that very little had been collected in comparison to what had been expected. In consequence, upon the limitation of the subscriptions, the committee was instructed to proceed without limitation, and to receive any and all sums that might be tendered. Up to the 4th of July the whole amount which had been collected was \$2414.14. Jefferson died on the 4th of July, and in September the trustees of the fund were ordered to pay it over to the executors under his will for the benefit of his daughters. News of the death of Thomas Jefferson and of John Adams, which occurred upon the anniversary of the day of the declaration of independence, in procurement of the passage of which they were active and earnest advocates, created great sensation throughout the country. In the city the bells of Christ Church were tolled by order of the mayor. Councils ordered the Hall of Independence and their own chambers to be draped in black for six months. John Sergeant was appointed to deliver an oration on the 24th of July. A public meeting of citizens was held at the District Court room. It was resolved that the 24th of July should be set apart as a day of mourning; that occupation and business ought to be suspended; that the public offices be closed and places of religious service opened. The mayor was asked that the old Liberty Bell in the State-House should be muffled and tolled; that Gen. Cadwalader, commanding the division, should cause minute-guns to be fired; that the vessels in the river should display their flags at half-mast; that all the apartments on the lower floor of the State-House should be hung in black; and that all citizens should wear mourning for thirty days. These recommendations were generally observed. There was a solemn military and civic parade. The soldiers marched to Independence Square. In the rear of the State-House was a scaffold covered with black cloth, over which was a black canopy. The only brightness was in the flags of the United States and volunteer corps displayed around the scaffold. Here John Sergeant delivered his oration, the scaffold being filled with members of Councils and the judges of the various courts, while below, upon the ground, were other benches used by citizens. The military and civic parade, under the command of Brig.-Gens. Thomas Cadwalader and Samuel Castor, entered the yard at the Walnut Street gate, marched in slow time up the centre walk, and took position twenty paces from the platform. The civic portion of the parade grouped beyond the military. Mr. Sergeant was not an impassioned orator, but he was a gentleman of fine education, an elegant scholar, thoughtful, and philosophic. His oration and eulogium was justly considered a finished production.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Sergeant, who had been ap-

pointed one of the two envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the Congress at Panama, from which it was hoped important benefits would flow looking towards a diplomatic union between the republic of the United States and South America, received the honor of a complimentary banquet from the Philadelphia bar before his departure. This tribute took place in November, at Masonic Hall; sixty or seventy lawyers were present. William Rawle presided, and Joseph Hopkinson, William Meredith, and Horace Binney were vice-presidents. A few days afterwards another dinner was given to John Sergeant by his fellow-citizens at Masonic Hall. Samuel Wetherill acted as president, and James C. Fisher, Capt. William Jones, Daniel W. Cox, Andrew Bayard, and Edward Shippen Burd were vice-presidents. Within a few days afterwards Mr. Sergeant sailed for Mexico in the United States sloop-of-war "Hornet."

At this time Greece had broken out in rebellion against Turkey, a contest which attracted largely the attention and interest of Christian people throughout the world. There was strong disposition in the United States not only to sympathize in words with the Greeks, but to give them substantial aid. On the 2d of January, 1826, a meeting of the young men of the city and county was held at the court-house, with George S. Geyer chairman. Strong resolutions were adopted. In October of the same year, at a meeting held at Mrs. Holt's tavern, at Chestnut Street, G. R. Lillibridge being chairman, it was resolved to form a military corps to be called the American Greek Legion. This spirit was emulated in the succeeding month at a meeting of citizens, at which the venerable Mathew Carey was chairman, who resolved that subscriptions should be taken up to build a vessel of war to be presented to the Greeks. Shortly afterwards two other meetings were held, and it was resolved, in December, that charity rather than military assistance was needed. Mathew Carey offered a resolution that contributions should be gathered for the purpose of obtaining the necessities of life for the Greeks. One gentleman offered to contribute one thousand barrels of flour, whilst another volunteered the service of a vessel to convey provisions to Greece. The attempts to send military assistance were not popular, and they were soon abandoned. There was little difficulty in obtaining subscriptions for the relief of distress, but few persons cared to contribute money for purposes of war. After this subscriptions were taken up in churches, and money made up in various other ways. The brig "Tontine," in March, 1827, sailed with provisions on board worth sixteen thousand dollars. The subscriptions closed about the summer of 1828, when there had been collected altogether \$25,574.82.

In July, 1826, a movement was made which resulted in the introduction of great changes in the custom of burying the dead, more particularly in

relation to the places in which interments were made. The church burying-grounds or the Potter's Field were the only places of interment. The families of persons who did not belong to religious congregations were at great disadvantage on the occasion of their death, or if there was no difficulty on this account the charges for opening the ground and permitting the burial were heavy. Besides, there was no property in a grave, and it became necessary in course of time to dig new graves exactly where old ones had been situated. These circumstances led to the calling of a meeting at the "New Market" Inn, Pine Street near Second, kept by William Ogden, about the 12th of July, 1826, "for the laudable purpose of forming a mutual association, without any exception or distinction on account of differences of religious tenets, to economize the heavy expense attending of sepulchral ground for an interment, and to insure to every individual member a lot or piece of ground of equal size to him and to his heirs forever to be reserved as a family cemetery, and the possession of a burying-place after the example of the patriarch Abraham." It was stated at this time that the church-wardens of Christ Church and St. James presented bills of twenty and thirty dollars for opening graves, and would not allow a tombstone to be put up until the money was paid. These proceedings culminated in the formation, at a meeting held at Lambert Keating's, Sixth and Chestnut Streets, on the 17th of August, of the Mutual Burying-Ground Society of the City and County of Philadelphia. The members purchased a piece of ground on the south side of Prime Street [or Washington Avenue], east of the line of Tenth Street, and in a few days the price of a lot in Mutual Cemetery, of the dimensions of eight feet by ten feet, was announced to be ten dollars. In the succeeding year the Union Burying-Ground was formed in Southwark. A large lot of ground was purchased on the line of Sixth Street, extending down to Federal Street. The price of lots was fixed at ten dollars. The Machpelah was formed about 1827, and purchased ground on the north side of Prime Street [Washington Avenue], extending from Tenth to Eleventh Street. About the same time the Philanthropic Cemetery was established on Passyunk Avenue, below the county prison. All these were upon the mutual and associate plan.

About the period that the Mutual Cemetery Company was established, James Ronaldson, who was the owner of a lot of ground bounded by Shippen, Fitzwater, Ninth, and Tenth Streets, determined to lay out the eastern portion of the ground, nearly the whole of it, for the purposes of a cemetery. He opened main walks and intersecting small walks. The plots between were divided into burying lots, ten feet north and south and eight feet east and west. On the 2d of April, 1827, Mr. Ronaldson conveyed the ground to Joseph Parker Norris, Roberts Vaux, Robert M. Patterson, and Joseph Watson, in trust, to permit the

said James Ronaldson and his heirs "to use and occupy the said several small lots or subdivisions only as burial-places for the interment of deceased human beings other than people of color." There was also a provision to permit Ronaldson to build on both sides of the gate, or carriage-way, on Shippen Street, suitable houses for the keeper, etc. On the 8th of April, 1833, the Legislature incorporated the lot-holders as the Philadelphia Cemetery Company, in the township of Moyamensing. Mr. Ronaldson displayed great taste in the establishment of this ground and in the manner of laying it out. It was for some years considered the finest cemetery in the county, and was a popular place of burial. The projector said, in relation to his original plan, that he wanted to erect within the inclosure of the Philadelphia Cemetery a dwelling-house for the keeper, or grave-digger, on one side of the gate, and on the other side a house uniform with the grave-digger's, this house to have a room provided with a stove, couch, etc., into which persons dying suddenly might be laid and the string of a bell put into their hand, so that if there should be any motion of returning life the alarm-bell might be rung, the keeper roused, and medical help procured. The first interment at Ronaldson's Cemetery took place June 2, 1827, of the body of a lady who had died in a hospital under Dr. Physick.

The centre house at Centre Square was torn down about the beginning of the year 1827. The ordinance to open streets through the square was presented in May of the preceding year, but the measure was not finally accomplished for some time.

On the 24th of November, 1827, pursuant to a call in the newspapers signed by James Mease, N. Chapman, George Pepper, John Vaughan, Reuben Haines, Joseph Hopkinson, Charles Chauncey, Horace Binney, and Mathew Carey, a meeting was held at the Franklin Institute to form a Horticultural Society. Mr. Carey was chairman and Dr. Mease secretary. It was resolved "that it is expedient to establish a Horticultural Society in the city of Philadelphia for the promotion of that interesting and highly important branch of science, and that a constitution be framed for that purpose." A committee, consisting of D. Maupay, D. Landreth, Jr., T. Hibberd, T. Landreth, John McArran, and A. D'Arras, all practical gardeners and florists, was appointed to obtain members, and a resolution was passed that the society should be organized as soon as fifty members could be secured. This work did not require much time. On the 21st of December the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society was founded, with a roll of seventy-eight members. It was not until the 2d of June of the succeeding year that the first regular election was held. Horace Binney was chosen president; Dr. James Mease, Mathew Carey, D. Landreth, Jr., Dr. N. Chapman, vice-presidents; William Davidson, treasurer; Samuel Hazard, corresponding secretary; David S. Brown, recording secretary; George Pepper, Nicholas Biddle, Thomas

Biddle, Robert Patterson, Daniel B. Smith, Moses Brown, M. C. Cope, Thomas Astley, David Landreth, Jr., Thomas Hibberd, Thomas Landreth, and Joseph Longstreth, acting committee. Mr. Binney resigned in five months, and Zaccheus Collins was elected in his place. The presidents of the society since that time have been as follows: 1829-31, Joseph R. Ingersoll; 1831-36, George Vaux; 1836-41, Horace Binney; 1841-52, Caleb Cope; 1852-58, Robert Patterson; 1858-62, Matthias W. Baldwin; 1862-63, J. E. Mitchell; 1863-64, Fairman Rogers; 1864, J. E. Mitchell; 1864-67, D. Rodney King; 1867-83, William L. Schaeffer. In 1828 the meetings were held in the rooms of the Philosophical Society. The first autumnal exhibition of fruits and flowers was held at Masonic Hall, Chestnut Street, on the 6th of June, 1829. The second annual exhibition took place at Washington Hall, South Third Street. For some years these displays were matters of interest not only to the members of the society, but to citizens generally. The floral shows were handsome and attractive. The rare plants and fruits were regarded with attention by visitors. The places used for the collections were also resorts at which people could see and be seen, and for years they were visited by thousands of persons. They were generally held in the Masonic Hall up to the year 1841. In 1842 the Chinese Museum was engaged, and the exhibition was given September 21st in the lower saloon, and afterwards annually in the upper and lower saloons until the building was destroyed by fire in 1854. "These exhibitions were not only the most profitable, but among the most beautiful ever held by the society, and their annual occurrence was considered one of the great events of the time; both saloons," about two hundred feet long by sixty-five feet wide each, "were not large enough to hold the crowds of ladies and gentlemen who desired to visit them, and it was no uncommon thing for Ninth Street to be filled with people as far as Chestnut Street waiting to gain admission."

After the burning of the Museum building, in 1854, the society was embarrassed for the want of a suitable place to hold the annual exhibitions. They were accommodated at one time at Sansom Street Hall and at Concert Hall. In 1855 the use of the Southeast Penn Square was granted by Councils for the purpose. The show was arranged under three large circular canvas pavilions, connected with each other by passages floored over, and brilliantly lighted at night with gas. The burning of the Museum building caused serious thought as to the best method of providing a permanent place for the accommodation of the association. In 1865-66 committees were appointed to procure subscriptions for the purchase of a lot of ground and the construction of a hall. Eighty thousand dollars was raised without much difficulty. The society, which had been incorporated March 24, 1831, received authority from the Legislature to make the necessary purchase, and the committee bought a

lot of ground at the northwest corner of Broad and Lardner Streets, adjoining the Academy of Music, of the dimensions of ninety feet front by two hundred feet in depth. A strip of fifteen feet on the north was left open for ventilation and light, and a splendid building seventy-five feet front by two hundred feet in depth was commenced according to designs furnished by Samuel Sloan, architect, on the 1st of September, 1866, and was completed and formally opened with a grand bazaar, conducted by ladies, for the benefit of the society, on the 29th of May, 1867. This building was of imposing proportions. The front, which was of sandstone, with brownstone accessories, appeared to give the edifice a height of two stories, but on the sides it was seen that there were three stories. A basement partly under ground, a first story hall, and the main saloon of the third story, except in the space taken by a foyer of moderate size in front, was of the full length and breadth of the building, with ceilings of considerable height, which was encompassed on three sides by a gallery. The 31st of January, 1881, Beth Eden Baptist Church, at the northwest corner of Broad and Spruce Streets, took fire and was totally destroyed. The flames were carried to Horticultural Hall, immediately opposite on the north, which was also destroyed. The loss on that building was estimated to be sixty thousand dollars. In a few months the hall was rebuilt. The side walls were generally in good condition. The new front, of sandstone and brownstone, was somewhat modified from the former style, the principal change being in doing away with the high steps which rose between each pillar and pier of the colonnade and substituting an entrance not much above the street level.

The construction of a breakwater near the entrance of Delaware Bay had been a matter of interest frequently urged by merchants and business men of the city for many years. The movements and discussions on this subject were of sufficient importance to influence Congress by act of May 7, 1822, to appropriate twenty-two thousand seven hundred dollars for erecting in the bay of Delaware two piers of sufficient dimensions to be a harbor or shelter for vessels from the ice, if the Secretary of the Treasury, after survey being made, should deem the measure to be expedient. The examination was made and a plan reported sufficiently extensive to employ the small appropriation which had been made. The engineers, however, suggested that a work upon a larger scale might with advantage be constructed of durable materials. Upon this an application was made to the President for a more extensive and accurate survey. A board was formed, under direction of the War and Navy Departments, of officers of the engineers and of the navy, consisting of Gen. S. Bernard, Lieut.-Col. J. G. Totten, of the army, and Commodore William Bainbridge, of the navy. They examined into the whole subject by personal inspection of the shores of

the Delaware Bay, near Cape Henlopen, and filed in the War Department plans for the construction of an artificial harbor in the bay of Delaware upon an extensive and durable plan. The President recommended the matter in an annual message. It began to be considered that the work proposed was something more than a local improvement for the benefit of the commerce of the Delaware Bay and River. It was a matter that concerned all sorts of shipping, foreign or domestic, which might be within sufficient distance to make their course to the harbor of refuge in rough weather or impending storms. The Chamber of Commerce of the city of Philadelphia at the end of 1825 petitioned Congress for the building of the breakwater according to the plans of the engineers already made. A large town-meeting was held on the 28th of December of that year in the Supreme Court room, Horace Binney being in the chair. Resolutions were adopted that Congress should be memorialized in favor of the construction of the breakwater according to the plans of the commissioners to the Secretary of War in 1823. In addition to other matters there was a suggestion "that in times of war a harbor at the mouth of the Delaware, guarded by the simple but impregnable fortress which the locality admits, would be invaluable as a national work, and as a place of refuge for vessels pursued by an enemy, unapproachable under all circumstances without a pilot, or as a station from which access to the ocean is at all times practicable, it would combine advantages to the national and commercial marine scarcely equalled by any port in the United States." In this memorial it was stated that the registered tonnage belonging to the port of Philadelphia was nearly sixty thousand tons, enrolled and licensed for the coasting trade more than twenty-five thousand tons, exclusive of river craft, making a total of eighty-five thousand tons navigating the Delaware Bay from the port of Philadelphia. The imports at that time from foreign countries were estimated to exceed \$12,000,000, and the exports were estimated at \$10,500,000. To the memorial of the Chamber of Commerce was appended a schedule of cases of shipwreck, loss, and disaster within the bay of Delaware by vessels being driven into or out thereof by storm or ice, and which would have been prevented had there been a place of shelter at its entrance. This schedule included the period between October, 1826, and January, 1827, and registered the misfortunes of twenty ships, fifty-seven brigs, forty-eight schooners, forty-three sloops, four pilot-boats, one bark, and twenty other vessels, the classification of which was not ascertained. In 1828 another movement was made to effect action in Congress, and there was sent to that body the names of and particulars of misfortunes within the space commencing on the 28th of December, 1826, and the 15th of December, 1827, of disasters to thirteen ships, eighteen brigs, twenty-five schooners, four sloops, one bark, one steamboat,—total, sixty-two vessels, the value of which with

their cargoes was beyond \$2,000,000. The Committee of Commerce of Congress reported, in February, 1828, in favor of the construction of the breakwater. It was estimated that the amount necessary for its construction would be \$2,326,627, but that many years would be required for its completion, so that the cost might be defrayed by installments.

Finally these efforts resulted in the passage of an act, May 23, 1828, "that the President of the United States cause to be made near the mouth of the Delaware Bay a breakwater." The sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for the accomplishment of that object. This, in the language of the commissioners selected by Congress, was "to shelter vessels from the action of the waves caused by the winds blowing from east to northwest round by the north, and also to protect them against injuries arising from floating ice descending from the northwest." The first stone of the breakwater was laid shortly afterward. The light-house, known as the breakwater light, was built in 1848. The plan of the engineers comprised a structure of semi-hexagonal shape. One wing ran from the east northwestward five hundred and eighty yards, then bending a little to the southwest extending seven hundred and forty yards, then bending southwest four hundred and forty yards; within these bends there was room for a large harbor of nearly one million cubic yards. The work was commenced in 1829, under the direction of William Strickland, architect. Blocks of rubble from the nearest quarries were thrown into the sea to form their own slopes for a foundation. The surfaces of both slopes, to the level of low water, were paved with rough blocks set at right angles to the slope and well wedged together, thus presenting as little surface as practicable to the action of the waves. The upper portion of the slopes, to within six feet of the low-water mark, were of blocks of three tons weight; thence to high-water mark three to four tons, and above this four to five tons to a height of four feet three inches above the highest water. The ordinary rise of tide at the breakwater is nearly five feet, equinoctial tide seven feet. The plan of the breakwater was altered somewhat when it was built. A straight mole twelve hundred and three yards long was laid in water of from five to six fathoms depth, having a base at the bottom of one hundred and seventy-five feet, and a width at top of thirty feet. Its position was in a line tangent to the seaward extremity of Cape Henlopen, extending southeast and west-northwest, in the original course of the ebb tide, the shore of the cape being one thousand yards distant from its eastern end, but only five hundred yards distant opposite toward the south. This mole protects the harbor behind it from the northern and eastern winds. The second mole, intended for an ice-breaker, is opposite the western end of the breakwater proper, and separated from it by a channel of three hundred and fifty yards. In the inclosed and sheltered portion

there was an estimated harbor of three hundred and sixty acres, with a depth of from three to six fathoms.¹

The manufacture of silk, which had been matter of interest from the time of the Stamp Act, when the promotion of domestic manufactures was advocated, again became a subject of discussion and of effort. An association was formed in 1828, entitled "The Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of the Culture of the Mulberry and the Raising of Silkworms." This association offered a premium of sixty dollars for the greatest quantities of sewing silk of the best quality produced within this State, raised within the same, and produced by one family, not less than twenty pounds. Second premium forty dollars for the next best quality and greatest quantity, not less than fifteen pounds. Third premium of twenty-five dollars for the next greatest quantity and quality, not less than ten pounds. Fifty dollars premium was offered for the greatest number of cocoons raised in Pennsylvania, and thirty dollars for the next greatest quantity, not less than fifty pounds. For the best white mulberry-trees not less than two years' growth and planted at equal distances, say twenty-five feet apart, raised within twelve miles of the city, not less than four hundred trees, fifty dollars. Thirty dollars for the next greatest quantity, not less than three hundred, and twenty dollars for the next greatest quantity, not less than two hundred.

Michael McGarvey, a carter, murdered his wife in November of this year in a most brutal manner. They lived in a frame house at the corner of Ball Alley and Pine Alley. McGarvey beat and whipped his wife with a cart-whip until she died, and then hung her body head downward out of a second story window. The cruelty of the assault created much feeling, and there was an expectation that McGarvey would be convicted of murder in the first degree and hanged. He was convicted of murder in the second degree and sentenced to imprisonment of eighteen years.

In August, 1828, a riotous disposition was manifested in Kensington among some weavers. At an affray which took place on the 11th of that month, Stephen Heimer, a watchman, was killed. Two days afterward another riot took place at the corner of Third and George Streets, on account of the hanging out of a weaver's banner. Stones and brickbats were fired at the house from which the offensive display was made.

Guns were fired, some persons were wounded. The sheriff called out the *posse comitatus*, issued his proclamation, and called upon the mayor of the city for help. These occurrences led to the holding of a meeting of native and naturalized citizens of the Northern Liberties and Kensington at the house of Patrick Murphy shortly afterward, John Thoburn being the chairman. By this body resolutions were adopted in reference to the disturbance. The preamble declared that owing to misrepresentations in the city a general and unfounded belief was held that the riots were preconcerted, or carried on or subsequently sanctioned by the great body of weavers residing in the district, and that, moreover, the public mind had been unfavorably impressed relative to the character of those natives of Ireland who lived in the vicinity of the disturbances. The persons composing the meeting therefore resolved "that we absolutely disclaim all participation in said proceedings, and that we will co-operate with our fellow-citizens to bring to punishment the offenders, etc." A committee was appointed to inquire into the cause of the riots, and another to collect subscriptions for the relief of the family of the deceased watchman, Heimer. Collections were no doubt made. But if there was any attempt to inquire into the causes of the riots, there does not appear that there was public report. Thomas Weldon, James Weldon, George Weldon, James Oliver, and John Browne were tried for participation in this riot in December. It appeared that the disturbance arose in consequence of Heimer, who was not on duty that night, going along Third Street above Poplar Lane making a noise. He went into Weldon's house, which was a tavern or restaurant, to get something to eat or drink. He was requested to be quiet, as there was a dying woman in the house. He paid no attention to this request, and the Weldons, with the others, set upon him and beat him so that he died from his injuries. The Weldons were Irish. Heimer, in the quarrel, had called them "bloody Irish transports." These words repeated excited much indignation among the Irish weavers of the neighborhood, while an opposition to them of Americans quite as strong arose. The second riot was caused by the weavers' taunt, by hanging out their banner. This was the first disturbance in the city or county in which race prejudice was manifested. It was the forerunner of fearful outrages arising from such causes.

On Sunday, the 6th of December, 1828, the Reading mail-coach, which left the city at half-past two in the morning with nine passengers, was stopped upon the Ridge road about Turner's Lane by three men, one of whom ran out from the side of the road, grasped the leading horse, and turned him around to one side; two men then stepped up, one on each side of the road, opposite the driver's box, presented a pistol at the latter and ordered him to stop. The lamps were struck with the pistols and the lights put out. The robbers then coolly commenced their operations

¹ Col. J. G. Bernard, of the corps of Topographical Engineers United States army, in 1876 wrote that the utility of the Delaware breakwater was best exhibited by the statement that since 1833, 246,011 vessels had taken refuge from storm under its protection, of which there were 17,307 in the year 1871 alone. "Let a threatening sky foretell the approaching storm, and a few hours will suffice to fill a previously vacant harbor. Let a northeasterly storm continue for a day or two with severity, and the harbor becomes crowded entirely beyond its capacity. The fleet of vessels which now fill it are seen to come in in rapid succession from the seaward, and there is no single fact more capable of impressing on the mind the magnitude of our coasting trade than the great number of vessels which a few hours' time will, under the above circumstances, congregate at this point."

on the passengers. A person who was riding on the seat with the driver was ordered down and his money demanded, after which his hands were tied behind his back by the robbers. The coach was opened and the passengers ordered out, and each one required to hand over his money and valuables. One of the villains then jumped into the coach, took possession of the valises, saddle-bags, and what they could find, and threw them into the road, carried off the mail-bags from the driver's seat and threw them into the road also, and cut open the mail-bags at once. The passengers, after being personally robbed, were ordered into the stage and the driver to his seat, and the robbers made their escape in the darkness. The driver, well frightened, did not attempt to continue the journey, but drove back to the city. James Porter, George Wilson, and — Poteet were arrested on charge of the commission of this crime shortly afterward. Poteet turned State's evidence. Porter and Wilson were convicted and sentenced to be hung. For some reason President Jackson approved the sentence against Porter but did not confirm that against Wilson. The latter was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. Poteet escaped punishment altogether. Porter was executed at Bush Hill, about on the line of Seventeenth Street, at Wallace, on the 2d of July, 1830.

The struggle in the British Parliament at this time for the emancipation of the Catholics attracted much attention and interest. On the 14th of May, 1829, news arrived of the passing of the Catholic Relief bill by the British Parliament. There was an unusual rejoicing. The old State-House bell as well as the bells of Christ Church, Protestant Episcopal, were rung "in testimony of joy at the recent triumph of religious liberty in England." Three days afterward a meeting of the friends of Ireland was held in the county court-room. A resolution was adopted "that the emancipation of the Irish Catholics is under the providence of God mainly to be attributed to the energy, patriotism, and influence of the Catholic Association of Great Britain;" also that thanks were due to Daniel O'Connell, the Duke of Wellington, and others, and it was resolved that there should be a celebration in this city. This rejoicing took the shape of a dinner, which was held in Independence Hall at the State-House, that being the last occasion upon which the apartment was used for such purpose. There were three hundred and fifty persons present, and Mathew Carey presided. On his left hand was seated Turner Camac, and at his right the mayor of the city, Benjamin W. Richards. Judge Edward King, of the Common Pleas, announced the toasts. A poem written by Dr. James McHenry for the occasion was read by Mr. Dunkin, and Lewis W. Ryckman sang a song. Stephen Edward Rice and John Binns of the Democratic press spoke upon the occasion, and a song was sung by Mr. Worrell, also written for the occasion. At the head of the room was a large trans-

parency, upon which was painted a female figure representing Ireland in chains. Lord Wellington in a military dress was depicted as presenting a scroll to the king of Great Britain, George IV.,—a scroll upon which was written, "She must be free or I resign." The king is represented as saying, "Thou hast conquered; she is free." Daniel O'Connell upon the right side of Ireland was represented as rejoicing.

Some excitement was created in 1829 by the visit of Frances Wright, commonly called "Fanny," and in her after-life Frances Wright Darusmont. She was an English woman, a social reformer and a philanthropist, a native of Dundee in Scotland, where, being left an orphan at the age of nine years, she was brought up by her guardians in doctrines of social philosophy such as were held by the French materialists. She promulgated opinions in regard to slavery, the qualities of the white and black races, which were of the advanced character of the doctrines afterwards enunciated with great strength by the American abolitionists. She was peculiar in her views of social topics, religious principles and doctrines, and political questions. She was a good speaker and fearless in the pronunciation of her opinions, the novelty of which attracted much attention, with expressions of dissatisfaction among large numbers of the people. She had been in America before this time, traveled through the United States between 1818 and 1820, and published a book called "Views of Society and Manners in America." Fanny Wright came to the city in June, and delivered lectures "On the Formation of Opinions" and "Existing Evils." On the 4th of July she delivered an address at the Walnut Street Theatre on "Subjects Applicable to the Day." Tickets for admission, admitting a gentleman and two ladies, were sold at a nominal rate. Some of the clergy undertook to reply to her. Among these was the Rev. W. L. McCalla, of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, who reviewed "Miss Frances Wright's System of Knowledge" on the afternoon of the 26th, and announced, "in observance of an old custom, he will take a text out of the Bible. It shall, however, be one which makes particular examination of a female predecessor of Miss Wright who taught a system of knowledge in the first century of the Christian era." In September this lady spoke at the Walnut Street Theatre for two Sunday evenings upon "National Republican Education for all the Children in the Land."

A riot between blacks and whites arising out of some personal cause of quarrel in which others than the original disputants became involved took place on the 22d of November, 1829; some persons were injured on both sides and some were arrested. This was the beginning of a series of riots, in which white people were generally the assailants upon the blacks. They were inflamed by prejudice and strong opposition to the doctrines of the friends of the abolition of slavery, which about this time were beginning to be boldly pronounced.

In September, 1830, news of the revolution in France upon the three days of July and the expulsion of the Bourbons was received in the United States, and excited lively interest throughout the country. The sympathies of the Americans always being strongly inclined toward the people struggling for their liberties, and especially in favor of France, whose assistance to our own government during the war of the Revolution secured independence, it was a matter of more than ordinary congratulation that in the movements which resulted in the banishment of Charles X. Gen. Lafayette, the nation's guest only six years before, was prominent as a leader. A town-meeting was called at the District Court room September 25th. William Rawle was president, Nicholas Biddle and Daniel W. Coxe vice-presidents, Richard Willing and Charles J. Ingersoll secretaries. The principal speaker was John Sergeant, whose remarks were addressed as much to the political meaning as the historic results of the Revolution. Mr. Sergeant proposed a preamble and resolutions, in which were set forth,—

"WHEREAS, The sacred principle of resisted tyranny and oppression exemplified and put in practice by our glorious Revolution, and subsequently by those of the other independent American States, has taken such deep root as to become a part of the common law of nations in this hemisphere, where in Europe immortal Greece has anew implanted it in a soil where liberty once flourished, but for ages has been trodden down by a barbarous despotism;

"AND WHEREAS, France, our first and faithful ally, after a struggle of forty years against powerful combinations of enemies within and without, has at last succeeded, by a unanimous and heroic effort, in shaking off the yoke of bigoted and tyrannical rules and establishing a government of her own choice;

"AND WHEREAS, The interesting position in which the French nation by its courage, its moderation, and its wisdom has thus assumed in the world, invites in a particular manner the expression of our sympathy and gratification; therefore,

"Resolved, That this meeting cordially participates in the joyful feeling which has been excited throughout the United States by the great events that have lately taken place in France.

"Resolved, That we cannot withhold our admiration of the unexampled courage and self-devotion with which the people of Paris on the memorable 27th, 28th, and 29th of July last rushed, unarmed and unprepared, upon a formidable armed force arrayed against them in the heart of their city, by their unanimous and well-directed efforts in the short space of three days conquered for themselves and for their country the blessings of liberty and self-government. . . .

"Resolved, That [a committee] be directed to convey to Gen. Lafayette our sincere congratulations upon the triumphs of the principles of liberty achieved by the people of France, and to express to him the gratification we feel as citizens of the United States, bound to him by the recollection of his eminent services to our country, at the distinguished and virtuous part he has taken and the large share that he has had in producing this great result."

John Binns offered a resolution declaring that the press of Paris deserve particularly to be congratulated. Mr. Binns said, "There are no acts which more entirely command our admiration and esteem than the devotion to sound principles and the general welfare which pre-eminently distinguished the editors of newspapers in their prompt and magnanimous determination to resist and utterly disregard the tyrannical and unconstitutional edict of Charles X., which was intended to prostrate the freedom of the press

and convert that glorious instrument into an engine of despotism." Others speeches were made by William J. Duane, Joseph R. Ingersoll, George M. Dallas, Josiah Randall, Peter S. Du Ponceau, Thomas Biddle, and Charles J. Ingersoll. About the same time a meeting of workmen was held at Military Hall, Joseph R. Chandler being chairman, and J. O'Connor and Robert Morris secretaries. The preamble reported to this meeting said,—

"The part which the workmen of Paris took in that contest, fighting in the thick of the battle when it raged with the greatest violence, and returning to their peaceful occupations when the strife was done, meets with our warmest and proudest approbation. Be it therefore

"Resolved, That as this signal victory was won by our brethren, the workmen of Paris, commanded by the pupils of the Polytechnic Institute, we hail the triumph with peculiar delight."

In honor of the occasion the workmen determined that they would celebrate it by a public dinner.

The officers of the First Division of the Pennsylvania militia also held a meeting at Military Hall. Maj.-Gen. Thomas Cadwalader was chairman, and Lieut.-Col. Morris, inspector of division, was secretary. Col. James Page offered the resolutions, among which were the following :

"Resolved, That regarding the achievement of the French as of vast importance to that nation and of immeasurable consequence to the whole human race, inasmuch as it is a proof of the spread of liberal opinion and the firm footing which the principles of liberty are obtaining throughout the world, we will celebrate the late glorious and auspicious event by a general parade of the volunteers of the city and county of Philadelphia.

"Resolved, That the 'tri-colored flag' be displayed in company with our national standard, as emblematic of the pure principles which gave origin to both, and as indicative of the fellowship we wish to maintain with the people which, in time of need, sent a Lafayette to our aid, and revived the hopes of our almost despairing countrymen."

The military celebration took place on the 4th of October. Before the procession was formed there were some interesting proceedings. The company of Philadelphia Grays, Capt. John Miles, bore a splendid tri-colored banner, upon which, in the white centre stripe, was painted a likeness of Lafayette. The State Fencibles were presented by Miss Emilie Chapron, at the house of her father, John M. Chapron, with an elegant tri-colored flag, which was received by Capt. Page with a fitting reply, the bands playing the "Marseillaise." The parade was of more than ordinary size. It was participated in not only by the volunteers of the division, but by several companies of horse, infantry, and riflemen from New Jersey, and from Montgomery and Chester Counties, in Pennsylvania. Maj.-Gen. Thomas Cadwalader was in command. The First Brigade was led by Brig.-Gen. Robert Patterson, and the Second Brigade by Brig.-Gen. John D. Goodwin. Aged citizens in barouches and a civic cavalcade of several hundred horsemen followed. Along the route of the procession tri-colored flags and hangings abounded. The theatres were illuminated in the evening. The proceedings were fitly concluded by a celebration by French citizens at Head's Hotel, at which one hun-

dred and twenty gentlemen took part. Peter S. Du Ponceau officiated, assisted by Dr. La Roche and M. Laussat, masters of ceremonies; Messrs. Clapier and Dupont De Nemours, of Wilmington, were vice-presidents, assisted by Messrs. Destouet and Lajus, who were the committee of arrangements. Among the guests present were Mr. Johnston (a senator from Louisiana), the Hon. James Brown (late ambassador to the French Court), the consul-general of France at Richmond, M. Chevallie, Mr. Dannery (French consul at Philadelphia), and the vice-consul of France at New York, M. Hersant. Mr. Du Ponceau was the only speaker at length. There were thirteen regular toasts, and about thirty volunteers. A patriotic hymn, written for the occasion by N. Peyre Ferry, was sung by M. Alfred, of the French Comedy Company. There was a song, composed by M. Tabarri, sung by M. Victorin, and another, also specially produced, sung by M. Meignen. Other songs were sung by Messrs. Leitellier, Curtot, and Privat, of the French company.

Circumstances attending a duel which occurred this year and occasioned the death of William Miller, Jr., a young lawyer of talent and respectability, attracted more than ordinary attention, and created a feeling of regret which was universal with all classes of people. Miller fell in a duel with Midshipman Charles G. Hunter, of the United States navy. A most unfortunate fact, so it was thought, was that neither Hunter nor Miller had anything to do with the original quarrel, which was between other persons. They were brought in by the supposed rules of the duelling code, which rendered it necessary that a second to a party challenged or challenging should himself be bound to fight in support of the honor of his friend. The origin of the quarrel which eventually involved Miller and Hunter was in a supposed offensive remark made in the latter end of 1829 at a dinner-party by H. Wharton Griffith. The words were resented by Roger Dillon Drake, who was present. The difficulty was made up, however, by the intervention of friends, and the parties were apparently reconciled. In the early part of 1830, Dr. Alfred Drake, who was a brother of Roger Dillon Drake, received an anonymous letter which was construed to reflect in some manner upon the character of the lady to whom Dr. Drake was about to be married. R. D. Drake assumed that this letter was in the handwriting of Mr. Griffith. The two met near a billiard-room in the neighborhood of Fourth and Chestnut Streets, to which they both repaired, apparently in an amiable humor, but when there Drake suddenly, and without any warning, struck Griffith in the face, and followed it up with several blows, and in his passion produced the letter, which he showed to Griffith in the intervals of the attack, and asked him if he knew the handwriting. The latter denied knowledge of the letter or the writer, statements which instead of mollifying added to the fury of Drake. The

result was a challenge by Griffith to Drake, which was sent by Midshipman Charles H. Duryee, of the United States navy. Drake refused to accept the challenge on the ground that Griffith by his conduct had rendered himself "too infamous to be met as a gentleman." Upon this Duryee declared that if Drake would not meet Griffith, he must be prepared to meet him (Duryee). There was considerable discussion and correspondence, in which Miller was for the first time introduced as a friend of Drake. The latter continued to declare that he would not meet Griffith. Thereupon Duryee denounced Drake as "a base coward and calumniator." On this Drake challenged Duryee. Then came into the quarrel for the first time Lieut. Hampton Westcott, of the United States navy, as second for Duryee. Westcott declared that Duryee could not meet Drake until the latter should give to Griffith the "satisfaction he required, and redeem your [Drake's] character." Drake then sent a peremptory challenge to Duryee by the hands of Miller. Westcott, as second for Duryee, refused to meet him upon any other terms than those already indicated. At the time this was going on, there were further disputes between Pierce Butler, friend of Griffith, but not a second, and William M. Camac, also a friend of Griffith, with Duryee as to certain things that were said. They were explained, however, so as to prevent trouble. While these disputes were going on a new element appeared in the controversy in the shape of a letter dated at New Brunswick, N. J., March 7, 1830, and signed R. A. De Russey, Miles C. Smith, James Neilson, Hatfield Smith, and Digby D. Smith. It was addressed to William Miller, Jr., and in reference to the difficulties between Drake and Duryee. In this curious epistle the parties stated that they disapproved of Duryee's conduct, as the same had become the subject of discussion, that they considered that he had lost the privilege to retrace his course, and that it rested with Drake to point out "what step on the part of Mr. Duryee shall efface the stain which this rashness of Duryee has put upon the character of your friend [Drake]." They further said in effect that they believed "that Mr. Duryee is convinced of his error, that he is willing to acknowledge that he committed it while under such excitement as his reason could not control." The signers of the letter then proposed a meeting at Trenton of a committee appointed on their part and one on the part of friends of Drake for a conference and settlement of the dispute. With a little more correspondence, the affair might have then been quietly concluded. Miller, as a friend of Drake, replied that "they looked upon the controversy between the latter and Duryee as settled on terms satisfactory to Drake, and that no stain rested upon his character in consequence of the misunderstanding with Duryee," and that there would be no advantage in reopening the controversy. By this time the character of the New Brunswick letter had become known to Duryee. He introduced a new party

to the controversy,—Midshipman Charles G. Hunter, of the United States navy. He was instructed by Duryee to call on Miller and demand the original New Brunswick letter, and that all copies of it should be destroyed. Miller at first hesitated, and asked time for consultation. Finally he determined to comply. He delivered to Hunter the original letter, and at the United States Hotel burned the only copy which he said he knew of or believed to be in existence. Here the affair might have rested without the effusion of blood; but five days afterwards, March 17th, a printed copy of the New Brunswick letter made its appearance in the city, and was circulated among acquaintances of the party. Upon this Hunter, on the theory that Miller had deceived him, challenged him at once, and Hampton Westcott was the second. Miller refused to accept the challenge on the ground that he knew nothing of the publication and had no connection with it. Whilst Westcott was with Miller most unfortunately Roger Dillon Drake came into the apartment where the conference was going on, ignorant, perhaps, of its character, and without waiting for a proper occasion to see Miller alone, presented a copy of the New Brunswick letter, which he said had been sent to his brother, Dr. Drake. Miller upon receiving it offered to Westcott to destroy it, in accordance with his original agreement, but Westcott replied that he did not care about its being destroyed, as printed copies were in circulation. Hunter upon this sent, by the hands of Westcott, a challenge to Miller, which the latter refused to receive, and Hunter posted Miller as a coward. Thus, after the quarrel had been tossed from Griffith and Drake to Duryee and Drake, and from them to Hunter and Miller, the affair that had been going on for two or three months was brought to a dead point. No amount of denial on the part of Miller was sufficient to relieve him in the minds of the other party of a suspicion of being concerned in the publication of the New Brunswick letter or of being concerned in making copies of it. Nobody seemed to think that it could be possible that of the five persons who had signed that letter one or more of them might have made a copy and circulated it for the information of other "gentlemen." The posting of Miller brought on the crisis. He sent his friend, Lieut. Edmund Byrne, of the United States navy, to Westcott, second of Hunter, with an acceptance of the challenge. The duel took place on Sunday, the 21st of March, at the nearest boundary of the State of Delaware, on the southern shore of Naaman's Creek. Miller's party consisted of himself, Lieut. Byrne, "another gentleman," and a surgeon. With Hunter's party were Westcott, Duryee, and another gentleman. The seconds had agreed that if the first exchange of shots was harmless, Hunter's friend should, if Miller acted like a brave man, retract the charge of cowardice; and if Miller's friend should declare that on his honor he believed that Miller was innocent of the charge of the publication of the New

Brunswick letter, the parties should be reconciled. They stood up, were placed in position, and fired at the word. Miller fell, uttering an exclamation, and died immediately, the ball having gone through his lungs. As he fell Hunter advanced and said, "Gentlemen, I assure you that I had no enmity against that man. His blood must rest upon the heads of others who have dragged him into their quarrels."

The circumstances excited much regret and intense indignation. Hunter was denounced in anonymous letters and in the newspapers as a bloodthirsty murderer. The House of Representatives of Pennsylvania declared in the resolution that Hunter was the challenger and the aggressor, and that the President of the United States should be requested to dismiss him from the navy. John Branch, the Secretary of the Navy, addressed President Jackson upon the subject, and said that it had been proved to his satisfaction that Lieut. Edmund Byrne, Lieut. Hampton Westcott, Passed Midshipman Charles H. Duryee, and Midshipman Charles G. Hunter, of the United States navy, had been concerned in a duel in which William Miller, Jr., was killed, and that he recommended their names be erased from the list of officers of the United States navy. On the next day President Jackson replied, "Let the above-named officers of the navy be stricken from the roll."¹

Who was responsible for the printing of the New Brunswick letter was never publicly known. After the death of Miller, Dr. Alfred Drake denied that he had furnished the copy for that publication, and R. Dillon Drake denied knowledge of the source of the publication, and asserted that he had made diligent search to discover the printer and the persons publishing it without success.

A singular difficulty between the butchers, who rented stalls in the markets, and the venders of meats from carts and wagons, who were not country people bringing their produce of their own farms to the city, but were really hucksters, threatened the inhabitants of the city for some days with a famine. These unqualified venders of meats, as the victualers called them, were nicknamed by them "Shinners." They generally came to market in the farmer's garb and pretended to be cultivators of the soil, but actually they were only dealers in meats. The trouble was that under the system of market laws the farmers had the privilege of using certain stalls in each market-house without the payment of any rent, whilst the butchers, on the contrary, were assessed with considerable stall-rents. They did not complain of the legitimate country farmer. A few sheep or hogs, with an occasional bullock or cow, was all the meat the latter could spare from their farms in the course of a year. They offered but little competition to the butcher.

¹ Two of them at least were restored in after-years. Hunter during the Mexican war captured Alvarado, and was known afterwards as "Alvarado Hunter." Westcott was also restored to the service and remained several years.

And they were, besides, guaranteed by the law with free stalls,—a regulation that had been enforced from the earliest days of the province. But the “shiners” were in market every day, and could afford to sell cheaper than the butchers. These annoyances had been the subject of frequent petitions and remonstrances to Councils with but little avail. In July another memorial was presented, in which the butchers complained that they were charged with heavy stall-rents, while the “shiners,” who falsely pretended to be farmers, escaped all contribution. They asked for the passage of an ordinance prohibiting the sale of butchers’ meat in less quantity than a quarter in any other stalls than those appropriated to victualers. This request, which would have given the butchers the monopoly of retailing meats, was not granted as soon as the impatience of the wielders of the cleaver desired. Whilst the matter was still under consideration the butchers resolved by a bold piece of strategy to convince the community how much it was indebted to the profession. They agreed not to attend the markets until their petition should be answered. On the next regular market-day the butchers’ stalls were deserted in the High Street markets; all but one, which was furnished as usual by a member of the fraternity who did not join in the resolution of his brethren. The result was not agreeable to the butchers. The people, suddenly deprived of supplies of food, which had always been accessible before that time, were not affected to any degree of sympathy with the butchers. Instead of taking sides with them, house-keepers were quite indignant. Councils were not frightened, and during the period of the absence of the butchers from the markets the committee which had charge of the butchers’ petition reported unanimously against granting the request that had been made. In the interval the farmers and “shiners” came forward actively with considerable supplies. The butchers stood out about a week, and then, without any flourish of the trumpets which used to blare when show-beef was in abundance, returned quietly to their stalls, the demonstration having proved to be a decided failure.

On the 11th of June the City Guards of Boston, a fine uniformed company of volunteers, paid a visit to the city. There had been little of that sort of visiting done previously by military bodies. The reception of Lafayette in 1824 brought companies from the interior of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, but Boston was so far away that a visit from the military of that city was really an event of novelty and interest in which the whole town took part. The uniform of the City Guards was a gray coat trimmed with black, white pantaloons, high cap with large black feather. The Boston Brigade Band of twenty musicians, considered at that time one of the finest military combinations in the country, came with the Guards. The strangers arrived in Kensington about half-past nine o’clock in the morning, and were received by an

escort of infantry companies under command of Col. James Page. A salute of twenty-four guns was fired as they approached the wharf. The main street of Kensington was completely choked with people of all sizes, ages, and sexes, who not only occupied the sidewalks and streets, and the windows of houses, but were crowded on the roofs of buildings and sheds, the lumber piles in the board-yards, the limbs of trees, fences, and all other available places throughout the streets of the Northern Liberties and the city. Col. Page marched his escort to Arch Street and Second, where was drawn up a large number of the uniformed companies of the First Division under Brig-Gen. Robert Patterson and John D. Goodwin, the whole being under command of Maj.-Gen. Thomas Cadwalader. Some time previously City Councils had granted the use of one of the public squares for the Guards as a place of encampment. They were marched to the southwest Penn Square, where their tents had already been pitched. A guard from the Philadelphia company was detailed, and the division was dismissed. In the afternoon the whole company was marched to Swaim’s Baths, at the northeast corner of George (now Sansom) and Seventh Streets. In the evening they were entertained by Gen. Cadwalader in his own house, on Arch Street below Ninth. The next day was Sunday, and the Guards attended religious services with their band. The Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, rector of St. Paul’s Protestant Episcopal Church, had formerly been a member of the company, and it was an agreeable thing that he should be called upon to address them. The regular services were gone through with, and a sermon was preached from the 23d chapter of Proverbs, 15th verse, “My son, if thine heart be wise, my heart shall rejoice, even mine.”

In this year was passed an act which rendered traveling in the streets of the city and county as free and unrestricted on Sunday as on any other day. For more than a century after the foundation of the city there was no difficulty on this score. On the 4th of April, 1798, the Legislature passed an act, the preamble of which recited “that religious societies had a right to worship peaceably, and that having such rights it was proper that they should be protected in them.” It was therefore enacted that the congregations of churches in the city of Philadelphia should be authorized to fix chains across the streets where churches were situate, at a distance from the buildings, during the time of divine worship, in order that the congregation should not be disturbed by the noise of vehicles passing by. At the time when this act was sanctioned (1798) there were few churches in comparison to the number that were in existence thirty years later. The privilege of putting up the chains was generally embraced by the churches, and a vehicle endeavoring to pass from the northern part of the city to the south, or *vice versa*, found no street clear between Front Street and Ninth. The streets

running east and west were also greatly impeded. The United States mail, the carrying of which was supposed to have rights superior to all others, was frequently compelled to take a vexatious course in its way to and from the post-office. The firemen, frequently stopped by the chains, usually cast them down or broke them when it was possible, and it was a general feeling that it was a vexation that they should be maintained. Petitions were sent to the Legislature on the subject remonstrating against the continuance of the obstructions. On the other hand, remonstrances by the clergy and members of churches were as strongly made against a repeal. The Legislature finally, with some effort, was brought to a conclusion, and on the 15th of March the act of 1798 was repealed.

The trial of a woman for the murder of her husband, in April, led to the establishment of two important principles of law of much more than common interest. Johanna Clew was charged with poisoning her husband by administering to him arsenic mixed with molasses. The case was tried in the Quarter Sessions, in the Oyer and Terminer, before Judge King. The jury was charged about ten and a half o'clock on a Saturday evening, and according to the command of the English common law they were kept without meat or drink, fire or candles. After they had been out twenty-four hours the counsel for the commonwealth and the prisoner agreed that they should be supplied with food if they would receive it. The majority of them refused to do so. On Monday morning two of the jurors, Ebenezer Ferguson and Andrew Hooten, declared that if they were longer confined their lives would be in danger. Ferguson was seventy-six years old. His health had been impaired by previous illness. He could not walk without assistance, and he said that if he was kept in the state of privation and restriction in which he then was his life would be in danger. Hooten represented that he was ill and feeble from the effects of a previous bilious fever. Dr. Joseph Klapp was ordered to attend the jurors, and he reported that if they were "much longer kept in privation and restriction their lives would be in danger." On receiving the report, Judge King discharged the jury. In December of the same year Johanna Clew was again put on trial for the same offense. Her counsel pleaded *autre fois acquit*, and insisted that it was a constitutional privilege that no person's life could be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense. The Quarter Sessions decided against this plea, but upon the removal of the question to the Supreme Court that tribunal decided that there must be an overruling necessity to justify the discharge of a jury in a criminal case. This necessity was not shown upon the first trial. The jurors were not discharged because they were under actual suffering, but by reason of a fear that they might suffer. More than that, the Supreme Court said that the ancient English prac-

tice of depriving the jurors of meat, drink, fire, and candle was not in force in Pennsylvania, and that the jurors could have been supplied with everything they needed. Johanna Clew escaped punishment, but the law principles established by her case were of so much importance that her release was entitled to but trifling consideration in view of the results achieved thereby.

On the 26th of December, died in his house, Water Street above Market, Stephen Girard, a native of France, but for many years an active merchant and citizen of Philadelphia. He was buried on the 30th of December at the Roman Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity, his remains being accompanied to the tomb by the Councils of the city of Philadelphia, public officers, and a number of societies and many citizens. By his decease and the munificent bequests which he made a great influence, manifested in many ways shortly after that event and until the present time, was exercised upon the city of Philadelphia.

Girard was the richest man of his period. He was childless, his early marriage having been terminated in a few years by the insanity of his wife. He had exerted himself with dangerous generosity during the yellow-fever periods of 1793, and subsequently at the hospitals, and for this kindness he was greatly respected. At his death the value of his estate was estimated to be \$7,500,000. Of this amount he bequeathed to his relatives and friends \$140,000 in cash, with annuities amounting to \$65,000 more. His public bequests affected the rest of his estate. He gave to the city of Philadelphia for the improvement of the eastern front of the city on the Delaware, \$500,000. He bequeathed to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for internal improvements, \$300,000. To the cities of Philadelphia and New Orleans he devised 280,000 acres of land in Louisiana. This splendid gift was lost subsequently by an adverse decision in a lawsuit. To different institutions of charity in Philadelphia he bequeathed \$116,000. To the city of Philadelphia he devised in trust \$2,000,000 for the purpose of erecting and maintaining a college for the education of poor white male orphans, and lastly the residue of his wealth was devised to the city of Philadelphia for the support of the college, the improvement of the police system, and the reduction of taxation. Eventually the estate did not turn out to be as large as was expected, not because the estimate of the value was too large, but by reason of various losses in diminution of the capital.¹ The heirs of

¹ The value of the real estate and other properties secured by the heirs amounted to a large sum. Yet, with diminished capital, the residue of the estate in the hands of the city has, under the management of the board of trustees of the college and of the Board of City Trusts, which succeeded, increased greatly. On the 1st of January, 1884, the annual report of the Board of Trusts fixed the value of the real estate, which included the college buildings and grounds and other real estate from which revenue was derived, at \$7,857,717.75. This was the assessed valuation, and much below the real value. There were besides

Stephen Girard, mainly his nephews and nieces and their descendants, attacked the devisees and bequests to the city by every available legal method. The lands in Louisiana were lost by one decision. Girard had bought considerable real estate (coal lands) in the Schuylkill region and property elsewhere after his will was signed and before his death. Under the law of Pennsylvania at that time it was held that this newly-acquired property did not pass under the will, and the whole of it, of very considerable value, was divided among the heirs. Finally a suit was brought to break entirely the trust to the use of the college, and it was taken finally to the Supreme Court of the United States (*Vidal vs. City of Philadelphia*). The invalidity of the devise was urged upon various grounds, technical and otherwise, among which the strongest was the allegation that the college was "an infidel institution," because in his will Girard had declared "no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college, nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose or as a visitor within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college. In making this restriction I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person what-

ver two million and a half dollars, in par value, of stocks, bonds, etc., worth much more at market value. The total value of the residuary fund, real estate, stocks, etc., was \$10,138,268.10. The par value of the stocks held for the improvement of the Delaware front of the city under Girard's will was \$772,606.94. The receipts and income during the year 1883, including a cash balance from a former year, were \$1,005,073.99. The expenditures of the college in 1883 for maintenance of pupils, teaching, etc., was \$444,613.57. The gross expenditures for the estate

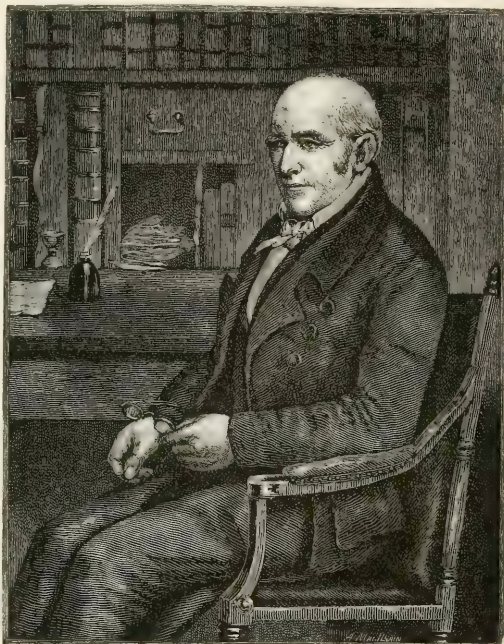
soever, but as there is a multitude of sects and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans who are to derive advantage from this bequest free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce. My desire is that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instill into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that on their

entrance into active life they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence toward their fellow-creatures and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer." The Supreme Court decided against this objection. Since then there has been little trouble, although at times essays toward bringing new suits have been made occasionally or proceedings threatened.

The gradual advance of the Asiatic cholera to Continental Europe had been marked by the people of the United States for some years. Appearing as an epidemic in the neighborhood of Calcutta in August, 1817, it seemed to travel westward by regular stages. In 1819 it extended to the

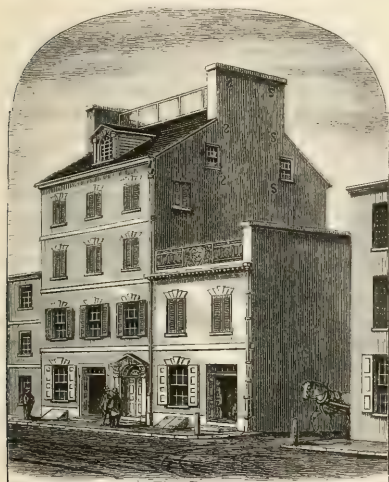
Burmese empire, and in 1820 it destroyed one hundred and fifty thousand persons at Bombay. Persia, Arabia, and Asia Minor were visited in 1823. It appeared at Moscow, in Southern Europe, in 1830. In 1831 most of Central Europe was subject to its ravages. It appeared in England, at Sunderland, in October of that year.

in taxes, repairs, betterments, etc., during the year were \$323,706.60. After full payments on account of the estate and the college there was a balance on hand of \$32,353.82.



Stephen Girard

It was in Edinburgh in January, 1832, at London in February, and was doing its deadly work in Paris in March. There was hope that it would not cross the Atlantic, and this feeling had its effect to such a degree that no efforts were made to put the city in a position to meet the visitor until a few days before its ravages commenced in this country. The Board of Health addressed Councils on the subject on the 2d of June. Six days afterwards the first American case of cholera was reported at Quebec, and two days subsequently at Montreal. A communication of the Board



GIRARD'S DWELLING AND COUNTING-HOUSE IN 1831.

of Health to City Councils urged the necessity of cleansing the streets, the removal of noxious matter, and abatement of all nuisances. Councils did not respond for two weeks afterwards. An appropriation of thirty thousand dollars for sanitary matters was made June 18th, and a sanitary board appointed, consisting of three members of Select Council and eight of Common Council. Southwark and the Northern Liberties soon afterward made appropriations for the same purposes. The sanitary board appointed a medical commission, consisting of Dr. Samuel Jackson, Charles D. Meigs, and Richard Harlan, to visit Canada and the city of New York, where the disease had broken out on the 24th of June, to investigate, if possible, the causes of the epidemic and the best methods of prevention and cure. While they were gone the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital were granted permission to erect wooden sheds for temporary hospital purposes upon one of the lots in the neighborhood of Pine and Eighth Streets. The sanitary committee set to work to establish cholera hospitals, and

were aided by the Board of Health in the establishment of hospitals in the county.¹

These places of refuge were fitted up with the appliances considered necessary for the accommodation of patients, beds, bedclothing, utensils, drugs, and other articles, among which as permanent supply were many coffins. There was considerable prejudice in some quarters of the city against the establishment of these places of refuge. Violence was threatened in some instances, and in one case the place selected for a hospital had to be abandoned.

The medical commission appointed to visit Canada and New York made report on the 8th of July. They agreed that the disease which had made its appearance in the northern portion of the country was the genuine Asiatic or spasmodic cholera, that it was atmospheric, and consequently there was a general free disposition among all persons which made them liable to be affected with the disease without exciting causes. Such causes, they stated, were mainly "moral excitants, as fear or anger; intemperance in the use of fermented or spirituous liquors or in eating, or in the use of acid drinks; the use of indigestible animal or vegetable food; excessive exertion or fatigue and exposure to the night air." Prudence in living was recommended, tranquillity of mind and body, and the wearing of flannel next to the skin was considered an important precaution. In addition to these recommendations there seems to have been established, without medical direction, a popular sanitary code which was influenced by public opinion. Precautions in diet were considered necessary; the cucumber was put under ban as a deadly food; the usual summer fruits were looked upon as extremely dangerous; the blackberry maintained its character because it was supposed to be a good medicine in case of diarrhoea;

¹ Hospitals were located in the following places:

City.

In the Presbyterian Session room, Cherry Street above Fifth.
City Carpenter-shop, Lombard Street above Tenth.
City Carpenter-shop, Jones' Alley, near Front Street.
Session- or school-room, St. Augustine's Roman Catholic Church, Crown Street, below Vine.
Model School-house, Chester Street above Race.
Public-school house, corner Twelfth and Locust Streets.
Dock Street near Front.
Penn Street below Pine.
Corner of Eleventh and Race Streets.

County.

Bush Hill City Hospital, Dr. Thomas C. Hewson physician-in-chief.
Public-school building, Buttonwood Street near Eleventh, Dr. W. C. Brinkley physician.
Near Sixth and Vine Streets, Dr. Isaac Remington.
School-house, Third Street above Brown, Dr. Jacob S. Zorns.
Near Sixth and Coates Streets for blacks, Dr. John A. Elkinton.
School-house, Hope Street above Otter, West Kensington, Dr. Abraham Helfenstein.
School-house, Sixth Street near Catharine, Dr. Lewis P. Thompson.
School-house, Catharine Street between Third and Fourth, Dr. D. F. Coudie.
West Moyamensing, Dr. George B. McKnight.
Eight other hospitals were intended to be established by the Board of Health, and some of them were afterwards opened.

the huckleberry was denounced, and even the mild strawberry and raspberry were looked upon with suspicion; the peach was dangerous; the canteloupe was avoided, and the watermelon was as noxious as an ascertained deadly poison; simple diet prevailed; mush and milk and bread and milk were more largely used than ever before, and the meats were sparingly used. Personally the people suffered more from heat this summer than they ever did before or afterward; the weather was hot and yet the majority of persons kept themselves warmly clothed with flannels, and some with medicated hair skins upon their chests, while others were shielded on their breasts or backs by Burgundy-pitch plasters; camphor in bags suspended from the neck and resting on the breast was worn by many people; pocket-handkerchiefs were saturated with it; household closets were provided with "cholera medicines"—camphor, brandy, Cayenne pepper, and mustard,—for use in case of attack; the pungent odor of chloride of lime could be smelled everywhere, and in many parts of the city the gutters and curbs were whitewashed.

The first case of cholera occurred on the 5th of July. The victim died in three days. He was a man named Musgrave, and resided in a cellar in Filbert Street near Schuylkill Fifth. He had lately been discharged from the New Jersey State prison, and had been suffering from diarrhœa for some days previous. On the 9th of July a colored man, who had no premonitory symptoms, as in the other case, was suddenly attacked, and he died in four days. He had resided in St. John Street above Callowhill. These were followed, on the 13th and 14th, by the death of a man, his wife, and his wife's mother, who lived on Coates Street near Third. They expired one after the other within twenty-four hours. The old lady died within twelve hours, and on the same day a French woman, living in Kensington, was taken suddenly, and died in three or four hours. These cases occurring in various parts of the city, and apparently increasing in the deadliness of the attacks, attracted great attention and much alarm. It was evident that they were not disseminated by personal contagion. The persons attacked lived at distances apart, and there were no known cases of sickness from which they could have taken infection. After the 14th the disease lingered. There were three or four cases a day until about the 27th or 28th of July, when the epidemic fairly set in. In the meanwhile measures were taken by the Board of Health to prevent the increase of the pestilence, by compelling the vacation of premises which were overcrowded. A block of six four-story houses, inhabited by ninety-two families, consisting of four hundred and seventy-three persons, and situate between Front Street and Water and Race and Vine Streets, was first attacked. In thirty of the houses there were fifty-five families, and it was reported that they were without a single privy. It was believed that if they were allowed to remain the ravages would be terrible there,

and that the premises would be a great danger to the neighborhood. The Board of Health was assisted by a consulting medical board, composed of Drs. Thomas F. Hewson, L. P. Thompson, William C. Brewster, Thomas H. Brinckle, George McClellan, William D. Brinckley, Isaac Kline, Samuel Calhoun, Jesse R. Burden, Joseph Pancoast, John T. Sharpless, Jacob S. Zorns, and David F. Condie. Under the advice of these physicians the houses in Front Street, together with those in other portions of the city where the conditions were considered dangerous, were vacated and the inmates removed. Common Council, on the 23d of July, passed a resolution interdicting intercourse with New York and other towns affected with the Asiatic cholera as soon as practicable. It was manifest that such a quarantine could not be maintained by authority of the city, no matter what vigilance had been exercised, while the adjoining districts were free for any one to enter. Select Council refused to pass the resolution. During the time that the disease was at its height an asylum for children whose parents were taken sick, or who had died in consequence, was opened in Library Street, under the care of ladies. Fifty-five children were received and attended to there. The old engine-house of the water-works, near the Schuylkill at Chestnut Street, was fitted up as a place of refuge for the poor, and a large number of shanties were erected in the same neighborhood. Thursday, August 9th, was observed as a fast-day, and it was more truly so on account of the solemnity of the occasion than such humiliation had been at any previous time.

A common incident was the assembling of large numbers of people on Fifth Street below Library. The office of the Board of Health was immediately south of and adjoining the Philadelphia Dispensary. From the high wooden steps daily at twelve o'clock the official reports of the progress of the epidemic were made. The crowds assembled usually heard the announcement in silence, to which succeeded low murmurs of approbation if the intelligence was favorable, or of regret if it was otherwise. They separated immediately afterwards, and carried the news to all parts of the city. George Washington Dixon, "the great American buffo singer," who had acquired notoriety as singer of the negro song, "Coal-Black Rose," had improved the occasion by issuing a daily paper called the *Cholera Gazette*. It was published every afternoon as soon as the Board of Health reports were made, and had a very considerable circulation. The occurrences connected with the breaking out of the epidemic in the Arch Street prison on the 30th of July, during which seventy out of two hundred and ten persons died, will be found in the chapter on prisons. Much alarm existed after the disease got fairly to work. There was strong prejudice among the ignorant against the cholera hospitals. They were represented to be depots for the distribution of the disease, and the story got about that the physicians were

anxious to force persons into the hospitals so that they might practice upon them. Under the influence of such ideas much indignation was expressed against the physicians, and some of the nurses were subject to maltreatment. These threats and insults became so unbearable that on the 6th of August, Drs. Joseph Parrish, Nathaniel Chapman, Samuel Jackson, Thomas Harris, Richard Harlan, Charles D. Meigs, Charles Lukens, and O. H. Taylor presented an address to the Sanitary Committee, in which they declared that unless they were sustained and protected by their fellow-citizens in the discharge of their painful duties they would "wash their hands in innocence," and retire from the charge of the hospitals. The Sanitary Board requested the mayor to take measures to protect the physicians and the hospital attendants. But fortunately the publication of the physicians' protest and the good sense of the people prevailed, so that there was no longer annoyance. The disease lasted until the 4th of October, when the last case was reported. Altogether there were two thousand three hundred and fourteen cases reported, and nine hundred and thirty-five deaths. The ratio of cases to the population within the bills of mortality was one in seventy, the deaths one to one hundred and seventy-three and a fraction. The cases of attack exhibited considerable difference in ratio of severity in various parts of the territory. In the city, exclusive of fractions, the cases were one in one hundred and ninety-seven in the population; in Kensington, one in one hundred and twenty; in the Northern Liberties, one in two hundred; in Penn township, one in one hundred and two; in Southwark, one in eighty-two; and in Moyamensing, one in thirty-nine.¹

After the pestilence had ceased the Councils and Board of Health determined, in fear of future visitations, to keep two hospitals permanently open. The hospital for contagious diseases at Bush Hill was placed in order for new patients, and the cholera hospital in Jones' Alley was reserved to the same purpose. The physicians at the hospitals served without remuneration. Councils resolved to present those who represented the city with pieces of silver plate with appropriate inscriptions. Thirteen silver pitchers were prepared and presented, in March, 1833, to Drs. John C. Otto, Nathaniel Chapman, Joseph Parrish, John K. Mitchell, Thomas Harris, Samuel Jackson, Charles Lukens, William E. Horner, Charles D. Meigs, Richard Harlan, Hugh L. Hodge, Oliver H. Taylor, and G. Emerson. The Sisters of Charity of the Roman Catholic Church had during the calamity volunteered their assistance to act as nurses in the hospitals, and had, during the whole melancholy scene, discharged those duties with care, attention,

and kindness. It was proposed to present pieces of plate to them, but they declined their acceptance, because such a course would be contrary to the spirit of their vows. City Councils therefore appropriated a sum of money equal to the value of the plate to the Catholic Asylums of St. John's and St. Joseph's and a school which was under the charge of the Sisters of Charity.

The approach of the centennial anniversary of the birth of Washington had been spoken of in various parts of the country as an occasion suitable for commemoration in some uncommon way. In the city of Philadelphia a town-meeting was called in reference to the subject on the 1st of February. Benjamin W. Richards was president, and Alexander McCarahe secretary. Resolutions were offered by Joseph R. Ingersoll, by which it was resolved to celebrate the 22d of February with civic honors. A committee of twenty-four persons was appointed to carry out the designs of the meeting. Councils appointed a committee of co-operation, and appropriated two thousand dollars to aid in the object. There was a general interest in this matter, but unfortunately the period between the time when the meeting was held and the day fixed was very short, or the procession would have been much larger. As it happened there was a handsome display. It was estimated that there were upwards of twenty thousand persons in the procession,² and more than one hundred thousand persons in the streets as spectators. The movements of the civic portion of the procession were directed by a chief marshal and twelve assistants. The first division was preceded by eighteen pioneers with axes, and the city police and watchmen with badges and sashes. The Cincinnati Society, Revolutionary officers and soldiers, with officers of the late war and of the army and navy, with foreign ministers, city officers, City Councils, commissioners of the districts, county, State, and Federal officers succeeded. The second division included the volunteers of the late war, the butchers, mounted, four abreast, in white frocks and blue sashes, carrying a banner, "We feed the hungry." The saddlers and harness-makers followed. The hatters bore the banner of St. Clement, and had cars displaying skins of the various animals used in the business, with a full working hatter's shop, bows, and felting apparatus, kettles, with hatters at work making hats; during the procession they made a hat out and out in the street, which was intended to be presented to Gen. Lafayette, and one for Charles Carroll of Carrollton, while another hat was commenced for Mayor Richards. In the third division were ferrymen, tobacconists, and cigar-makers at work, bakers with an oven in which bread was baked during the procession, glass manufacturers and cutters, cabinet-makers, barbers, gilders, and gold-beaters.

¹ Philadelphia escaped with less loss by this scourge than any other large North American city. In New York the cases were one to 15½ in the population; deaths, one in 25½; in Montreal, cases one in 6½ of the inhabitants, deaths one in every 10½.

² This was the estimate of some newspapers at the time. From later experience in processions, it must be pronounced a greatly exaggerated calculation.

The house-carpenters and builders were preceded by a handsome oblong temple consisting of twenty-four sides, each representing a State, each side forming an arch, above the summit of which was inscribed the name of the State in a blue field. The columns were white, surmounted by a blue architrave plinth and cornice, with a cupola roof of variegated blue and white, surmounted by a cap of liberty of blue and white silk in spiral stripes with gold fringe. This temple was built by the journeymen at very short notice, and was one of the finest features of the procession; several old carpenters were seated in the car, which was drawn by six horses. The brick-makers, bricklayers, plasterers, stone-cutters, painters and glaziers, black- and white-smiths, tin-plate workers, plumbers, and brass-founders were all in the fourth division. The brick-makers had working cars showing the manufacture from preparing the clay to burning the bricks. The stone-cutters on a car drawn by seven horses displayed the corner-stone which they had prepared for the new Washington monument. The smiths displayed on a car a forge, anvil, and working-bench, and heated and hammered iron, and made horseshoes. The tin-plate workers struck off medals of tin with the head of Washington, which were distributed along the streets. The fifth division embraced the tailors, cordwainers, and comb-makers. The latter were accompanied by a car in which combs were made and distributed. In the sixth division there were manufacturers and dyers, who exhibited spinning jennies at work, weaving, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing. The spinners and weavers, accompanied by a car on which spinners, spoolers, and weavers were at work, were succeeded by the carpet-weavers. The chasers, silversmiths, jewelers, and engravers struck off and distributed a medal with a head of Washington. The potters were at work making jugs, bowls, pitchers, etc. The printers struck off on a press an ode composed for the occasion by James N. Barker. The bookbinders and booksellers, copper-plate printers, tanners and curriers, morocco- and skin-dressers, plane-makers and coopers, all exhibited on floats or cars the manner in which their respective trades were conducted. The shipwrights and rope-makers, boat-builders, riggers and sail-makers, calkers, and block-makers were all provided with means of displaying the operations of their respective crafts. The mariners presented one of the most interesting objects of the procession in the shape of a full-rigged ship, called the "Washington," which was the largest object in the line. The ship was commanded by Capt. James Dumphy, First Lieut. John McKeever, and the other officers and crew composed of sea-captains. The "Washington" cast anchor whenever the procession came to a stop, and hove anchor when it started. The deep-sea lead was kept going from the mizzen chains and the depth announced. The captain, with spy-glass, was continually looking ahead for squalls, and the mimic scene was

amusing. Two models of canal-boats followed. The ninth division was composed of draymen and carters, mounted, wearing white aprons and other decorations. The Horticultural Society pleased all eyes with a beautiful display of flowers. The tenth division consisted of the Philadelphia Association of Young Men for Celebrating the Fourth of July without distinction of party; the Hunting Park Association, with the trotting horse Top-Gallant, the wonder of the world, and several other famous race-horses and mounted citizens on horseback. The firemen made their first appearance in public in a procession on this occasion. There were thirty-seven companies, men in their uniforms, engines and carriages decorated, with other features that were attractive. Here was first introduced in a firemen's procession a representation of a North American Indian by the Weccacoe Engine Company, which was preceded by a chief in full dress. The twelfth division was entirely civic, officers of colleges, learned and scientific societies, lawyers, teachers, directors, and pupils of the public schools, etc. The Odd-Fellows made their first appearance in public in this division. The military, in consequence of the sickness of Maj.-Gen. Cadwalader, was commanded by Brig.-Gen. Robert Patterson, and consisted of the whole division, cavalry, artillery, and infantry. The procession started about half-past ten o'clock in the morning, and moved over a long route. It was not until six o'clock in the afternoon that the military, at the end of the line, reached the State-House. It is necessary to explain that the participants were not marching all that time. The management was not good. There were great stops for long periods of times, which were tedious and fatiguing to those who participated as well as to the spectators.

On the 22d of February, while the Centennial procession was passing along Third Street, the cornerstone of the Philadelphia Exchange was laid in Dock Street near Walnut. A short address was delivered upon the occasion by John K. Kane. The persons interested in this enterprise had been eleven years in reaching the point which they had now attained. A design for a merchants' exchange was exhibited at the Coffee-House in May, 1821, and it was intimated that the proper place for the building was on the lot bounded by Third, Walnut, and Dock Streets. It was then proposed that the principal front of the building should be upon Dock Street, with a portico one hundred feet in width. The successful movement towards the building of an exchange was the result of a meeting held on the 19th of July, 1831, at which it was resolved to form a company, and appoint trustees for the stockholders to hold the necessary real estate in trust until an act of incorporation could be obtained. The trustees were Stephen Girard, Robert Ralston, Joseph P. Norris, James C. Fisher, and Joshua Longstreth. The building was constructed without delay, and was opened for business in 1834. It was in its time considered the most beautiful edifice

in the city. The material was Pennsylvania marble. The shape that of a parallelogram, ninety-five feet front on Third Street, one hundred and fourteen feet on Walnut Street, with a semi-circular radius on Dock Street of thirty-six feet, making the extreme length from east to west one hundred and fifty feet. The eastern front was embellished with a portico of eight Corinthian columns and ante. The Dock Street front presented a semicircular portico with eight similar columns, supporting a roof, above which rose a lantern forty feet above the roof, pierced with windows and ornamented and modeled after the choragic monument at Athens, called the Lantern of Demosthenes. The lower stories were divided into apartments rented out for various purposes. The United States post-office occupied nearly the whole of the northern front on Dock Street. Insurance companies had their offices on Walnut Street, and brokers occupied offices of a small semicircle on Dock Street. A wide hall ran through the centre of the building, from which two flights of marble stairs rose to the entrance of the main 'change-room in the second story. This apartment was also approached by marble steps rising from Walnut Street and Dock Street, flanked and protected on each side by the marble figure of a lion and handsomely-cut scroll work. The main 'change-room was high, extending to the roof, and marked by four splendid marble columns which supported the lantern. The ceilings and walls were painted in fresco with elegant effect by Monachesi. The main room was occupied at first by the officers of the Merchants' Exchange and of the department for shipping news, and by stands for newspapers from all parts of the Union, which were arranged from a semicircle in the rotunda. In time these were removed and placed in a large room in the north part of the building. Here, for some years after the building was finished, the merchants met at the high 'change hour, twelve o'clock, communicated with each other, arranged for sales or payments, and did a great deal of business. Here the public auction sales were held of real estate and stocks every week, and the exchange-room was a place at which might be seen upon the news-books, openly exposed to all every day, shipping and other news. The building held its position for thirty years, but gradually fell into mercantile disuse. The Corn Exchange, a much more vigorous and active association, was formed and took in bright and enterprising business men, and in time the Merchants' Exchange ceased to be used for any mercantile purpose. The stock gradually went into a few hands. The situation was excellent for business purposes, and the owners came to consider it as a source of investment to be measured as to its worth by the annual value of the rents which it produced.

At the general election in October political feeling ran high. It was the year of the Presidential election. Gen. Jackson was the candidate for re-election, and there was strong opposition to him. In those

times the city elections being held at the State-House, each party usually rented and occupied some neighboring building for the purpose of a headquarters. Transparencies of muslin, upon which were painted emblematic scenes or allegorical figures or other devices, were common. They were in gaudy colors, but were very effective when illuminated at night, lights being placed behind them. At this election the anti-Jackson headquarters in the city were at the Bolivar House, an inn kept by Samuel Carlls on the north side of Chestnut Street west of Sixth, between the Chestnut Street Theatre and the Arcade. Above the first story was displayed a transparency representing the arms of the State of Virginia, an armed figure of Liberty standing over the body of a prostrate foe, beneath which was the ordinary motto, "*sic semper tyrannis*." The streets were crowded all day. The anti-Jackson transparency attracted much attention. Somebody in the crowds gave out that the prostrate figure on the ground was that of Gen. Jackson, and it was averred that the face of the man upon the ground was that of "Old Hickory" himself. These stories led to an attack upon the house in the evening, during which considerable injury was done to the premises and the transparency broken and cut by stones. The Jackson headquarters were opposite the State-House, and symptoms of an attack by the anti-Jackson men on those premises were observed. By good fortune the police managed to prevent any further outbreak.

The death of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, which took place at Baltimore on the 14th of November, 1832, was subject of a solemn commemoration. Councils passed a resolution of respect for the memory of the deceased. John Sergeant was requested to deliver an eulogy upon his life and character. A military procession in commemoration of his death marched through the streets, and the proceedings upon that day wound up with an oration at the Arch Street Theatre by Anthony Laussat.

The centennial celebration of the birth of Washington revived the interest which had been displayed in 1824 in favor of the erection of a monument to the memory of Washington, towards the cost of which some contributions had been collected. A meeting had been held in June, 1832, at which it was resolved to collect subscriptions for the purpose, and a committee was appointed to act in conjunction with the survivors of the committee of 1824. So sanguine were the parties at this time of their success in obtaining funds that they resolved that the corner-stone of the monument, prepared by the marble-masons during the procession of February 22d, should be laid on the 4th of July. Councils gave the necessary permission. As soon as these enthusiastic gentlemen began to make their solicitation for money subscription they were mortified by the hesitation and indifference with which their requests were met. It was therefore determined to postpone the laying of the corner-stone until the 22d of February, 1833. Even

with so long a time to get ready, the preparations were scanty. The public generally was given short notice of the intended ceremonies. In consequence the civic portion of the parade was meagre. The marble-masons, to whom the occasion was one of great interest, came out in strong force. The corner-stone was drawn upon a platform by four white horses. The hatters turned out, wearing cocked hats of the Revolutionary fashion; farmers, gardeners, tin-plate workers, tobacconists, cabinet-makers, silver-plate workers, cordwainers, and saddlers, with their banners and insignia, were the principal participants. They did not appear in the strength of the previous year. The military parade was quite respectable. There were three troops of horse, a battalion of artillery of five companies, and eleven companies of infantry. The place assigned for the monument was the central circular plot in Washington Square. Here an excavation was made, ten or fifteen feet deep, in the course of which the remains of several of the ancient tenants of that ground were unearthed. After the stone was laid an address was delivered by Dr. W. C. Draper, chairman of the committee on celebration. David Paul Brown followed, Bishop William White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, offered a prayer, and the ceremonies were concluded. The stone was covered up with care in the anticipation that the monument would soon be commenced. It has never been disturbed. After fifty years it remains where it was placed.¹

Another result of the centennial parade was the encouragement of the firemen to arrange a procession of their own companies and apparatus. Flattered and surprised by the applause lavished on them, they chose the 27th of March, the anniversary of the formation of the Fire Association, as the day of their parade. Forty fire-engine and hose companies participated. Jacob E. Lancaster was chief marshal, assisted by numerous aids, and the procession marched over a long route, and closed up the day with a fine ball at Musical Fund Hall.²

¹ The Washington monument fund of 1824 and 1832 not being sufficient to authorize the commencement of any work, came eventually into the possession of Joseph Ingersoll, as surviving trustee, appointed by the meeting of 1832. On the death of Mr. Ingersoll, Alexander Purves, president of the Philadelphia Saving Fund, held the subscription moneys for some years. They had been carefully invested, and the interest re-invested during the trusteeship of these gentlemen, and amounted to a respectable sum, which finally, by decree of the Court of Common Pleas, was given in charge to a trust company. About the beginning of 1882 the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, which had commenced the collection of a fund for the erection of a monument to Washington in 1811, made application to the Court of Common Pleas that the monument funds of 1824 and 1832 should be paid over to them, their purpose being the same as was intended by persons who gave their money to the citizens' committees. The amount of the citizens' funds was about fifty thousand dollars. The Cincinnati Society fund was one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. By decree the petition was granted, and the Cincinnati Society now having one hundred and eighty thousand dollars for the purpose of building the monument, measures were taken to obtain designs and set the work of preparation in motion.

² In after-years the firemen's parades were brilliant events. The companies were strongly governed by emulation and rivalry in the matter of

On the 8th of June, President Andrew Jackson, who had determined to make a tour of the Northern cities, arrived in Philadelphia. He landed from the steamboat "Ohio," which had brought him from New Castle to the wharf at the United States navy-yard, where he was received with a warm welcome by the large crowd of citizens there attending. The appearance of "Old Hickory" was striking. His tall figure, and peculiar and strong-marked countenance, and clothing which was not cut according to the latest Philadelphia fashions, was surmounted by a high white hat, with a brim of generous size, above which black crape appeared. At the navy-yard the President was seated in a barouche, after a salute of twenty-one guns, and escorted by the First City Troop, Capt. Hart, National Troop, Capt. Riley, and the Washington Cavalry and Montgomery Troop. A civic parade of committees in carriages and horsemen in citizen's dress followed, and proceeded to the City Hotel, Heiskell's, on Third Street, near Arch. There was a strong political feeling at the time, which had been much increased by the measures taken by Jackson against the Bank of the United States. In some portions of the county the demonstrations were uproarious, but in the city they were not marked nor enthusiastic. The next day being Sunday the President attended divine worship at the First Presbyterian Church, on which occasion an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Albert

duty and the decoration of their apparatus. A style of ornamentation with paintings and emblems grew almost barbaric with ornaments of polished copper, brass, silver, and gold, and with mirrors and inlaid mother-of-pearl and other elegancies. The banners were decorated with the finest paintings by artists of merit. The uniforms were almost always new. There were great displays of artificial flowers and tinsel on the apparatus, which were frequently loaded down with them. The mouths of silver and brass trumpets were filled with bouquets of floyers, and there were great displays of ribbons and other adornments. The companies paraded with their full strength, and frequently there were from six thousand to eight thousand firemen in line. The following are the dates of these parades, with the names of the chief marshals up to the time when the volunteer department was superseded by the department established by the city of Philadelphia:

1832, February 22. In centennial procession; Alexander Henry, of Hope Hose.

1833, March 27th. First parade, Jacob B. Lancaster, Southwark Hose Company.

1834, March 27th. Second parade, George K. Childs, Good Intent Hose Company.

1837, March 27th. Third parade, John Price Wetherill, Philadelphia Hose Company.

1840, March 27th. Fourth parade, Peter Fritz, Perseverance Hose Company.

1843, March 27th. Fifth parade, John T. Donnelly, Pennsylvania Hose Company.

1846, March 27th. Sixth parade, Thomas Graham, Southwark Engine Company.

1846, March 27th. Seventh parade, Edward S. Wester, Globe Engine Company.

1849, May 1st. [Extra parade.] Edward S. Wester, Globe Engine Company.

1852, May 3d. Eighth parade, David Matthews, Franklin Hose Company.

1857, May 6th. Ninth parade, John F. Gibson, Northern Liberties Hose Company.

1865, October 16th. Tenth parade, Henry B. Bobb, Washington Engine Company.

Barnes. Previous to his arrival, City Councils had appointed a committee to tender the proper expressions of respect for the chief magistrate, and to offer him the use of Independence Hall as a place for the reception of his friends. Mayor Swift and members of both Councils, with the aldermen and city officers, formally received him there on Monday morning. The Hon. Louis McLane, Secretary of War, and Hon. Lewis Cass, with Mr. Donaldson, the private secretary, were present. Citizens were then admitted, and for more than two hours a continuous line of persons of all ages and sexes filed into the room, passed by the President, and bowed to him or shook hands, and then passed through the southern window in the State-House yard. Several thousand persons took part in these ceremonies, which lasted two hours. Afterwards the President, mounted on a large white horse, was escorted by a strong body of volunteers, under the command of Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, through the streets of the city, over a long route, extending as far northeast as Beach and Maiden Streets, to Twelfth Street on the west, and to Catherine Street on the south. The parade ended at the City Hotel. The next day Gen. Jackson left the city for New York.

At the same time that the President was in the city the Indian chief Black Hawk, with other warriors, who had been on a visit to Washington, were also in town. This party was lodged in Congress Hall, in Third Street above Chestnut. The mayor and a delegation of the City Council took charge of them and went with them to places of interest in the neighborhood of the city. The Indians viewed the procession accompanying the President from their hotel. They left town a day or two afterwards. A bitter political controversy followed these receptions. The Democratic papers charged boldly that the mayor (John Swift) and Councils of the city had decidedly insulted the President of the United States, and had made the reception of Indian captives the pretext for neglecting the chief magistrate. On the part of the city officers this was denied. They cited the resolutions passed by Councils before the President came and the reception at Independence Hall, in which they, as city officers, participated. They denied the practice of any discourtesy, and argued that after their own formal reception it was their duty to leave the President in the hands of his attached friends. However this might be, it was clear that the mayor and Councils were bitterly hostile to the President on political grounds. Their courtesy might have been up to the boundary of exact politeness, but it did not go beyond it, while the attentions paid to the Indians were so marked that the contrast seemed offensive. As an offset to these shortcomings, at a later period in the year the reception of Henry Clay by mayor and City Councils in November was noted. Clay was the idol of the anti-Jackson party. He was received by a procession of citizens at Kensington, where he

landed from steamboat, November 23d. He was met officially by the mayor and Councils at Independence Hall, and many courtesies were extended.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, Va., an eccentric statesman and politician, died at the City Hotel on the 24th of May. He had come to the city for medical treatment, and was under the ministrations of Dr. Joseph Parrish. He had been minister to Russia in 1830-31, and was about to return to Europe at the time of his death. A public meeting was held on the day after his death in the District Court room of the United States, of which the Hon. Joseph Hopkinson was chairman and the Hon. John G. Watmough secretary. A committee was appointed "to confer with the personal friends of the deceased, and if consistent with their views and feelings, to make arrangements for uniting with them in a public tribute of respect to the remains of our distinguished countryman, the late John Randolph, of Virginia, whose death in the midst of us has peculiarly reminded us of the splendid contribution his talents and genius through a long public life have made to the reputation of our country." Nicholas Biddle was made chairman of this committee, and he addressed immediately John S. Barbour, Henry E. Watkins, and William J. Barksdale, citizens of Virginia and friends of Mr. Randolph, who returned suitable acknowledgments in reply. But they declined any ceremonies of a funeral character in Philadelphia, saying, "The wish which he avowed for the removal of his mortal remains and their interment within his native land will make their early departure necessary. And the delay that must follow any further tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased than that already manifested by the inhabitants of this city would be attended with great inconvenience."

In August a riot took place between whites and blacks, which was much more serious than any occurrence of that character previously known. The abolitionists were beginning to be active in their opposition to slavery. Their efforts occasioned great indignation at the South, and there was a strong body of sympathizers at the North to demonstrate their prejudices. A slight cause was sufficient to excite these feelings to active hostilities. There was an exhibition of flying-horses in a temporary building upon a lot on the north side of South Street above Seventh. Blacks and whites were visitors to this show, and some difficulties between persons present led to strife of no serious character. The story, however, that the negroes had insulted the whites got out, and led to the institution of measures which were originated in another part of the city. On the night of the 12th of August a large party of young men, who were supposed to have come from the Northern Liberties, Kensington, and Spring Garden, made their appearance at the flying-horse exhibition and stimulated a quarrel, in the excitement of which they attacked the machinery and apparatus used in the show, which they

totally destroyed, as well as the building in which the exhibition had been given, after which they retired, and there was no further disturbance on that night. News of these transactions was circulated through the city the next day, and in the evening a far greater crowd than had yet assembled marched down Seventh Street to an open lot near the Pennsylvania Hospital, where they were joined by others. They were mostly boys and young men, and nearly all of them were supplied with clubs or sticks. From the lot this mob repaired to Mary Street in the city, and to Bedford and Baker Streets in Moyamensing, in which colored people mostly resided. Here the crowd commenced the destruction of property, breaking windows, battering down doors, and entering the houses, which were stripped of their furniture, which was thrown into the streets and broken. The police force of Moyamensing were unable to suppress these rioters, and their ravages extended to Shippen Street and Seventh Street, and as far down Small Street as Fifth or Sixth. The negroes, whenever they were caught, were assaulted and beaten mercilessly, and the most savage feeling prevailed. The rioters were put to flight by the arrival of two divisions of the city police, headed by Mayor John Swift and High Constable Willis H. Blaney. Marching boldly upon the mob they attacked them, securing about twenty prisoners. In these proceedings the whites who resided in the neighborhood escaped injury by reason of displaying lights in their windows. The next day the civil authorities, which had allowed two nights of riot to go by without attempt, except on the second night, to interfere with it, were thoroughly awake. Three hundred special constables were sworn in and placed under command of Peter A. Browne. The City Troop, Capt. Hart, and the Washington Grays, Capt. Worrell, were ordered under arms, and remained at their armories all night. The *posse comitatus* assembled about eight o'clock and marched down to the hospital lot, and thence to the neighborhood of the disturbances of the previous evening. A new excitement was active in the neighborhood, under a rumor that the hall of the African Grand Lodge of Masons, Seventh Street below Lombard, west side, was filled with several hundred armed negroes. Expressions of determination to destroy the building were heard. The posse marched on the ground. Mayor Swift addressed the persons present, exhorting them to keep the peace. Officers who entered the hall found that there were black men there who were very much frightened. They were told to depart, which they did without much ceremony. The posse remained until after twelve o'clock, by which time the crowd had dispersed. In the mean while there was an excitement elsewhere. Near the Wharton Market upon Moyamensing road there was a small meeting-house used by a congregation of colored people. Some demonstration had been made on the previous evening in that neighborhood, but there were no overt acts. Late in the evening a

story went into circulation that some boys passing the meeting-house were fired upon from a dwelling-house in the neighborhood. A mob soon collected and proceeded to tear down the meeting-house. It was a slight structure, which stood upon posts rising from the ground. These were cut through with axes. Ropes were attached to the upper parts of the building, at which the mob pulled until the whole structure came down and was entirely broken up. Some eight or ten houses in the neighborhood were also attacked and the windows broken. News of these disturbances were sent to the city, and Peter A. Browne marched down with a portion of the *posse comitatus*. They arrived on the ground about ten o'clock and found everything quiet, the rioters having dispersed. At a subsequent meeting of citizens it was estimated that the damage done during these riots amounted to four thousand dollars, and a committee was appointed to make collections toward a fund to reimburse the sufferers.

A murder, committed in the neighborhood of the Locust Ward election-poll, near Twelfth and Locust Streets, on the 3d of October, presented a mystery which was never cleared up. William Perry, a young man, standing in the evening conversing with a friend at a position some distance from the crowd, and on the opposite side of the street, was suddenly killed. Some circumstance happening near the polls created a scattering in the crowd. Persons ran across the street in the direction where Perry was standing, and while passing him some one stabbed him several times, so that he died in a few hours. There was apparently no motive for this crime, certainly no justification in anything which Perry had done. He had not been engaged in any recent quarrel, and was not among the persons who might have been in dispute near the polls. The attack was sudden and unexpected, and so quick in action that the murderer escaped before the perpetration of his crime was even suspected. Large rewards were offered for the arrest of the assailants. Some few persons, against whom nothing could be proved, were arrested and discharged, and the perpetrator was never discovered. The body of Perry was buried on the succeeding Sunday, and was attended by an immense crowd of persons, being the largest funeral that had ever taken place in the city up to that time. The Democratic Association of Locust Ward afterwards erected a monument to the memory of Perry.

A few days afterwards, on the 14th, the general election took place amid much excitement. In Moyamensing the citizens voted for the first time at the Commissioners' Hall, Christian Street between Ninth and Tenth. There were some disturbances in the evening at one of the voting windows between rival partisans, which resulted in scuffling and blows. The Jackson men in Moyamensing were at the time in the minority. They were driven away from the polls and their lamps broken. The fight was shifted to the

ground to the east of the hall, where the Jackson headquarters were held in two tents, in front of which was a hickory pole. The Whigs drove the Jackson men away, demolished their tents, and cut down the pole. This was the end of the disturbance at that time, but news of the circumstance having been carried to the polls at Southwark, large numbers of persons went over to Moyamensing, and a Jackson delegation marching down from the Northern Liberties joined the crowd. The new-comers reinforced the Jackson men of Moyamensing greatly, and methods of revenge and retribution were determined upon. Opposite the hall, at the northeast corner of Christian and Montcalm Streets, stood the Whig headquarters, in a three-story brick house, in front of which was a tall liberty-pole. The mob in revenge for the cutting down of the Jackson hickory-tree attempted to prostrate this pole. The lower portion was strapped with iron, and the accomplishment of the task was rather difficult. Assaults were made upon the headquarters in which the Whigs had taken refuge, and then new efforts were made against the pole. At this moment the parties in the Whig headquarters fired from the upper windows with muskets loaded with buckshot. Fifteen or twenty persons were wounded in the crowd, one of whom, James Bath, afterward died. Rendered desperate by this attack, the mob rushed against the doors and windows of the headquarters, which were broken in by main force. The inmates were assaulted, and got out the best they could. The windows were broken and the furniture thrown into the street. While these things were going on a fire had been kindled with wood placed around the liberty-pole. As they could not cut it down by reason of the iron hooping around the lower portion, they endeavored to burn it down. Whether the house adjoining caught from the pole was not known. In a short time it was on fire, and the flames spread to a row of four dwelling-houses on the east. The premises were known as Robb's Row, and some of the houses were inhabited. The light of the fire created an alarm. Fire-engines and hose-carriages came from other portions of the city. They encountered an infuriated mob, which had determined that the property should not be saved. The firemen were ordered to desist their active efforts to save the property. The hose was cut, their engines defaced, and some of the firemen dragged from their apparatus were terribly beaten. They could do nothing, and before morning Robb's Row was totally destroyed. The loss upon the property fell upon the tenants and on James Robb, the owner of the houses. A meeting was called afterward at which it was resolved to compensate these sufferers. Nothing of importance was effected by these measures. On the 11th of March, 1836, the General Assembly passed an act for the relief of James Robb and others by reason of the damages sustained during these riots. The Court of Quarter Sessions was authorized to issue a venire and

summon a jury to inquire into the damages, and on their certificate the same should be paid, providing that the sum did not amount to more than six thousand dollars. This was followed in the succeeding June by an act which afterward became very important in its operations upon the city treasury. "In case any dwelling-house or any other building or property, real or personal, shall be injured or destroyed within said city and county of Philadelphia, in consequence of any mob or riot therein at any election, or at any other time, it shall be lawful for the owner thereof, or his agent, to apply in the county to the Court of Quarter Sessions, and if in the city to the Mayor's Court, who shall thereupon appoint six disinterested persons, who shall be sworn or affirmed, to ascertain and report the amount of said loss, and also whether the said owner had any immediate or active participation in the said mob or riot, and on such report being made, and the fact that the owner had no such participation being ascertained and the report being confirmed on an examination of the law and fact by said court, the said report and confirmation shall be certified to the County Commissioners, who shall forthwith draw their warrant on the treasury for the amount so awarded, which warrant shall be duly paid by the treasurer." Under the special act for the relief of Mr. Robb the full amount named in the act, six thousand dollars, was paid to him and other sufferers by the fire.

In the country at this time there was strong political excitement among the people in reference to the measures which the government, under the influence of President Jackson, had taken against the Bank of the United States. The latter was a Philadelphia institution, and citizens of Philadelphia were to a large degree stockholders. Whatever touched the bank affected also the interests of the city, it was argued, and in no part of the Union was hostility to the administration of Gen. Jackson more openly pronounced. The bill to recharter the United States Bank was vetoed by President Jackson on the 10th of July, 1832, a measure which created indignant protest and bitterness of feeling among large classes of persons. As early as August, 1833, circulars were sent by direction of the President to various State banks, inquiring if they would receive the deposits of government moneys if the President should decide to remove the funds from the Bank of the United States. On the 18th of September, in the same year, the President read to the members of his cabinet his reasons for the removal of the deposits from the national bank. The principal reasons given were that the bank had entered the political arena, and had exerted its vast influence to the promulgation of certain political principles which, it may be said, were not those which were held by the government. President Jackson said that in sixteen months, ending shortly before the veto, the bank had increased its loans over twenty-eight million dollars, with the intention of bringing a large

number of people under its power and influence, and that a considerable part of this fund had been appropriated towards subsidizing conductors of the press. For these reasons and others named, the President declared that it was no longer safe to allow the public moneys to remain in the possession of the Bank of the United States. The 1st of October, 1833, was named as the day on which the deposits should be removed. Great efforts were made to prevent this dreaded consummation. The bank appointed a committee to examine the charges made by the President, which made report in December. The institution was defended against the specific charges of malfeasance. The statement of the increase of the loans of the institution was declared to be a great exaggeration, and the figures named were eleven million dollars more than the actual amount of the loans. The withdrawal of the government deposits from the bank was denounced as a gross violation of the contract. The financial results were deplorable. The Bank of the United States and the State banks, in a policy of precaution and safety, began to draw in their loans and curtail their circulations, and pressed for the payment of debts due them. Distress and difficulty followed from the pressure. Large numbers of persons could not pay their debts, and became insolvent. Wages were reduced. Industry was depressed. Workmen were discharged. Prices fell, and all over the country there was suffering and distress. The Board of Trade, on the 1st of January, 1834, passed resolutions which declared that the sudden change which had come over the community and spread gloom and apprehension throughout the great interests which support its prosperity could be ascribed to no other cause than the policy of the government towards the Bank of the United States, and that nothing would counteract those evils and restore the confidence of the people in their future prospects than the restoration of the Bank of the United States to the station it had heretofore held as an agent of the government. This was followed by a memorial from the following banks of Philadelphia: North America, Pennsylvania, Commercial, Mechanics', Penn Township, Manufacturers' and Mechanics', Moyamensing, Schuylkill, Farmers' and Mechanics'. The officers of these institutions stated that the removal of the government deposits from the United States Bank to the State banks was a disorganization of the whole moneyed system and the whole revenue system of the country; the manner in which the national bank controlled the currency was declared to be salutary, and kept it in a healthful condition. The restoration of the deposits to the Bank of the United States was a measure which these banks declared to be absolutely necessary. In this memorial the Philadelphia, Western, Southwark, Kensington, Northern Liberties, and Girard Banks did not join. The latter had already become one of the deposit banks, a measure about the propriety of which there was considerable difference among the

stockholders. The Councils of the city passed resolutions against the removal of the deposits, and urged, among other reasons, the fact that the stocks of the Girard estate had depreciated by the amount of \$312,304.18.

Felix Murray was hanged in this year for the murder of Joseph Sutcliff in November, 1833. The latter was sitting at home with his wife and children. Murray came in carrying a leather wheelbarrow-strap. Another person also entered with a club. They attacked Sutcliff with both weapons, and beat him so severely that he died. Murray was convicted of murder in the first degree.

On the 15th of April the United States senator, William C. Preston, and Representative George McDuffee, of South Carolina, addressed a meeting at Musical Fund Hall, which was called in opposition to the measures of President Jackson. About this time news had been received of an anti-Jackson victory in New York. The name Whig, as distinctive of the opposition party, had just been adopted. Resolutions were passed complimentary to the Whigs of New York, and it was resolved to celebrate their victory by a public festival to be held at Powelton, the country-seat of John Hare Powel, on the west side of the Schuylkill, between the Market Street and the Callowhill Street bridges. A committee of one hundred was appointed to make the necessary preparations. They acted with great liberality, and there were placed upon the ground an immense stock of provisions,—boiled ham, beef tongue, crackers and cheese, bread, and other articles,—with a large stock of ale, beer, porter, and cider. Refreshment-stands were set up in various parts of the ground, and everybody could eat and drink without stint. A matter quite unusual was the throwing open the bridges at High and Callowhill Streets to all passengers free of toll. This was a great novelty, and had considerable influence in swelling the crowd, the number of which was computed to be sixty thousand persons. In the city many stores and factories were shut, and all who were usually engaged therein went out to the "Powelton Jubilee," as the fête was officially denominated. A large delegation of the Whigs from New York arrived at Chestnut Street wharf about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the persons composing it were escorted to the public grounds. Here there had also been erected a very large platform and booth for speaking. Speeches were made by Josiah Randall, David Paul Brown, James C. Biddle, and Col. James Watson Webb, editor of the *New York Courier and Inquirer*.

The steamboat "William Penn," a new and handsome boat which belonged to the People's Line between Philadelphia and Baltimore, while coming up the river Delaware on the 4th of March was discovered, when near Greenwich Point, to be on fire. The flames progressed so rapidly that the captain decided to run the boat on the flats below the navy-yard.

This was done, but the change in the direction of the vessel brought the burning portions to the windward side and the flames swept completely across the decks. The bow of the vessel was in shallow water, and the persons who were on board the boat could jump overboard and wade on shore, but those who were on the stern were compelled to jump into the deep water and risk the chances of swimming to the shore; five persons were drowned,—the Rev. John Mitchelmore, of Lewes, Del., Col. Joseph S. Porter, W. W. Buckley, a merchant of Connecticut, and a lady and child. The boat, with its furniture, was totally destroyed, entailing a loss of seventy thousand dollars.

Information of the death of Gen. Lafayette, at Paris, was received in June. Councils of the city passed resolutions of regret, and resolved that there should be a procession of commemoration on the 21st of July. It was civic in character, participated in by officers of the city and district corporations, members of benevolent societies, and several fire and hose companies. The commemorative exercises were held at Zion Lutheran Church, southeast corner of Fourth and Cherry Streets. A prayer was made by Bishop White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and an oration was delivered by Peter S. Du Ponceau, the friend and military companion of Lafayette during the Revolution.

The dullness of the times, the diminution of wages, and the necessity which existed for reducing the number of mechanics and laborers employed in many industrial pursuits were met by the parties most interested with counter demonstrations. A trades-union society had been established in the city and county in the previous year. According to the counsels of the leading members, a remedy for the distress and pinching necessities of a portion of the people was to shorten the hours of labor, while the remuneration should remain at the old standard. The trades-union resolved that twelve hours ought to be the utmost limit of a day's work, and in that time one hour should be allowed for breakfast and one for dinner. The actual working hours were therefore only ten. But the ultimatum was expressed in the phrase and motto prevalent in the newspapers, chalked on fences, and exposed in the windows and stores of persons who desired the custom and influence of working men, "from six to six." These cabalistic words were seen everywhere. The agitation was kept up with persistence. Meetings were held by various classes of mechanics. Speeches were made, and resolutions passed. The claim was not considered unreasonable on the part of citizens not engaged in mechanical employments. On the contrary, there was a strong feeling that the demand was just, and that the concession ought to be made to toiling men. By degrees the various trades came into this movement. The employers yielded. In June, City Councils directed that the hours from six to six shall be allowed to all persons in public employment.

The feelings of animosity against people of color, which had previously been manifested, were again brought forth conspicuously through an unfortunate circumstance. Robert R. Stewart, who had been United States consul to Trinidad, resided on the east side of Sixth Street, between Prune and Walnut. He had in his service a native African boy, called Juan, who was a native of the Eboe nation, the representatives of which bore the character of being vindictive, revengeful, and easily moved to anger. Juan had been brought to the United States from the West Indies by Mr. Stewart. For some reason not known he determined to take the life of his master. An attack was made upon Stewart while sleeping of an afternoon in his chamber, and the butt end of a hatchet was used in a shocking manner upon the head of that unfortunate gentleman. He was frightfully mutilated and injured, and it was supposed that he would never recover. He did live, and died several years afterwards. Juan attacked Stewart on the 12th of July. A statement of the circumstances in the newspapers of the next day created excitement, and in the evening crowds began to assemble in the neighborhood of Sixth and Locust Streets. The city authorities had learned something from the events of previous years, and a large body of watchmen and police were assembled near the lower portion of the city, in the neighborhood of Sixth, Seventh, Lombard, and South Streets. Crowds began to assemble in that neighborhood, composed of men and half-grown boys, in the early part of the evening. They were dispersed about the neighborhood, talking together, in small groups. Rendered prudent by the presence of the police of the city, they carried their destructive propensities into an adjoining district, and commenced an attack upon houses occupied by colored people in Small Street, between Sixth and Seventh. The inmates were beaten and put to flight, and their furniture destroyed. From this place their ravages were carried upon Seventh and Shippen Streets. Thence the destruction was transferred to "Red Row,"—eight or nine houses on Eighth Street below Shippen. The mob here made a discrimination. All the young colored men that could be found were assaulted, because the young men were generally saucy, but the old men and women of color were not injured. During the proceedings "Red Row" was set on fire, and all the houses were destroyed.

The mob were unrestrained by the presence of police, and from Eighth and Shippen they proceeded to Christian and Ninth Streets, where several brick and frame houses were attacked. Some of these were defended by the owners, and several shots were fired from them, two persons in the mob being wounded. The houses were finally entered, but the residents had escaped. Meanwhile the fire kindled at "Red Row" had been burning, and when the firemen came to perform the duties of their mission

they were opposed by the mob, which attempted to cut their hose and to prevent them from playing on the premises. The firemen persevered, and fought their way, and succeeded in saving all but the house which was first set on fire. Houses in Fitzwater Street were attacked and injured, and, coming back to Shippen Street, fresh assaults were made on buildings which were passed by at the beginning of the disturbances. By these occurrences the colored people in the lower part of the city were frightened to a degree of terror which had not affected them in previous years. On the day afterwards hundreds of families moved out of the neighborhood of the previous day's destruction, or, locking up their houses, sought refuge where they could find it. Numbers of men, women, and children bivouacked in the woods and fields, and several of the fugitives were given shelter in barns and outhouses.

In the evening of Tuesday, the 14th, crowds again began to assemble in the neighborhood of Sixth and South Streets. On the rumor that a house on St. Mary Street was garrisoned by armed blacks the mob proceeded there. The statement was true. Fifty or sixty colored men were in the building, armed with knives, razors, bludgeons, and pistols, besides a great store of bricks and paving-stones placed in the third story to be hurled at an attacking party. These men were desperate, and were rendered savage by the occurrences of the two previous days. The city police force was ready to prevent the assault intended to be made by the whites upon the house, and at the same time were charged with the difficult duty of getting the colored men away in safety. The matter was finally managed, and there were no further disturbances.

The members of the Abolition party were active at this period in the Northern States. They were few in number but greatly in earnest, exceedingly industrious, and ready to adopt any policy which would annoy slave-holders or render the holding of slaves unpopular. The Southern people, passionate and deeply interested in slaves as property, were much excited. There was an equal degree of hostility to abolitionism in the North, partly sympathetic with the Southern people, and partly controlled by prejudice. The Abolition societies were active. They were publishing newspapers, pamphlets, and tracts, in which slave-holders and the practice of slave-holding were attacked by argument, invective, sarcasm, and ridicule. Many citizens not connected in interest with slave-holders believed that from the character of the Southern people, and the continuing perversity of the Abolitionists, dreadful consequences would ensue. In order to assure the Southern people that their rights were respected by others than members of the Abolition societies, a town-meeting was held on the 24th of August at Musical Fund Hall. A series of strong resolutions were presented by Robert T. Conrad. They deprecated agitation upon the sub-

ject of slavery, censured the formation of Abolition societies as unwise and dangerous and menacing to the peace of the Union, pledged the friendship and sympathy of the citizens of Philadelphia to the South, and declared that they regarded "the dissemination of incendiary publications through the slave States with indignation and horror." A circumstance which unexpectedly happened on the day succeeding gave to the persons who were prominent at this meeting an opportunity to prove their sincerity. On the arrival of a steamboat from New York, a wooden box, directed to a citizen of Philadelphia, was accidentally broken open by laborers. To the dismay of those who examined the box "it was found to be stuffed with incendiary publications." There were packages of the *Liberator*, of *Human Rights*, *The Slave's Friend*, and other papers and publications directed to persons in the Southern States. The officers of the meeting of the night previous were apprised of the grave circumstances, and they consulted with each other as to what had best be done. The person to whom the box was directed was waited upon. He denied all knowledge of the package, where it came from, or who sent it, and surrendered all rights that he might have in it to the committee. Upon this the latter, with about one hundred other persons, went to the transportation office, and upon a vote being taken, it was decided to carry the box out upon the river Delaware, where its contents should be destroyed. This sentence was solemnly performed. The *Liberators* and the *Slave's Friend*, etc., were consigned to the waters. "The whole affair," said the *Pennsylvania Inquirer*, "was conducted in a spirit which exhibited a fixed purpose to resist everything like the circulation of incendiarism of any description, and at the same time to avoid any improper excitement among ourselves."

John Marshall, chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, died at the boarding-house of Mrs. Crim, in Walnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth, on the 6th of July. He had been in the city a short time, and was expected to return to Virginia, but was not able to proceed in consequence of sickness. The information of his death was contained in the newspapers of the 7th. On the afternoon of the same day a town-meeting of citizens was held, of which Bishop William White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was president, Benjamin R. Morgan and Thomas M. Pettit vice-presidents, and Nicholas Biddle and Judge Edward King secretaries. Resolutions were passed expressive of sorrow and of admiration for the character of the deceased, "that as he has died in the midst of this community, it feels itself as specially called upon to express its sentiments of respect for his memory. And as the citizens of Philadelphia would have rejoiced to meet him in life with every mark of hospitality, they will extend to his honored remains the testimony of their unfeigned veneration." They resolved that they would form a funeral procession, to move from the late residence of the deceased

to the place of the embarkation of his body. On the same day the members of the bar held a meeting, Peter S. Du Ponceau being chairman and Justice Charles Smith, of the Supreme Court, being secretary. Resolutions of admiration for the character of the late chief justice were passed, and it was recommended to the bar of the United States to co-operate in erecting a monument to his memory at some suitable place in the city of Washington. A committee of thirty members of the bar, William Rawle being president, was appointed to carry out this design and to confer with their brethren in other parts of the Union in carrying the resolution into effect.¹

At the bar meeting a committee, consisting of Associate Justice Baldwin, of the Supreme Court, Richard Peters, Jr., John Sergeant, William Rawle, Jr., Thomas I. Wharton, and Edward D. Ingraham, was appointed to accompany the remains of Chief Justice Marshall to the city of Richmond, and to attend the funeral there. John Sergeant was requested to deliver an eulogium upon the character of the deceased.

City Councils at special meeting also passed resolutions of regret, and determined to attend the remains of the lamented deceased beyond the borders of Pennsylvania, and that the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and citizens be invited to assist in paying this tribute of respect to his distinguished character and services. Horace Binney was invited to pronounce an eulogium on the character of the chief justice. The American Philosophical Society requested Judge Joseph Hopkinson to prepare an obituary notice.

On the morning of July 8th, about five o'clock, the remains of Chief Justice Marshall were removed from Mrs. Crim's boarding-house, and, attended by city officers and Councils, members of the bar and citizens, were carried by the most direct route to the steamboat lying at the foot of Chestnut Street wharf. The mayor and Councils and many citizens went down with the boat as far as New Castle, and the bar committee traveled to Richmond. Mr. Binney's oration was delivered at Musical Fund Hall, on the 24th of September.

On the 21st of March, City Councils passed an ordinance "for the construction and management of the Philadelphia Gas-Works." Thus was effected the solution of a controversy which had been carried on for

many years. The first inflammable gas used for illuminating purposes was made in 1796, by Michael Ambrose & Co., Italian fire-workers, who had an amphitheatre for exhibitions on Arch Street between Eighth and Ninth. They displayed representations of temples, masonic emblems, and allegorical devices, which they said were produced by "inflammable air, with the assistance of light." J. C. Henfrey, in 1803, made a proposition to Councils to light the city by gas-lights burned in high towers. James McMurtrie, in 1817, petitioned Councils for liberty to introduce gas-lighting.

In 1816, Dr. Charles Kugler exhibited to the public at Peale's Museum, in the State-House, "gas-lights, lamps burning without wick or oil." This effect it was said was produced "with carbonated hydrogen gas, on a new and improved plan." This lighting took place in April. The effect was so satisfactory that Warren & Wood, of the new theatre, introduced the gas-lights at the fall season, commencing November 25th of the same year. Dr. Kugler was not a practicing physician, although he had received a scientific education. He was a member of the firm of Pratt & Kugler, merchants. William Henry, copper-smith and tinsmith, constructed the apparatus for the use of the gas at the museum and theatre. He was so well satisfied with the result of his work that he put up a gas apparatus in his own house, 200 Lombard Street, near Seventh, and invited City Councils to witness the effect. This was the first private dwelling illuminated by gas in the United States. The Councils committee reported next year that they had examined the gas-lights at the museum and theatre, and, whilst not taking any present action, recommended that a standing committee on gas should be appointed to learn something more upon the subject, and report from time to time. Peale continued to light his museum with gas until the spring of 1818. His manufactory was in a small closet under the steps in the great hall leading to the upper floors of the State-House building. Here he had a furnace and apparatus, and the establishment being considered dangerous, objection was made to its further continuance, and he thereupon ceased that method of illumination.

The use of gas-lights at Masonic Hall was brought to a sudden close by the burning of that building on the 9th of March, 1819. When the hall was rebuilt in 1822 the Grand Lodge erected a new gas-works. As the new Chestnut Street Theatre was also being built about the same time, it is probable that the petition presented by the Grand Lodge in 1822, asking permission to lay pipes on streets to furnish other consumers than themselves, was principally governed by an expectation of furnishing light to the theatre. Councils refused the privilege asked for. The theatre was not supplied, and predictions were freely made that gas as an illuminator would soon go out of use. For many years Masonic Hall was the only public building in

¹ The amount realized was small. Little response was made outside of Philadelphia, and the total collections were discouraging. The gentlemen who held the trust managed it with fidelity, and continual investment of the interest added to the principal. In the course of forty-seven years the fund had increased to such an amount that it was considered the time had come to carry out the resolution of 1835. Peter McCall, the last survivor of the committee of thirty, held the fund. At his death the papers and securities were found by his executors. The Law Association of Philadelphia taking the place of the departed trustees, all of whom had been members of that society, petitioned Congress in 1883 for the erection of the monumental statue in memory of Chief Justice Marshall at the city of Washington. As nearly the whole cost was to be supplied from the Philadelphia fund, there was no difficulty about the passage of the resolution, and the necessary authority of Congress was given.

Philadelphia which was lighted with gas. There was about this period a tavern on Second Street near Dock, called the "Gas-light Tavern," which was the only other building illuminated in that way.

In 1825 an effort was made to induce the Legislature to pass a bill to incorporate the Philadelphia Gas-Light Company, with authority to manufacture and furnish gas and lay pipes in the streets. Councils were aroused, and the proposition was opposed. A writer in the *United States Gazette* denounced the project of lighting by gas to be "a folly, unsafe, unsure, a trouble, and a nuisance. Common lamps take the shine off all gas-lights that ever exhaled their intolerable stench." Other writers denounced gas as an unpleasant nuisance, and the influence against it was sufficient to prevent the passage of the act of incorporation.

Henry Robinson and Robert Carey Long, who were concerned, with others, in schemes for lighting Baltimore with gas, requested authority, in November, 1826, to introduce that plan of illumination into Philadelphia, and were willing to make a contract with the corporation. The Councils committee reported favorably to the plan. But doubt was expressed whether it was expedient to confide such a matter to individuals. There was risk of failure; it would be better, it was thought, for the city to manufacture the gas. A committee was appointed to make the necessary inquiries. In the succeeding year the committee reported in favor of the proposition of Robinson & Long, and recommended that a contract be made with them. Common Council adopted the recommendation unanimously; but the other chamber was not as eager, and the proposition languished for want of ratification.

The application for a charter was renewed in 1828, but was again refused by Councils. In October, 1830, a public meeting was called for the purpose of urging Councils to take into consideration a plan for the introduction of gas-lights into the city. The committee representing the persons interested in this meeting said, "This brilliant and economical method of illuminating the public streets and public and private buildings has long since been adopted in many of the principal cities of Europe with entire success, and several places on this side of the Atlantic have followed the example. It has often been a matter of astonishment that the beautiful city of Philadelphia should have been suffered to slumber so long in comparative darkness." These parties offered to light a portion of the city gratis if the privilege was granted of laying down the pipes in the streets. Common Council voted to appoint a joint committee on the subject, but Select Council was not prepared, and laid the proposition on the table.

Peter A. Browne, in April, 1831, petitioned Councils for authority to lay down pipes upon Carpenter Street and Lodge Alley, crossing Seventh Street, to be connected with the gas-works of the Masonic Hall. This

permission was sought for the purpose of lighting the Arcade. A report was made in favor of granting this privilege in Common Council, and authority was given by the vote of both chambers, but the plan was not carried out. In November of the succeeding year memorials were introduced to Councils asking that the corporation of the city of Philadelphia would erect suitable works for the supply of gas for lighting the public streets and private houses. They represented that there could be no danger in the work, that the experience of other cities in Europe and in the United States proved that every reasonable objection could be avoided, and that in time the works would yield a large profit to the city from the sales of gas to private consumers. As usual, Councils listened and deliberated.

A year elapsed before the committee appointed on the subject was able to report. On that occasion a much more elaborate examination was given to the subject than at any previous time. The committee reported estimates of the cost of proper buildings, gas-holders, retorts, furnaces, main pipe, and four hundred lamp-posts, altogether sixty-six thousand seven hundred dollars, without considering the value of a lot of ground for the works, it being proposed to use the buildings and lot of the old city water-works at Chestnut Street, Schuylkill. The estimate was that gas might be manufactured and supplied at three dollars and fifty cents per one thousand cubic feet, exclusive of the interest to capital and salaries to officers. The gas-rate of sale would be higher to consumers. In the city of New York at that time gas was sold to citizens at seven dollars per one thousand feet.

On the 1st of January, 1833, the committee presented a further report embodying statements and estimates, and recommended that the gas-works should be built and managed by the city corporation. Remonstrances began to be presented with freedom. One of these papers protested against "the plan now in agitation of lighting the city with gas as one of the most inexpedient, offensive, and dangerous nature; in saying this we believe we are fully sustained by the accounts of explosion, loss of life, and great destruction of property where this mode of lighting has been adopted. We consider gas to be an article as ignitable as gunpowder and nearly as fatal in its effects." The manufacture was represented to be dangerous. The discharge of refuse from the works would poison the water of the Delaware and Schuylkill, and cause "the destruction of the immense shoal of shad, herring, and other fish with which they abound." Appended was a list of accidents and injuries produced by the use of gas by explosion, fires, destruction of fish, etc. Another report on the subject, in which the objections of the signers of the remonstrance were explained or refuted, was made in March. Many testimonials were submitted from persons in places where gas was used, with explanations of the true facts in relation to the

supposed objections and references to cases of disaster.

The matter lingered. In February, Mark Richards and James J. Rush sent a communication to Councils stating that they were authorized by a company of gentlemen who were willing to undertake to manufacture gas to light four lamps in each square free of charge if authority was given, with privilege to supply lights to private consumers. Further petitions and remonstrances were presented, and among others was one which suggested that Councils should send to Europe "a person from previous pursuits well qualified to examine, understand, and report on the highly diversified manufacture of gas in the different countries in which it is used on a large scale." Prof. Robert Hare, of the University of Pennsylvania, sent a communication to Councils in October, 1833, in which he declared it to be his opinion "that it would be inexpedient for a corporation of a city to assume the business directly, and upon the whole, for one I would rather be without gas than to endure the inconvenience of attending its introduction." On the other hand a gas company would be a monopoly. In 1834, D. B. Lee and W. Beach made a proposition to light the city by lamps placed on the top of a tower or towers. The illumination to be by gas "obtained by burning tar, pitch, and rosin over a hot fire of anthracite coal. The light was to be placed at the top of the tower in a glass lantern or case. On a large tower the lantern should be from ten to twenty feet in height, and flaming from a diameter of from three to five feet from the bottom to twelve or fifteen feet at the upper end. They expressed the opinion that the whole city could be lighted from one tower three hundred feet in height.

Finally in extreme prudence Councils adopted the resolution that a person of scientific knowledge should be sent to Europe as agent of the city to examine into the methods of manufacturing gas there, and to obtain all the information possible as to the effects of gas-lighting. Samuel V. Merrick was intrusted with that duty, and he returned in December, 1834, with a very favorable report. He declared that gas-lighting was superior to any other method of illumination. That the manufacture of gas could be carried on profitably and safely. That the fears and objections of many were groundless. That all danger from explosion could be obviated by care in the construction and connections of pipes. That the works should be constructed upon a moderate scale with capacity of future extension, and that the city ought to own a manufactory.

On the 21st of March, 1835, Select Council passed unanimously, and Common Council nineteen for and two against, an ordinance for the construction and management of the Philadelphia Gas-Works. It was directed that one hundred thousand dollars should be raised in shares of one hundred dollars each, the money payable in the city treasury. For these in-

terest certificates were to be granted by the mayor, countersigned by the city treasurer, stating the amount of the subscription, pledging to the holder the faith of the city for ultimate redemption of the loan with interest, subject to the right of Councils at any time to take possession of the works, and to convert the stock into a loan. Twelve trustees were to manage the works. They were divided at first into classes of one year, two years, and three years, and thereafter four trustees were to be elected annually to serve for three years. It was declared to be the duty of the trustees forthwith to construct suitable works for the manufacture of carburetted hydrogen gas from bituminous coal, and to lay pipes for its distribution through the city. The works were to be on a scale competent to manufacture seventy-five thousand cubic feet of gas daily. For the purpose of the construction of the works a lot of ground belonging to the city was assigned, bounded north by Filbert Street, east by Schuylkill Front Street, south by Market Street, and west by the river Schuylkill. In October the trustees reported their rules and regulations in regard to the manner of supplying gas and the method in which it should be introduced into houses. The price determined upon was \$3.50 per thousand cubic feet, with a discount of five per cent. upon the amount of all bills paid within three days after presentation. The works were finished and put in operation on the 8th of February, 1836. Up to that time there had only been applications for nineteen private services and for forty-six public burners. Only two stores were fitted up so as to be able to illuminate as soon as the gas was supplied. On the 1st of July, 1841, the city took advantage of its right to buy out the stockholders. There were paid one hundred and seventy-three thousand dollars in certificates of loan, and for their security there was a guarantee offered to the loan-holders that the trustee system with which the works started should be maintained for the benefit of the loan-holders. This contract in later years was found to be an obstacle to the city in endeavors to take possession of the works and oust the trustees. It was a guarantee which could not be broken. Another oversight continued the trustee system long after it ought to have expired. Either by inadvertence or purposely it is not known which, the new loans for the extension of the gas-works were for many years issued in the same terms as those originally given to the stockholders of the gas company. There was a guarantee in the certificates that the trustee system should be retained, although the persons loaning the moneys contracted on the faith of the city, and not because trustees were placed in power at the works. The form of certificate was then changed, but it had to be maintained until the last loan with the trustee guarantee could be paid off. This event is expected to happen in 1885.

The original works at Schuylkill Front and Market

Streets were enlarged from time to time until there was no more space for accommodation. The trustees purchased a tract of land of twenty acres near Point Breeze, to which other additions were afterward made. Here there were extensive buildings, gas-holders, and other constructions. The great telescopic gas-holder was one hundred and sixty-five feet in diameter and ninety-five feet high, and could be extended to its greatest height by three sections, sliding into each other. This establishment, afterward called Point Breeze, or Twenty-sixth Ward Works, were put into operation on the 13th of December, 1854. Subsequently large works were erected on the Delaware River at Port Richmond by the trustees. In Spring Garden, by virtue of an ordinance passed by the District Commissioners Sept. 7, 1846, the erection of gas-works near the river Schuylkill at the intersection of Twenty-sixth Street was authorized. The works were so far completed by the end of 1847 that some gas was manufactured. They were considered to be finished in the spring of 1851.

In the Northern Liberties an ordinance to establish the Northern Liberties Gas-Works was passed by the commissioners March 15, 1838. Subsequently the stockholders were incorporated as the Northern Liberties Gas Company, April 1, 1844. The capital was two hundred thousand dollars. This company supplied the gas manufactured at its works on Laurel Street, near Frankford road, at the intersection of Cohocksink Creek, and was the source of supply of gas to public and private consumers in Northern Liberties and Kensington. Other gas-works were established at Manayunk and at Frankford. A company was chartered to introduce gas into Southwark, but it occupied only the position of a huckster, purchasing gas supplied from the city works and retailing it at a profit to consumers.

Boat clubs for rowing purposes were established about 1833. Four-oared, six-oared, and eight-oared barges, each carrying a cockswain, were the favorite shapes. These associations were first seen in exercise upon the Delaware. But, after some experience of the rough water and difficulties and dangers incident to commerce which rendered the river unfavorable for ordinary rowing, the barge clubs took to the Upper Schuylkill above Fairmount. The first boats in use on that stream belonged to the "Imp" and "Blue Devil" clubs. They were each manned by eight oarsmen and a cockswain. The "Imp" was a long, dark boat, and the uniform of the crew was white trousers, red-and-white-striped shirts, and close red Grecian caps. The "Blue Devil" was painted blue with a white stripe. The crew wore white pantaloons, blue-and-white-striped shirts, and small, round hats. These inaugurated boat-racing on the Schuylkill on the 14th of April, 1835. The novelty of the contest attracted several thousand persons to the banks of the river, some coming in carriages and some on foot, and they occupied every available place

of lookout. The course was from Fairmount to Belmont, estimated to be nearly three miles. The race was won by the "Imp" coming in ahead of the "Blue Devil" about forty yards in eleven minutes' time. A stand of colors and a silver oar were the prizes assigned to the winning crew. The success of this race stimulated preparations for a regatta. There were ten boats on the Schuylkill, and material sufficient for a fine display. The time fixed for the first regatta was the 12th of November. There were two classes of boats. The first embraced the "Cleopatra," "Falcon," "Sylph," "Blue Devil," "Metamora," "Aurora," and "Imp"; all of eight oars. The second class was composed of six-oared boats, the "Ariel," "Nymph," "Dolphin," and "Neptune." The course was up the Schuylkill to a point and return. The "Ariel" took the first prize for the second class, a silver cup, and the "Nymph" the second prize, a flag presented by Mr. Debaufre. The first-class prize was a very handsome boat named "The Prize." It was won by the "Cleopatra" in twenty minutes' time. The "Falcon" followed in twenty and a half minutes and took a silver pitcher, while the "Sylph" won a silver goblet, presented by the theatrical manager, F. C. Wemyss, of the Walnut Street Theatre. This festival brought to the shores of the Schuylkill more persons than were ever assembled on its banks before. From Fairmount to Belmont, on both shores, the heights and vantage-places were crowded. Large numbers of spectators came on horseback and in gigs and wagons and coaches, the number present being several thousand, and the event being also considered by some persons sufficient to justify a cessation of business for the day.

On the 18th of February, 1836, the General Assembly passed a law to incorporate the stockholders of the National Bank of the United States, excepting the government of the United States and the Treasurer of the United States, as the "president, directors, and company of the Bank of the United States." The corporation was to continue until March 3, 1866. No note was allowed to be issued by the bank for less than ten dollars. The capital was to remain as before under the charter of Congress, thirty-five million dollars. This action had been vigorously urged on behalf of the stockholders of the bank from the time that it became apparent, after the veto of the first bank bill by President Jackson, that a Federal re-charter could not be obtained. It was urged in favor of the continuance of the operations of the institution that winding it up would produce great financial difficulty and distress which would be highly injurious to the business interests of the community, and that the continuance of the operations of the bank with its great capital was necessary for the public good. The Democrats, fully imbued with the Jackson hostility against banks, were violent in expressions of opposition, and when the bill was passed their denunciations were warm and vigorous. Jesse R.

Burden, member of the Assembly from the county, who had been a prominent Democratic politician, and was exceedingly popular with members of the party, voted on this occasion for the bank bill, a proceeding which caused the bitterest feeling. His course was denounced passionately. The indignation culminated in a procession in which effigies of Burden and one of his Democratic companions who also voted for the bill were carried. Marching to the sound of the "Rogue's March," played by fifers and drummers, the party repaired to Southwark. On an open lot between houses on the west side of Second Street the effigies were hanged, and a great fire being kindled under them, they were consumed amidst the plaudits of the crowd. Burden, in a letter to the Commissioners of Southwark explaining his position, admitted that in 1834 he was opposed to the recharter of the National Bank. But he declared that he was anxious at the same time for the creation of a great State institution, and that at the period he joined with many other Democrats who were opponents of the United States Bank in a petition to the Legislature for the charter of a State bank of ten million dollars capital. The privilege which was granted by the commonwealth was required to be paid for at a good round price, much more, in fact, than subsequent occurrences showed that the franchise was worth. The conditions were that the bank should pay into the treasury two million dollars as a bonus for the favor, the payments extending over ten years, the money to be appropriated for common-school purposes. The institution was also required to loan to the State six million dollars, and purchases of stocks in several railroad, canal, and turnpike companies were stipulated for. Out of the two million dollars bonus to be paid by the bank appropriations were made to several turnpike companies and toward the State canal improvements. The stockholders of the bank were prompt in accepting the provisions of the act. Nicholas Biddle, president of the National Bank of the United States, offered his resignation about the beginning of March. It was accepted by a unanimous vote, and it was resolved that in memory of his services a valuable set of silver plate should be presented to him. This was afterward done. The set was made in magnificent style, the value being represented at thirty thousand dollars. Mr. Biddle was at once elected president of the State Bank of the United States, which went into operation on the 4th of March.

Gen. William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, who had been spoken of as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, visited the city in July. It was arranged that he should be received with marks of distinction. Numbers of Whigs congregated at the steamboat wharf where "the Hero of Tippecanoe" was expected to arrive. A fine barouche with four horses was prepared to carry him to his hotel. The animals became excited in consequence of the shouts

and huzzas of the crowd after they had proceeded a short distance, and were restive and threatened an accident. In this emergency they were taken out of the harness, and the people who were following the carriage took their places. Ropes were obtained and men took hold of the line. It was not long enough to accommodate all who were willing to take part in this strange proceeding. Cries of "More rope!" were heard above all the noise of the accompanying procession. The line was lengthened from time to time, and when the carriage reached the United States Hotel, in which Gen. Harrison was to be lodged, there were several hundred persons who had hold of it. The circumstance created much amusement among the Democrats, and furnished them with a taunting catch-word which was used sarcastically for many years. "More rope" was an epithet of derision which sometimes led to resentment and fights. During his continuance in this city Gen. Harrison was received by his friends at Independence Hall, at Commissioners' Hall, Northern Liberties, and other places.

The district of Southwark was divided into five wards by act of March 31st. The division-line was the centre of Third Street from South to the line of the Southwark Railroad, on Prime Street or Washington Avenue. The First Ward lay east of this line, between the middle of South Street and the middle of Catharine Street. Immediately adjoining to the south was the Second Ward, which took in the remaining ground as far as the Southwark Railroad. West of the centre of Third Street, extending to the district boundary-line on Passyunk road, was the Third Ward, between South and Catharine Streets, and the Fourth Ward between Catharine Street and the railroad. The Fifth Ward included all the ground in the district south of the centre of the Southwark Railroad and between the Delaware and the western line of the district.

In June, as noted on a previous page, an act of Assembly was passed which placed upon the county of Philadelphia liability for the payment of damages in case of the destruction of the property by mobs or riots. The losses on property destroyed in the riots before this time were borne by the owners. There was no provision for compensation. The act allowing an inquiry into the circumstances of the destruction of Robb's Row and the payment of damages thereon was the first attempt to make the community responsible for the preservation of the peace. In after-years the operation of this law was found to be important. A large amount of valuable property was destroyed in various riots, the most noted of which was the burning of Pennsylvania Hall in 1838, and during the Native American riots of 1844-45.

By the will of Dr. Jonas Preston, who died in 1836, a new charity was provided for. In the document referred to he expressed his opinion "that a lying-in hospital for indigent married women of good character ought to be established in the city of Philadelphia, which would be distinct and unconnected with any

other hospital, where such females may be received and be provided with proper obstetric aid for their delivery, and with suitable attendants and comfort during the period of their confinement." Mr. Preston bequeathed a large portion of his estate for the support of such a hospital "when established and incorporated." In consequence, John Sergeant, Joseph Parker Norris, and about one hundred other persons associated themselves as the society to carry out the will of the donor. The Legislature by act of June 16, 1836, incorporated these persons as "The Preston Retreat," with provisions for the increase of the corporation by the admission of contributors. A visiting committee was directed to be appointed annually "of not less than twelve respectable females" residing in the city or county of Philadelphia, or the county of Delaware. Women patients only were to be admitted who were residents of those districts. The time for their remaining under the care of the institution was four weeks, with power to increase it to twelve weeks in case of necessity.

The great benefits which were expected to follow the chartering of the United States Bank as a State institution were not realized. The banks which had expanded their issues were drawing them in, greatly to the annoyance and distress of many of their debtors. There were also political movements connected with the pressure, which were caused by the action of the Federal United States government, and followed the war which had been waged against the Bank of the United States. Under the "Treasury Circular," or the "Specie Circular," as it was indifferently called, it was ordered that the land-office of the United States should receive no payments for purchases of public lands unless they were in gold or silver. This regulation required the payment of coin, and frequently occasioned large drafts upon the banks. Over-importation of foreign goods caused heavy exportation of coin to Europe. Under all these circumstances business failures were made frequent. Trade was dull. Thousands of persons were out of employment, and the collection of debts was a difficult matter. The banks stood up against these obstacles until the 10th of May, when those institutions established in New York City suspended specie payments. The news was received in Philadelphia by mail upon the evening of the same day, and the next morning, May 11th, the banks of Philadelphia suspended, and they were followed in that action by the banks all over the country. The circumstances created dismay. The difficulties likely to result for the want of currency, especially small change, were at once anticipated. The specie in circulation it was foreseen would command a premium, under the stimulus of which the retirement of coin would be a matter of necessity. In this emergency the Councils of the city were petitioned by citizens to issue notes for purposes of furnishing a currency of the denomination of twenty-five and fifty cents, and one, two, or three dollars.

The finance committee, to which these petitions were referred, took cognizance of the subject at once. They reported on the same evening, May 11th, an "ordinance for raising supplies and making appropriations for the year 1837." Appropriations were by this bill authorized to be made for various objects, and the mayor was empowered to borrow the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, "in such amounts and at such times" as the committee on finance should direct, the same to be redeemable in one year, and the certificates bearing an interest of one per cent. Within two days notes of twenty-five and fifty cents and upwards, printed in blue ink, were issued and immediately went into circulation, passing from hand to hand as coin might do. The example of the city was followed with little delay by the Commissioners of Northern Liberties, Spring Garden, Kensington, and Southwark, and the Commissioners of the county of Philadelphia. By these means some relief was effected. The example of the municipal corporations was, however, a bad one. They had power to borrow money, but none to issue notes in resemblance of a currency. Necessity, it was argued, caused the illegal course to be taken and justified it. Their course was immediately followed by certain corporations lately created, which were called Savings and Loan Companies. They also went largely into the issue of circulating notes. Their authority to do so was doubtful, but they argued that they had permission by charter to loan money, and this was only a loaning of money in small sums. The chartered companies were soon assisted in the work of pushing out a paper currency by various companies which were not incorporated. They took occasion of the public necessity to put into circulation notes of five, six and a quarter, ten, and twelve and a half cents and upward. Specie retired entirely from circulation, being a matter of purchase and sale by brokers. Even the old red cent became scarce. Distressing consequences followed the bank suspensions. It was estimated that there were three hundred mercantile failures in New York City in 1837, involving the loss of some millions of dollars. In Philadelphia there were insolvencies and general suffering. Rents went down, wages were reduced, prices fell, and the injury was universal.

Up to this time the navigation of the river Delaware in winter, when ice prevailed, was left to chance. The Philadelphia Steam Tow-Boat Company was the first to interfere with the solid reign of winter. It was established under a charter granted in 1832, but did not get into full operation for two or three years afterward. The boats were stanch and strong, and were able to contend with floating ice successfully. But frequently they were embarrassed in the effort to tow vessels by the freezing of the courses which they had made in channels before they could return to open them. In 1837 petitions were sent to Councils asking that the city would make an appropriation for the

purpose of building an ice-boat and keeping it in order for winter service. A town-meeting aided in producing the desired effect. An appropriation was made and work on the boat commenced at once, and prosecuted with such diligence that the vessel was launched in August, and was fully ready for duty by the middle of December.

On the 19th of May, James Moran was executed, under a conviction for murder, on the high seas, of Capt. Smith, of the schooner "William Wirt," on the 22d of November, 1836. This vessel was bound from Boston for Rio Janeiro. Moran had shipped on board as a seaman. A quarrel between the captain and Moran, about three days before the murder was committed, was followed by the striking of the latter by Ward, the mate. Moran having gone below was confined there for some time, and becoming free, was taken and lashed down and scantily fed with biscuits and salt. On the third day he was released in the afternoon and ordered to duty. During the following night Moran went into the captain's cabin and stabbed the latter seriously. Ward, the mate, was also assaulted and killed and his body thrown overboard. The captain lingered. Moran and Estevan Garcia, a Spanish sailor who had enlisted with him, practically took command of the vessel. Subsequently Garcia was killed by Charles Reyman, a sailor, and James Johnson, and his body thrown overboard. This was done at the instigation of Moran. Finally Reyman, Johnson, and Hart, the cook, united to overcome Moran. He was overpowered and secured. These men then undertook to navigate the vessel. The captain was not yet dead, and being brought up from below, he was strong enough to give orders, by which a vessel passing near was hailed. Some of the crew came on board and finally showed the way to Pernambuco, the "Wirt" being steered by the course of the other vessel. Capt. Smith died about six days after the arrival at that port. Moran was convicted in the United States Circuit Court, before Judge Baldwin, on the 27th of April, and sentenced to death. He had been confined in the Eastern Penitentiary. On the day of the execution he was taken thence, under guard of a company of the United States marines from the navy-yard. The gallows were erected about the middle of Schuylkill Sixth [Seventeenth] Street at the intersection of Green Street. The execution was seen by thousands of spectators. It was the last public execution in Philadelphia.

For the encouragement of trade it was argued by certain persons that much good would result from the establishment of a public warehouse for the inspection and storage of tobacco. The wholesale trade in this article had not been large. The reason was asserted to be the want of proper accommodations for the business, a result of which was that large quantities of tobacco were passing through the city to other places where there were sufficient preparations. Un-

der this stimulus it was resolved that a public tobacco inspection warehouse should be built on the city lot, part of the old draw-bridge property, bounded by Spruce, Little Dock, and Dock Streets. At the same time a row of fine stores was built on Front Street. The tobacco inspection and storage warehouse was a solid, large building, suitable in strength and capacity to every demand of the trade. It was finished shortly afterward, and occupied at the beginning for the purposes intended with seeming prospects of success. Gradually the trade fell off, and in a few years the premises were abandoned altogether for the purposes for which they had been built.

A convention to consider amendments to the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania had been authorized by the vote of the people. City Councils offered to provide that body with accommodations if it should come to the city. The proposition was accepted. Musical Fund Hall was hired for the purpose. The meeting-room was in the second story; the first story was occupied by committees and officers of the convention. This body remained in session several weeks, and having agreed upon the instrument known as the Constitution of Feb. 22, 1838, adjourned.

A false alarm in the autumn created much excitement in the community and throughout the country, the incidents of which, considered with reference to the cause, were quite ludicrous. By some means a rumor was put into circulation that the packet-ship "Susquehanna," belonging to Cope's Liverpool Line, which left the port of Philadelphia about the middle of October, was captured just outside the capes of the Delaware by "a long low black schooner," sailed by pirates. The most wonderful stories were told of the strange movements of the corsair and the confusion which was observable on board the ship. The "Susquehanna" bore a valuable cargo, and many well-known and respected citizens were passengers. Acts of piracy had been unknown upon the Atlantic for many years. The sea was considered as safe for vessels as the crowded streets of a city in daytime to the unoffending person. On the reception of the "news," which came to the city by express, great consternation followed. At Wilmington the revenue cutter "Gallatin" was at once prepared for immediate service. Commodore Stewart, at the Philadelphia navy-yard, detailed a detachment of officers and men for immediate service. Lieut. Dale was in command of this party, which was taken to Wilmington by the steamboat "Pioneer" on the same night. As soon as they reached the "Gallatin" that vessel sailed in quest of the marauder. On the next day a meeting of mechanics and citizens was held at the Exchange, at which William D. Lewis presided, and Judge King, of the Common Pleas, made a speech. An executive committee was at once appointed to take measures to regain possession of the ship, relieve the passengers and crew, and punish the authors of the outrage. The employment of the steamship "Charleston" was

advocated, but the vessel was found to be in no condition for a long and dangerous cruise. Instead the pilot-boat "William Price" was armed and equipped, under the command of Lieut. Ritchie, of the navy, and manned with a crew of volunteers, captains and mates of ships, with some men from the navy-yard. This vessel was towed to the capes by the steam tow-boat "Delaware" in a few hours. The United States brig "Porpoise," schooner "Active," and cutter "Alert" were sent out from New York to cruise for the pirate, and at the same port, in order to prevent new outrages, the United States brig "Pioneer" conveyed a fleet to sea. While these measures were in progress there were some peculiar proceedings in the city. As soon as the "outrage" was announced certain knowing persons jumped at once to the conclusion that such a transaction as the carrying off of the vessel could not have occurred unless the parties connected with it had the assistance of accomplices in the city. Rumors flew fast, and as a result one gentleman fell under suspicion, was arrested and brought before a magistrate for examination. Nothing appeared against him, but he was held to bail for a further hearing. The vessels sent out to the rescue of the "Susquehanna" returned in a few days without further information either as to the fate of the ship or the whereabouts of the "long low black schooner." A voyage to Europe at that time was a matter of three or four weeks for sailing-ships each way. It was not until the beginning of January ensuing before information was received by a steamer from England in the ordinary ship news that the "Susquehanna" had arrived at Liverpool about the proper time, the passengers and crew being entirely ignorant of the excitement created on their behalf. On the return of the ship it was learned that there had been no suspicion of her danger. Off the Five Fathoms Bank, outside of the bay, an oyster-boat had been signaled to come alongside. Several bushels of this shell-fish had been transferred to the "Susquehanna" for use during the voyage. "The long low black schooner" turned out to be a harmless oyster-boat, and the confusion on board the ship was only caused by the desire of the crew to hoist up safely on board every one of the allotted bivalves.

The effects of the bank suspensions of 1837 continued during the remainder of that year and a portion of 1838. Generally, the Legislatures of the Eastern States were hostile to the measure, and desired a return to specie payments, enforcement of which was not resolved upon in consequence of the fear of injury to the people. The Legislature of New York, however, determined that the banks of that State should return to specie payments, and by law the 13th of August was fixed for resumption. Under these circumstances the banks of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Kentucky, and Missouri resolved to resume on the same day. In other States such action was

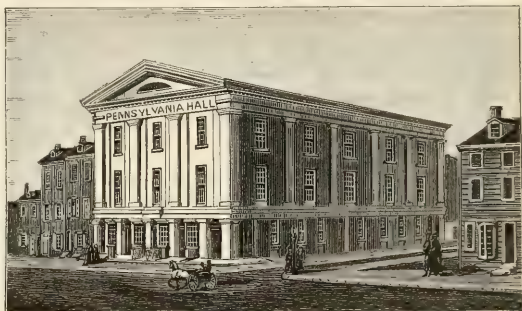
not taken, and the bank currency was not redeemed. As a necessary consequence the currency of the States in which resumption had taken place was in demand, and redemption in coin sought as a matter of prudence as well as speculation. The effort of the banks was to limit the circulation of their notes as much as possible. The liability to demands for specie was much beyond the necessities of ordinary times, so that it was prudent to limit the bank issues to the actual ability of redemption dollar for dollar.

The municipal officers found that their necessities had by this time become greater than the accommodation. The construction of a new city hall was urged for the use of the municipal government. Immediately there arose a controversy between the advocates of particular localities for the sites of the buildings. Some of these only looked to public necessities and accommodation, but those who were most active were interested for or against the various sites that were spoken of. The lot at the southeast corner of Walnut and Sixth Streets, formerly occupied by the County Prison, had some advocates among property-owners in that neighborhood, who dreaded the consequences of the removal of the courts and city and county offices from the vicinity. But the greatest pressure came from the western part of the city, and took the shape of recommendations that a city hall should be erected on the northwest section of Penn Square. Common Council adopted a resolution, in which it was stated that the proposed construction would cost a million of dollars, and would materially change the course of business by removal of the public offices in the neighborhood of Chestnut, Fifth, and Sixth Streets. It was resolved that the question should be submitted to a formal vote of citizens. Select Council did not agree to this, and so the matter fell through. The Centre Square had been dedicated by Penn as a place for public buildings, and Councils had a right to place the city hall there. But in caution it may be supposed, legislative authority was obtained in the act of April 16th, which gave the city corporation authority to erect the city hall on any part of the Penn Square, the building to be under the control of the city government, and the expense paid for out of the city treasury, provided that if the county of Philadelphia had any legal claim to the square the consent of the county commissioners should first be obtained.

In the year 1837 the societies for promoting the abolition of slavery had become sufficiently established to require some better means of enforcing their peculiar doctrines than had yet been allowed them. It was almost impossible for them to obtain places for holding their meetings without difficulty, and some of the leading persons of the party determined that they would have a hall of their own. A large lot of ground at the southwest corner of Sixth and Haines Streets, below Race, was purchased by a joint-stock company, the members of which were chiefly abolitionists. Upon this ground they built a fine and ca-

capacious building, which they dedicated to free discussion, and called "Pennsylvania Hall." The lot was sixty-two feet front by one hundred feet deep. The building was forty-two feet high. Stores, offices, and committee-rooms occupied the first story. The second story was the grand meeting saloon, occupying the entire width and length of the building, and having capacious galleries. It was estimated that three thousand persons could be accommodated with seats in that hall. The fixtures and furniture were in good taste. For purposes of public meetings the building was more complete than any that had yet been constructed. While this edifice was being built there was some unfavorable comment in regard to its proposed uses, but they did not go so far as to recommend any violence or destruction. The day of the dedication of the hall was the 14th of May. In anticipation of the occasion there was a gathering of men and women abolitionists from all parts of the country. The exercises of dedication were principally an oration by David Paul Brown. It was not strongly abolition. He expressed himself in favor of the abolition of slavery, but was not willing to go the whole length of urging immediate abolition. On the day of the dedication it was announced that the hall had not been erected for anti-slavery purposes alone, but that it would be consecrated to any purpose not of an immoral character. In the afternoon of the first day there was a public meeting in the hall, held by the Philadelphia Lyceum, at which essays were read on social and scientific subjects. In the evening there was a temperance meeting. On the next day the abolitionists occupied the meeting-room and debated the subjects of "free discussion," Indian wrongs, colonization, and the address of David Paul Brown at the dedication of the hall, which did not suit the leading abolitionists. In the afternoon the Philadelphia Lyceum again occupied the hall with the reading of scientific essays and papers. In the evening there was held an abolition meeting, at which George Ford, Jr., of Lancaster, Alvan Stuart, of Attica, N. Y., Alanson St. Clair, of Massachusetts, and others delivered speeches. During these two days the hall was crowded, and on the streets leading to it there were throngs of persons pressing towards the building. Among these were people of color, who were admitted freely without distinction, and sat among the audience, not being particularly assigned to any reserved space set aside for "people of color." Among the throngs passing along the streets the white abolitionists and the blacks walked frequently in company with each other, and on friendly terms. It was reported that white men and black women, and black men and white women

walked arm-in-arm. These statements, whether true or false, had much to do with what followed. A rising hostility against the building and its occupants began to be manifested. If the opening services had been confined to the meetings of the first and second days, leaving an interval during which the hall was closed, the excitement would have probably died away. But the parties owning the hall or interested in its management, strongly insisting upon the right of free discussion, determined to maintain their own privileges without regard to the feelings or prejudices of others. On the evening of the 15th written placards were posted in different parts of the city which stated: "A convention to effect the immediate emancipation of the slaves throughout the country is in session in this city, and it is the duty of citizens who entertain a proper respect for the Constitution of the Union and the right of property to interfere." It was suggested that citizens should assemble at Pennsylvania Hall on the next morning,



PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

Wednesday, May 16th, "and demand the immediate dispersion of said convention." There was a meeting in the hall at the time designated, with a discussion upon "Slavery and its Remedy." "The Anti-Slavery Convention" of American women occupied the lecture-room, and the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society met in the afternoon. In the evening there was an abolition meeting, at which William Lloyd Garrison, Maria W. Chapman, and Abby Kelly, of Boston, spoke. There had been no serious demonstration about the hall in the morning, but at night persons evidently of riotous disposition were in the streets, and some within the hall hissing and hooting the speakers. Stones were thrown from the streets, and some of the upper windows broken. In consequence of these demonstrations the meeting was brought to a close much sooner than had been expected. The managers of the Pennsylvania Hall notified the mayor of the city next day of the manifestations that had been made, stating the character of the meetings that were held and were yet to be held, and that they requested protection for

themselves and property. The mayor endeavored to persuade the managers of the hall to give up the night meetings, but they, insisting upon their rights as citizens to hold them, refused to comply. If they had done so, after results would probably have been different. Toward the evening of the 17th crowds began to assemble near the hall. Harangues were made by excited persons. The managers by this time had become somewhat alarmed. They assembled in the hall about six o'clock, and after consultation it was determined to close the building and give the mayor, John Swift, the key. Repairing to the street, the latter made a speech to the crowd, who heard him and responded with applause. There were about three hundred persons present, and some of them went away with the mayor. But knowledge of the occurrences of the previous day and curiosity were bringing persons to the vicinity from all parts of the city. The crowd became so dense that it substantially occupied Sixth Street from Arch to Race, with portions of Cherry Street, Cresson's Alley, and other neighboring avenues. It was not long after dark before all the public lamps in the neighborhood were extinguished. Some persons with a scantling or long timber began to batter against the centre doors of the building in front. The mayor with a force of police came upon the scene and obtained passage through the crowd nearly to the place where the destroyers were at work. Very few if any citizens rallied to the support of the mayor. Before long the police were assaulted, some of them knocked down and bruised. By this time the doors had been broken open; two of the police force entered the building. On reaching the main saloon they found that fires had been kindled in three places. Short work had been made with the Venetian window-blinds, which were new and freshly painted, and in condition to burn easily. The gas-pipes had been broken, and the gas was leaking out into the room ready to assist the flames. The policemen were compelled to withdraw. About the same time the anti-slavery office in the first story was broken open, and the books, pamphlets, etc., thrown into the street. The flames soon attained headway and became furious. Firemen who repaired to the scene upon the alarm being given were deterred by threats from playing upon the hall, but were permitted to direct their efforts to the protection of adjoining property. In a short time the destruction was complete. The interior of the building down to the cellar was destroyed. The walls had been substantially built and might have stood the force of the conflagration, but under the effect of the fire and water the granite pillars on Sixth Street, which sustained the front from the second story up, crumbled away and the whole front came down. The managers of the hall association estimated their loss at one hundred thousand dollars, and commenced proceedings against the county of Philadelphia to recover compensation. The jury of inquiry to which the matter

was referred reported in 1841 that the loss amounted to thirty-three thousand dollars. The value of the lot which remained might have been ten thousand or fifteen thousand dollars.¹

The excitement did not terminate with this destruction. On the next evening the Shelter for Colored Orphans, a quiet and unobtrusive establishment managed by the members of the Society of Friends, and situate on Thirteenth Street, above Callowhill, was attacked by a mob composed of comparatively few persons. They obtained an entrance to the building and set fire to it. The firemen again appeared; efforts to intimidate them were resorted to with intention of preventing them from playing upon the fire and saving the property. At this time there was some resistance. Morton McMichael, police magistrate of the district, called upon citizens to aid him. The firemen rallied to his assistance. The Good-Will Fire Company was working strenuously to save the building; the members turned in under McMichael, and cleared out the gang of rioters without ceremony, so that the building was saved. It was afterwards used for the original charitable purpose for some years. These excesses were denounced with great strength of language in the *Public Ledger* newspaper. The expressions were so strong that some manifestation of hostility were made in the neighborhood of the office of that paper, at the northwest corner of Second and Dock Streets. Large crowds assembled in the streets for two or three evenings. The police force was now under much better control and management than on previous occasions, and the men were well disposed for the prevention of disturbances. The excitement in the neighborhood continued for two or three days, but there were no violent manifestations.

At the general election in October the Democrats and the Whigs of the county contested particularly the tickets for the Legislature. The Democrats claimed that they had upon the Assembly ticket 7870 votes, and they made the number of Whig votes 6346. This calculation was made by excluding the vote of the Northern Liberties. The Whig ticket there claimed a majority of 1000. At a meeting of the return judges the Democrats, being in a majority, set aside the Northern Liberties vote altogether, on the allegation that it was fraudulent. Six of the Whig return judges withdrew, met together, and made up a return, including the Northern Liberties vote, which elected the Whig ticket. The Democrats certified that Charles Brown and S. Stevenson were elected to the Senate, and Charles Pray, J. W. Ryan, Miles N. Carpenter, Benjamin Crispin, T. H. Brittain, A. Helfenstein, J. W. Nesbitt, and T. J. Heston, members of the House of Representatives. The Whig certificates were Senators James Hanna and William Wagner, Represent-

¹ The ruins of the hall remained a sad monument of disgrace for some years. The lot was eventually sold to the order of Odd-Fellows, by which a hall for their own purposes was erected and dedicated Sept. 17, 1846.

tatives Michael Day, Adam Woellper, W. F. Hughes, William Lloyd, William J. Crans, Samuel F. Reed, Benjamin R. Mears, and J. F. Smith. When the Legislature met, both of these sets of claimants went to Harrisburg. There had been two certificates, but Governor Ritner and Secretary of the Commonwealth Burrowes favored the Whig returns, and laid them before each branch of the Legislature. In the Senate, Charles B. Penrose, the Speaker, recognized the Whig candidates, who were sworn in. In the House the action was different; there were forty-four Whigs from other counties, and they, recognizing the eight Whig candidates from Philadelphia, organized and elected Thomas S. Cunningham Speaker. There were forty-eight Democrats in the Legislature, and they united with the eight claimants of their own party from Philadelphia, and elected William H. Hopkins Speaker. Neither party had a majority of the whole number without the aid of the Philadelphia delegation. The measures taken were therefore founded upon the necessity to rule. Governor Ritner recognized the Cunningham, or Whig body, as the legal House of Representatives, and the Senate took the same action. Each "House" insisted that it alone possessed legal authority. There was danger of violation of the peace, and perhaps of civil war. In this emergency the Governor proclaimed a rebellion, and made a requisition for troops upon Maj.-Gen. Patterson, commanding the First Division. In issuing his orders the Governor directed that the volunteers should load their guns with "buckshot and ball." From this arose the term "Buckshot War," which was given to the events of the period. The troops, about twelve hundred in number, left the city on the morning of the 8th of December, under the command of Gens. Patterson and Goodwin. They were carried by the cars of the Columbia Railroad from Broad and Market Streets. At Harrisburg they were put on guard at the arsenal and other places. Particular care was manifested to prevent collisions with the citizens, and the politicians were scarcely disturbed in their subsequent operations. A large number of persons went up from the city with the troops and afterward. They were mostly Democrats, and constituted themselves "a Committee of Safety." The two houses kept up their separate organization. The Hopkins party was strengthened by the accession of two Whig members,—Chester Butler, of Luzerne, and John Montelius, of Union. This gave to the Hopkins House fifty members, without counting the Philadelphia delegation. It also reduced the Cunningham House to forty-two members, without the Whig delegation. The work of the Committee of Safety here began. They crowded the chamber occupied by the Cunningham House, and were noisy, turbulent, and threatening. In the Senate the demonstrations were so violent that Speaker Penrose jumped out of a window near his chair. The Cunningham House was broken up by the pressure. Finally the Hopkins

House triumphed. The Whigs who had withdrawn went back to their seats, and the trouble was over. The troops were retained at the capital for nearly three weeks, and did not return to the city until the beginning of January.

Another trouble in relation to the same controversy took place in connection with the Congressional representation of the Third District, of which the Northern Liberties were a part. The Democratic return judges awarded the certificate of election to Charles J. Ingersoll, Democrat. The Whig return judges certified that Francis J. Harper was elected. Harper died before the appointed time to claim his seat. At a special election Charles Naylor, Whig, was returned as elected. He contested the seat of Ingersoll, and the latter was ousted and Naylor admitted.

The resumption of specie payments in 1838 was premature. The banks were unable to satisfactorily meet the demands of business, and were managed with care in order to prevent the issuing of more notes than they could meet. They were under disadvantage through the law which prevented the circulation of small notes of less than five dollars. They were compelled to pay checks and drafts upon them in which there were balances beyond five dollars in coin, and it was estimated towards the end of the year that in Philadelphia alone those institutions had paid out over one hundred thousand dollars in small balances. While they were contending against adverse circumstances the Bank of the United States, on the 9th of October, stopped specie payments, a movement which was immediately followed by other banks in the city and throughout the Union. The reasons given for this act were not the true ones. The Bank of the United States was actually insolvent at the time, but it was only stated that it was embarrassed in consequence of the large balance of mercantile exchange with Europe which existed against the United States, and which caused a heavy drain of specie, and which was also increased by large demands against the banks of the Western and Southern States. As there was likelihood of another issue of "shinplasters," or small notes, Governor Porter promptly interposed an obstacle by a proclamation warning all persons that any attempt to violate the law prohibiting such issues would be prosecuted and punished. The effect was to keep specie in circulation to a much greater extent than during any previous bank suspension.

In little more than a month a new cause of financial alarm arose. On the 18th of December, in consequence of legal proceedings commenced by the Bank of Kentucky against the Schuylkill Bank, the doors of the latter were closed by injunction. The cause of this proceeding was the filing of a bill by the Kentucky Bank, which charged that the Schuylkill Bank had fraudulently issued more than thirteen thousand shares of the stock of the former institution. The allegation was that the Schuylkill Bank was agent for the Bank of Kentucky in the management of its busi-

ness, and that by reason of this trust and confidence the fraud had been effected. The directors of the Schuylkill Bank insisted that their institution was not liable. Hosea J. Levis, for many years the cashier and latterly the president of the bank, was alleged to be the person who had committed these frauds, which were said to have been consummated without any knowledge of the bank. The grand jury sustained this position in a presentment which charged Levis with perjury, forgery, and conspiracy to defraud. It was also discovered that he had issued a large number of shares of Schuylkill Bank stock without authority, and appropriated the proceeds of the sale to his own use. He had also issued post-notes to a considerable amount and taken special deposits made in the bank to his own use, beside the Kentucky Bank shares, the value of which was computed to be \$393,183.57. Levis fled to Europe, but was brought back and never punished. The suit between the two banks continued, the principal question being whether Levis was not personally the agent of the Bank of Kentucky. The decision finally was against the Schuylkill Bank. The claim of the Bank of Kentucky and the demands of the note-holders were satisfied, but after that nothing was left for the stockholders.

A fire of more than usual destructiveness broke out on the 4th of October in the neighborhood of Chestnut Street wharf on the Delaware. The flames were first noticed in the provision-store of W. C. Stroup, on Delaware Avenue north of Chestnut Street, and extending through toward Water Street. The stock in Stroup's store was calculated to feed the flames, and some adjoining buildings used by oil merchants aided the combustion. A strong wind blew the flames across Chestnut Street, and enveloped two-story buildings between Water Street and Delaware Avenue, and extending to the southeast corner of Front and Chestnut Streets, proceeded down the latter, destroying three or four wholesale stores and their contents. They were stopped by the tall bulwark and thick walls of stores Nos. 57 and 59 South Front Street, the latter occupied by Miesegaes & Unkaert. On Chestnut Street the stores at the northeast corner of Front, extending upward, were damaged. The Napoleon Hotel, northeast corner of Water and Chestnut Streets, kept by John H. Myers, and the Union Line office adjoining were consumed. On the south side of Chestnut Street the Steamboat Hotel was burned. Altogether twenty-three houses were totally destroyed and fifteen or twenty badly damaged. Most of the buildings were old, and some of the warehouses had but small stocks of goods on hand, so that the loss was not estimated at more than three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The firemen were in great danger by the falling walls. William P. Moreland, a member of the Good-Will Engine Company, aged twenty-eight years, and Thomas Barber were killed, and seven firemen were seriously injured.

On the 14th of October, Martin Van Buren, President of the United States, arrived in the city, and was received by a number of volunteer companies and many citizens, political friends, by whom he was escorted to Sanderson's Merchants' Hotel, on Fourth Street below Arch, to which place the City Councils afterward went to pay their respects. Mr. Van Buren left the city the next day.

A murder occurred on the 31st of September at the most fashionable confectionery establishment in the city at that time, situate in Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth, and kept by James Wood. The victim was his daughter, a woman of more than ordinary personal attractions. Wood's place was popular, and this young girl being the cashier, was extensively known to frequenters of the saloon. Her offense was in marrying Edward Peak, a boot-maker, whose place of business was in the Shakespeare buildings, on Sixth Street above Chestnut. Wood, it is believed, was not aware of the intimacy between Peak and his daughter, and would have been opposed to a marriage between them under any circumstances. They were married privately two or three days before the father was made aware of the facts, to which his attention was called by his daughter's absence from his house for two days. After her return he became desperate. He drank a quantity of brandy to nerve himself to the deed, and, repairing to an upper room, where his daughter was, shot her dead with a pistol. Great excitement in the public mind attended these circumstances. When Wood was tried for the murder the facts were admitted. The defense, which was principally conducted by Peter A. Browne, was the plea of insanity. In support of this the French doctrine that a desire to commit murder was moral insanity was brought forward and urged with great pertinacity. Wood was acquitted.

James Williams, *alias* Lownes, *alias* Dave Seal, was executed in the jail-yard at Moyamensing for the murder of Francis Kearney, a watchman, on the 9th of August. Williams was a colored man, and the deed was committed under treacherous circumstances. Kearney was standing with his brother and sister. Williams approached in an apparently friendly manner, saluted them, and, suddenly drawing a knife, stabbed Kearney so severely that he lived but a short time.

In the summer of this year another watchman was killed in Southwark District. His name was Batt. One night, while on duty at Third and Shippen [Bainbridge] Streets, he was attacked by a negro, who assaulted him with a club and beat him about the head in a dreadful manner. Batt died almost immediately. Upon the arrest of the negro it was found that he had been an inmate of the Insane Department of the Blockley Almshouse, from which he had escaped. His insanity was so obvious that he was never tried. The burial of Batt took place upon a Sunday afternoon at St. Peter's Church, corner of Third and Pine

Streets. A great crowd gathered, and after the body was deposited there were symptoms of riotous intentions against the blacks. A mob assembled on Pas-yunk road and on Fifth Street below South. John G. Watmough, the sheriff, came upon the ground and attempted to persuade the persons present to disperse. They yelled at him and threatened violence, so that he was glad to get out of the way. The mob then came up Fifth Street, intending mischief. Mayor Swift, with a squad of officers, was stationed at Pine and Fifth Streets. Seeing the mob approach, he went toward them with nothing but his cane in hand. With daring courage he seized the ringleader, and despite the murmurs and threats of the others, held on to him and dragged him up the street to the officers. Finally the mob retreated into Southwark and dispersed; but in the evening there were scenes of rioting and attacks upon the houses inhabited by negroes.

Among the consequences of the bank suspension was the failure of Dr. Thomas W. Dyott. An apothecary and druggist, he had in previous years, by attention to business, made some money. Among his other enterprises he had become the owner of the glass-works in Kensington at the mouth of Gunner's Run. These had been considerably enlarged, and an extensive business was carried on, principally in the manufacture of bottles and vials. To these works Dr. Dyott gave the name Dyottville. He devised somewhat extensive plans of government of the establishment, which he said was to be conducted on the manual labor system. Encouraged by success, he set up business as a private banker, and established the Manual Labor Bank, so called, which was not a chartered institution, and was maintained entirely upon the credit and responsibility of Dr. Dyott himself. This establishment pushed out its notes as extensively as possible. A considerable amount were in circulation at the time of the bank suspension of 1837. Dyott was in no worse condition at that time than the banks of the city and county. They could not pay specie for their notes, neither could Dyott. But the difference was that the banks were sustained somewhat in character by their chartered privileges, while Dyott was acting on his individual responsibility and without any backing. He was also under the disability of personal unpopularity among certain classes. The banks were generally considered to occupy the position of suspension by misfortune, and it was agreed that if the people would sustain them with forbearance and sympathy, they could work through their difficulties. Dyott was not cheered by such manifestations in his favor. He was generally denounced as an intentional swindler. Suits were brought against him, to which he could not respond by payments in specie. The notes of the bank, which they boldly refused to pay in coin, went from hand to hand notwithstanding, with nearly the same credit as if they could have been redeemed at the bank-counters dollar for dollar. But Dyott could not hide behind a charter.

He was individually responsible, and finally charges of fraud were brought against him. Indicted for fraudulent insolvency, he was put upon trial on the 1st of February. The investigation consumed four months. On the 1st of June the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. On the 31st of August Dr. Dyott was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the penitentiary.¹

Governor Porter represented Democratic doctrines while holding the executive chair. The party, by the course of Gen. Jackson in opposition to the United States Bank, was considered hostile to all institutions of that kind. On the assembling of the Legislature, at the session of 1840, the Governor called attention to the bank suspensions of the previous year, and urged some strict measures to compel those institutions to perform their promises. The banks of Philadelphia sent an address to the Legislature in February, in which they declared that they could not with safety resume before the 1st of February, 1841. The Board of Trade confirmed these statements. The Legislature was as much disposed to severity as the Governor, and a resolution was passed directing resumption of specie payments on the 15th of January, 1841, under penalty of forfeiture of the bank charter.

During the suspensions the city was compelled to adopt a somewhat liberal policy with its creditors. The course of the banks had practically driven bank-notes out of circulation. It was the desire of those institutions to get possession of as many of their own notes as possible, and to keep them from going into circulation again. The currency in use was made up of notes from small amounts up to five or ten dollars, issued by the city and district corporations, by various loan companies, some of which were frauds, and by notes of banks of other States. This sort of paper, under the compulsion of circumstances, was received for debts due to the city for taxes and on other claims. It was paid out again from the city treasury with but little difficulty. In January the beginning of a change in this matter was brought about in consequence of a communication addressed to City Councils by Horace Binney. That gentleman represented that he was owner of twenty thousand dollars of city loans, notice of the payment of which had been given. He stated that he did not require redemption, but if it was attempted he would receive nothing but specie or its equivalent. He was willing to allow the loan to stand, or to reloan the amount to the city, but he would not receive depreciated currency as full payment. The matter was sent to the

¹ He did not serve out the whole term, but was pardoned after a time. There was some sympathy for him afterward. It was not established that he had intended fraud. He was conducting his banking operations at a risk as the banks were doing. They, overtaken by the storm, managed to float, but Dyott was swamped. After he came out of prison he resumed his business as a druggist on Second Street, and attended to it faithfully and honorably until his death several years afterward.

finance committee, which reported that there was a large fund on hand composed of the sort of money which Mr. Binney rejected, which had been taken in the usual course of business, and ought to be accepted by the city creditors. It was finally recommended that persons who did not wish to receive payment of loans in that way should be given new certificates of loan for like amounts. Councils went further, and on the 25th of June passed a resolution that all interest should be paid in specie.

On the 26th of November the remains of Gen. Hugh Mercer, of the Revolutionary army, who was killed at the battle of Princeton in 1777, were removed from the place of sepulture, on the south side of Christ Church, adjoining Church Alley, and taken to Laurel Hill Cemetery, where they were deposited beneath a handsome monument, erected to the memory of Mercer by the St. Andrew's Society. The remains were accompanied by a large and imposing military procession to the First Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Locust and Seventh Streets, where, after appropriate religious exercises, an eloquent oration upon the life and services of Mercer was pronounced by William B. Reed.

By act of February 13th the township of Moyamensing was divided into four wards. The First Ward embraced the territory in the eastern part, north of the centre of Carpenter Street and east of the centre of Seventh Street. The Second Ward ran from Seventh to Eleventh Street, north of Carpenter. The Third Ward, west of Eleventh and north of Carpenter Street. The Fourth Ward was all the territory south of Carpenter Street. The township of Germantown was also divided into two wards, the Upper Ward being northwest of Washington Lane, and the Lower Ward southeast of that lane. The district of the Northern Liberties was also given power to elect a mayor for two years by citizens at general elections.

By act of February 27th some of the western wards of the city were divided into election precincts. Those which were subjected to this arrangement were Cedar, Locust, North, South Mulberry, and North Mulberry. The divisions were called South Cedar and North Cedar; East Locust and West Locust; East North and West North; East South Mulberry and West South Mulberry; East North Mulberry and West North Mulberry. A somewhat complex and puzzling nomenclature. The extra divisions had to be provided for at the general election at the windows in the back part of the State-House and county court-house. Middle and South Wards were the only western wards not divided. Upper Delaware, Lower Delaware, High Street, Chestnut, Walnut, and Dock Wards remained unchanged.

On the 23d of April was passed an act to incorporate the Grandam Institution. This society was formed in compliance with the will of Hart Grandam, a citizen who, by his will, made in 1833, authorized his executors

to convey to an incorporated benevolent society all the ground-rents which he owned, the clear annual value of which was about fifteen hundred dollars, for the purpose of a permanent fund "to alleviate the most prudent of the poor [who must not be intemperate] in procuring fuel, clothing, and other necessities which such persons want in winter." Mr. Grandam also appropriated real and personal property worth about twenty thousand dollars, to be granted to a society to be formed in Philadelphia, "composed of discreet members who feel an interest in the moral and religious welfare of young men who have arrived at manhood and want assistance to commence the various vocations they have learned, and whose parents are unable or unwilling to aid them." The Grandam Institution undertook to discharge both of these trusts. There were a large number of corporators, among whom were John Sergeant, Thomas P. Cope, William M. Meredith, Henry J. Williams, and others.

On the 15th of January, James Morris, a colored man, was hanged in the county prison for the murder of a boy in a schooner lying in the Delaware River in the preceding year.

A commemoration somewhat in the character of the Mercer obsequies of the previous year took place on the 2d of July. The remains of Col. John Haslett, of the Delaware line in the war of the Revolution, who was killed at the battle of Princeton, in 1777, had been interred in the burying-ground of the First Presbyterian Church, adjoining that building on Bank Street below Market Street. After the church building was removed to the southeast corner of Locust and Seventh Streets the site occupied by the church on Market Street had been built upon, but the old graveyard, with its dilapidated tombstones, yet remained. The church had concluded to sell the ground, which rendered removal of the bodies necessary. The Legislature of the State of Delaware resolved that the remains of Haslett should be buried at Dover, where a monument should be erected to his memory. They were disinterred by direction of the Hibernian Society and taken to the First Presbyterian Church at Seventh and Locust Streets. Thence they were escorted, on the day fixed, by the City Troop, Philadelphia Grays, and Washington Grays to Chestnut Street wharf, and delivered by John Binns, on behalf of the Hibernian Society, to a committee appointed by the Legislature of Delaware to receive the remains. An address was made by Mr. Binns, and by Mr. Huffington on behalf of the Delaware committee.

On the 4th of April, Gen. William Henry Harrison, President of the United States, died at Washington, after the brief enjoyment of the Presidential office during one month. This was the first occasion upon which a chief magistrate had died during his official term. The novelty of the bereavement, as well as the character of the man, who had been

elected by a large majority, created a sensation of regret of more than ordinary character. On the 7th of April a public meeting was held at Independence Hall, at which Mayor Swift presided. The resolutions of condolence prepared by John Sergeant were adopted. It was determined that citizens would unite with City Councils in rendering due honor to the memory of the deceased. The ceremonies, which were to take place on the 12th, were postponed in consequence of the tempestuous weather on the previous day until the 20th. The latter proved to be lowering, and before the procession got in motion snow began to fall. It was a larger procession than had been seen for some years, and included all the city and district corporations and officers, a large military force, firemen, Odd-Fellows, literary and benevolent societies, schools, and citizens. The participants displayed a profusion of banners draped in black, and wore mourning badges and other emblems. The funeral-car was drawn by eight horses, each decorated with white and black plumes, and led by a groom, and the hearse was heavily loaded with crape, and black cloth banded with gold fringe. In place of a coffin, on the dais of the funeral-car were displayed a sword, a laurel wreath, rolls of parchment, and many flowers. A riderless horse, led by a groom, followed the car. Fourteen pall-bearers walked by its side. The churches were open, and as it was impossible for the procession to be accommodated in any one of them, various societies were assigned to different buildings, so that there was a concert of memorial services about the same time in different parts of the city. By the time that the persons participating in the parade reached these places the snow, which had continued to fall, was of considerable depth. City Councils went to Christ Church, where an appropriate discourse was delivered by Right Rev. Bishop Underdonk. In the other churches addresses and orations were delivered.

A heavy freshet on the 9th of January did more than an ordinary degree of damage in the neighborhood of the Schuylkill and the Delaware. At the permanent bridge the water rose six feet above high-water mark. The cellars of stores, dwellings, and other buildings were filled with water, and in some the first story was nearly full. A large quantity of ice was brought down, and this article was deposited on the wharves and in the streets for the distance of one or two squares from the river. The track of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad was carried away below Gray's Ferry. On the Delaware the water was eighteen inches above the top of the wharf at the draw-bridge. The cellars and stores were flooded, and much damage was done to valuable property.

In September the Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, king of France, who was traveling in the United States, arrived in the city. He was waited on at Independence Hall by the mayor and Councils,

and by French citizens and residents. The usual civilities in other ways were tendered to him. He remained in the city only two days.

There were several destructive fires during this year. At one, which occurred on the 23d of January, at Wright's umbrella store, Market Street above Third, the front wall fell, by which Oscar Douglas and Mark Rink, two firemen, were killed. On the 24th of June, at the fire at Mulford & Alter's grocery-store, Market Street above Sixth, a similar misfortune befell George L. Eisenbrey, also a fireman.

On the 15th of January the banks of the city and State, in compliance with the mandate of the Legislature, commenced specie payments. This act was not received with much confidence by the business people. There was a feeling of distrust, a doubt whether the banks could maintain themselves; a disposition to take advantage of the opportunity, and demand in ordinary transactions with them the payment of coin rather than the acceptance of their own notes. The resumption opened with a hostile disposition among many people, and large sums in coin were taken from the banks. The condition of the Bank of the United States attracted general attention. On the 4th of January, according to a statement made, that institution had \$2,171,722.97 in specie funds, and notes of State banks, \$1,148,101.93. Altogether the assets that could be used in redemption of notes were less than \$3,300,000. The bank-notes in circulation were \$9,386,000.90, and there were post-notes amounting to \$1,887,658.09, without taking into consideration the amounts due to depositors. The stock of the bank was selling at that time at sixty-three dollars per share, the par value of which was one hundred dollars. The price of shares began to go down, and sank on the 4th of February to forty-five dollars and seventy-five cents per share. When the doors of the bank were opened a brisk demand for specie was commenced. The condition of the institution had been considerably strengthened, so that in twenty days it had met the demands upon it to the amount of \$6,683,321, all of which had been paid in coin. The other banks of the city were also hardly pressed. The Philadelphia, Girard, and Pennsylvania Banks in the same period had each paid out more than \$1,000,000 in coin. The city banks, except the United States Bank, had redeemed of their own notes within the same period, \$5,122,732. The pressure was so great that on the 4th of February the United States Bank gave way before it, and an announcement was made that this bank had again suspended specie payment. The other banks made a show the next day of continuing business. The United States Bank paid coin on their five-dollar notes. The other banks redeemed all demands until late in the day of the 5th, when it was found that the run was so heavy that they could not stand it. Several of them also suspended payment of specie on notes above five dollars. The system of marking checks "good" instead of pay-

ing them came into vogue. On the 13th of February the Bank of the United States memorialized the Legislature for assistance. They declared that they had honestly attempted to carry out the law, but were prevented by "a combination of hostile interests," and "a pervading distrust stimulated into activity by a part of the public press in another State." The situation of the banks was undoubtedly precarious.

The Legislature undertook to furnish some relief. A bill to allow the bank to issue notes for six million dollars in sums less than five dollars to run for six years was vetoed by the Governor. An act "to provide revenue to meet the demands on the treasury" was also vetoed by him, but it was passed in both branches of the Legislature by a two-thirds majority over his veto on the 4th of May. This act, generally known afterward as "the relief law," authorized the State banks, except the United States Bank, to loan three million one hundred thousand dollars to the commonwealth in amounts in proportion to their capital, the same to be paid to the State in notes of their own issue of the denomination of five dollars and under. By a section of this act the United States Bank was authorized to make an assignment for the benefit of creditors.

A proceeding by George F. Alberti against the Bank of the United States, in February, for a forfeiture of the charter upon the ground that the bank had refused to pay specie for two notes, led to a decision by the Court of Common Pleas that under the charter of the bank the great bonus paid to the State made the transaction a special contract. Under the charter a refusal to pay a bank-note rendered the institution liable to a penalty of twelve per cent. No proceeding for forfeiture of charter could be commenced until three months from the time of refusal. Alberti's proceeding was under the act of 1840, ordering resumption of specie payments. By that law the time when proceedings for forfeiture of charter could be commenced was fixed at ten days after the refusal to pay a note. The court decided that under the special contract made with the bank the law of 1840 was unconstitutional so far as the right to a forfeiture of the charter after ten days' refusal to pay a note was concerned. While these things were taking place a committee of six stockholders of the Bank of the United States were examining into the condition of the institution. In April they made report of their discoveries, and stated that there were evidences of fraud, mismanagement, and misapplication of the funds of the institution. The estimate of the value of the assets was that there was a depreciation whereby securities represented to have been once worth \$69,351,742.46 were now worth no more than \$42,779,795.24. The liabilities were \$36,959,539.63. The capital was \$35,000,000. If this valuation was sustained, the stockholders could not expect to receive more than about \$15,000,000 for the \$35,000,000 paid in, a clear loss of about \$20,000,000. The manner in which the money had

gone was not so satisfactorily ascertained. Upon the suspended debt it was calculated that there would be a loss of over \$5,000,000. Estimated depreciation in stocks over \$7,000,000. On the amount due by State banks a loss of nearly \$3,400,000 was anticipated. A large loss was expected upon the true active debt. In February, 1836, it was reported that the surplus fund of the bank above the capital was nearly \$8,000,000. The report, however, was not correct. Before the State bank was chartered, the exchange committee of the Federal bank, finding an over surplus of funds from the collection of the debts of the bank, with a view of winding up the concern, under authority of the resolution of the directors loaned out immense sums of money upon the hypothecation of stocks of all kinds. In one year they had increased the loan on stocks considerably over \$15,000,000. When the old bank was to be wound up there were \$20,000,000 of bank-notes still liable to redemption, and the State of Pennsylvania bonus was \$5,000,000. Crippled by the course of the exchange committee, the bank was compelled to seek relief in loans, principally in England and France. These amounted in July, 1840, to more than \$23,000,000. Post-notes were issued promising payment, and when these became due there was no money to pay, so that the hypothecation of stocks in large amounts was necessary to raise money. Among other arrangements were the "cotton transactions," which commenced in July, 1837, with a purchase of cotton worth more than \$2,000,000, which was shipped through commercial houses at Philadelphia to a branch commercial house at Liverpool. In three years the cotton transactions were a little short of \$9,000,000. The cotton was paid for by drafts, which were met by funds advanced by the bank. There were some profits, but what became of them was never clearly understood. It was charged that most of these transactions were unknown to the directors generally, and that they were carried on by the exchange committee and others without knowledge on their part. These revelations created immense surprise in the community and great suffering among stockholders of the institution, many of whom supposed to be in affluence held large numbers of shares, and had depended upon the dividends for the means of living. They were suddenly reduced to want or poverty. The feeling was very strong against the principal officers of the bank.

In January, 1842, Nicholas Biddle, the former president, Joseph Cowperthwaite, John Andrews, Samuel Jaudon, and Thomas Dunlap were brought before Recorder Richard Vaux, charged with conspiracy to cheat and defraud the stockholders of the Bank of the United States. Jaudon and Dunlap obtained writs of *habeas corpus* from the Common Pleas. The result was the discharge of both of them. The accusations turned chiefly upon the loans made to officers of the bank by the exchange committee. The court held that the directors had given power to that committee,

that their transactions were entered regularly in the accounts under the proper heads, and that if the directors did not know of the transactions, they might have done so. Also that the directors had accepted stock and other means of payment for some of the loans made by the exchange committee, and that the cotton transactions, not being in power of the bank to carry on under its charter, might be managed by individual officers for their own profit without their being guilty of a conspiracy. The relators were discharged. Shortly afterwards Messrs. Biddle, Cowperthwaite, and Andrews applied for writs of *habeas corpus* to the same court. They were sent under a legal technicality to the Court of Criminal Sessions. Biddle and Cowperthwaite were charged with conspiracy in connection with the cotton transactions. Cowperthwaite was complained of in consequence of having made large loans without knowledge of the directors. The same charge was made against Andrews, with the addition of having fraudulently received moneys without authority, for the expenditure of which no voucher could be shown. The judges of the General Sessions, Barton, Conrad, and Doran, heard these cases and decided them as the Common Pleas had done. The payment of the foreign bonds, it was said, must be met. The directors devolved the duty of finding funds to the exchange committee; the committee put the labor and responsibility upon the officers of the bank; the officers, in the decline of private credit, not being able to obtain good bills of exchange, "adopted the obvious if not the only resource of shipping produce instead of purchasing bills of exchange. After that the logical conclusions were obvious." The bank had no right to deal in cotton by its charter, and the officers who had engaged in the transaction were the only persons who were entitled to the profits. A train of reasoning on the same line, which would have shown that the officers who made the profits instead of the bank should have borne the losses instead of the bank, was not attempted. In regard to the payments by the officers in depreciated and depreciating stocks at par, the fault was in the directors who took them. All the defendants were therefore discharged, and afterwards there was no attempt to make them criminally responsible. On the 1st of May the bank made a partial assignment to secure the payment of certain post-notes due to the banks of Philadelphia. On the 4th of September the directors made an assignment to five trustees of certain other property except some particular stocks specified in a schedule. The assets were ordered to be applied, in the first place, to the satisfaction of judgments against the bank; second, to the indemnification of certain sureties of the bank; and third, to the payment of all debts of the bank rateably and equally. Two days afterwards a supplementary assignment was made to the said trustees, conveying all rights in hypothecated stocks, loans, and other pledges, and in all other property held by the bank.

An intensely interesting and remarkably curious criminal case was tried before the United States Circuit Court, Judges Baldwin and Randall, in April, 1842. Alexander William Holmes was charged with the murder of seven persons whom he threw out of a long-boat at sea, after the ship "William Brown," Captain George L. Harris, foundered, on the 13th of March, 1841. The ship was bound from Liverpool for Philadelphia, and carried a crew of seventeen men. There were sixty-five passengers, mostly Scotch and Irish. The cargo consisted of salt, coal, crockery, hardware, and other merchandise. The voyage had been stormy for about twenty-three days. On the 20th of April the ship struck an iceberg and immediately commenced leaking. The bows had been stove, and the water came in fast. The boats were got out and launched. As many of the passengers as could be got into them were so placed, and the boats were veered astern of the ship. There was not room for all the passengers, and some were left on board the ship, and were carried down when the latter sunk, bow foremost. The accident took place in the night. The passengers were roused when the danger was apparent, and were thinly clad. There were only two boats. In the jolly-boat nine persons were placed, and in the long-boat there were forty-two, with water, provisions, etc. The next morning the boats parted company. Captain Harris, in the jolly-boat, steered toward Newfoundland, and ordered the long-boat to follow. He was picked up six days afterwards by a French fishing-boat one hundred and fifty miles from land. Holmes was in command of the long-boat. The sailors and passengers rowed and sailed all day after the ship sank. The boat was exceedingly crowded, and the dreadful determination was taken to lighten it by throwing over some of the passengers. Owen Reilly was the first to be sacrificed. Frank Askins and his sisters, Mary and Ellen, were next drowned. Charles Conlin followed. The next day John Nugent and another man were thrown over. In a few hours afterwards the ship "Crescent" picked up the boat. None of the crew were subjected to this misfortune. The trial of Holmes introduced the question whether it was lawful to take some lives in order to save others, or whether the persons who were in authority on board a ship were justified in throwing persons overboard in order to save their own lives. The trial occupied considerable time. Holmes was found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

The Girard Bank was chartered April 3, 1832, with a capital of one million five hundred thousand dollars, in shares of fifty dollars each. It was expected that this institution would be the means of preventing a reduction of bank capital if the funds of Stephen Girard's private bank should be withdrawn and the amount used in other ways. In 1836 the charter was extended for twenty years, and the capital increased to one hundred thousand shares at fifty dollars each.

The consequence was that the bank had more money than it could legitimately employ in its business. In order to realize anything toward profit, the risk of making loans upon doubtful security had to be encountered. Large numbers of Girard Bank notes were in circulation. The market value of the stock had declined to eight dollars and fifty cents per share for fifty dollars paid. The other banking institutions held the Girard Bank in suspicion. The notes of the latter were refused on deposit by the Bank of the Northern Liberties on the 26th of January. Other city banks followed this example. The Girard Bank was compelled to close its doors. Finally the institution made a general assignment of property for the benefit of creditors. The trustees managed with discretion, and in 1844 the Legislature passed an act commanding the stockholders to elect directors, so that the bank went on with its business, and in 1853 the charter was extended for twenty years. On the 29th of January the city banks in concert refused to receive the notes of the Bank of Pennsylvania. A run upon the institution commenced. This bank was a depository of the funds of the State of Pennsylvania. Eight hundred thousand dollars of the money of the commonwealth were on deposit there, and payable on the 1st of February, only two days after the run commenced. Governor Porter came to town immediately, and gave notice that he had directed the attorney-general to take measures to secure the public funds, and to apply for an injunction against the bank to prevent the payment out of the State money and for the appointment of a receiver. There was a little delay in the payment of the interest on the State debt, but on the 15th of March sufficient funds were secured and payments made to the public creditors at the Bank of Pennsylvania building. By resolution of March 29th permission was given to this institution to make an assignment for the benefit of creditors. This privilege was not accepted. By degrees the bank straightened out its affairs and resumed business without attracting much attention. Warned by the threatening state of affairs, the officers of the other banks of the city consulted in regard to the best methods to be followed in case of "a general run." The method proposed was by a league, and the formation of a fund by mutual pledge of capital and means for the redemption of the notes of the banks. It was agreed that seventy-five thousand dollars should be deposited for every five hundred thousand dollars of capital of the bank league. Ten city banks and the Bank of Camden, N. J., which had an office in the city, acceded to the plan. The Banks of Germantown and Kensington did not accede to the arrangement. The Pennsylvania Bank and Girard Bank were in difficulties. The Supreme Court granted the injunction prayed for by the Governor against the Bank of Pennsylvania, and that institution was closed. On the 31st of January, being Monday, a run was commenced on the Moyamensing Bank, which by the assistance of the league it met

and maintained all demands. The bank league refused to take country bank-notes. As large numbers of these were in circulation, great inconvenience followed. The Legislature was Democratic, and these proceedings of the banks were not viewed with admiration. Measures were immediately taken to compel resumption. An act was passed March 12th which directed that the banks of the commonwealth should forthwith redeem their notes and deposits and other liabilities in gold and silver coin. Refusal to do so, except in case of previous contract for the payment of deposits in some other way, "shall be deemed and taken to be an absolute forfeiture of their respective charters." The act directed that "hereafter only gold or silver, or the notes of specie-paying banks, or the legal issues under the act of May 4, 1841, shall be received in payment of tolls, taxes, or other revenues of the commonwealth." This act gave no time to the banks to prepare, and those which were in the city did not resume immediately. A consultation was held on the 15th without definite conclusion. On the 16th a heavy run was made on the Bank of Penn Township, which could not sustain the pressure, and was closed. On the 16th the Mechanics' Bank and the Manufacturers' and Mechanics' Bank met with the same fate. On the other hand, the Philadelphia, Commercial, North America, and Western Banks resumed payments on that day. On the next day the Farmers' and Mechanics', Southwark, Northern Liberties, Kensington, and Germantown Banks resumed. The Penn Township, Manufacturers' and Mechanics', Moyamensing, and Mechanics' Banks alleged that having accepted the relief law they were not bound to resume, and they refused to do so.

Riots, in which colored people were maltreated and their property injured, broke out on the 1st of August, and were caused in the first place by disturbance between colored persons who were in a procession of the "Moyamensing Temperance Society" and boys and other white persons who were in the streets. The police made arrests, which created excitement. A mob of white persons immediately afterwards commenced operations against dwellings inhabited by blacks in the vicinity of Lombard Street between Fifth and Eighth Streets, and in various small courts and alleys adjacent. Windows were broken, doors demolished, furniture thrown out of the houses, and negroes assaulted and beaten. The discharge of a gun by a black man in Bradford's Alley fanned into fierceness the flames of excitement, which were about subsiding. The person who used the gun retreated to a house, which was assaulted, broken open, and all the colored persons within were dragged out and beaten. The city police interfered to save these men, and while they were taking them to the mayor's office desperate efforts were made to rescue them from the officers. In the evening houses occupied by colored people between Seventh and Eighth were broken open and the

inmates assaulted and injured. On the north side of Lombard Street between Seventh and Eighth was a large building erected by Stephen Smith, a colored man, as a place for the meeting of literary and beneficial societies, and called "Smith's Beneficial Hall." Being used by colored men, it was an object of attack. A strong force of police was stationed in front of the building and the mob kept at a distance. But while they were guarding the front the enemy was successful at the rear. By some means entrance was obtained to the building, and at an unexpected time flames were suddenly seen to break out from the upper stories. The destruction was complete. The building was entirely burned out. Some injury was done to adjoining houses by falling walls. While this fire was in progress a church on the north side of St. Mary Street, running from Seventh to Eighth, and south of Lombard, was found to be on fire. Nothing was saved here but the walls. This church was the first church building of the Society of Covenanters, who had afterward removed to a better site on Eleventh Street above Chestnut. The property had passed into possession of a religious society of colored persons. It was never known whether this building was set on fire by an incendiary, or whether it caught from the sparks and brands flying from the great conflagration of Smith's Beneficial Hall.

The negro riots ceased at midnight, but on the next day there was a disturbance at the coal-yards on the Schuylkill River, caused by Irish laborers employed in those places attacking colored laborers at work in the neighborhood. The sheriff, Henry Morris, sent out a posse of sixty men. These were attacked by a mob and forced to fly, leaving the field to the rioters. The latter marched to Moyamensing and made attack upon colored people in Baker Street, Clymer Street, Little Oak Street, and Fitzwater Street from Thirteenth Street downward. Sheriff Morris perceiving the danger of greater destruction that night, applied to the County Commissioners for means to pay the volunteer soldiers whom he intended to call out. City Councils at a special meeting voted five thousand dollars for that service. The troops mustered in great strength, not only with loaded muskets but with some pieces of artillery. They were stationed in Washington Square, which took for the time the appearance of a military cantonment. A strong force of police was also stationed in the neighborhood. Persons of riotous disposition were warned by these occurrences of the danger of manifestations, and by being prepared to meet disorder with vigorous measures further trouble was prevented.

The weavers' riot in Kensington, at the beginning of 1843, was in effect a relief from the general course of outrages which sought its victims among the colored people. The disturbance arose in consequence of disputes among the working weavers in regard to the wages which they should receive for their services. A trade society which was embodied by some of

these persons had demanded higher wages and ordered a strike. Other weavers in considerable numbers held aloof from the association, and did not sustain the measures which had been adopted. They continued at their work. At that period the weavers generally did their work upon hand-looms in their own houses and not in mills. The parties standing out were therefore much incensed at the refusal of their companions to join them. The latter were assaulted on the streets. A mob of weavers at Front and Brown Streets, on the 11th of January, entered the houses of persons in the trade, cut warps, destroyed looms and stuff in the process of manufacture. Information being sent to the city, the sheriff, William A. Porter, proceeded to the scene with a small posse. The rioters had in the mean while retreated toward a market-house in Washington [American] Street, north of Master, which in the neighborhood was known as "The Nanny-Goat Market." From this fortress the sheriff's party, approaching, were assailed with stones and broken bricks. The posse attempted to make a charge upon them, but the rioters, being armed with clubs, stood their ground. The sheriff was severely beaten, and although some arrests were made, his force was compelled to retreat. The next day the streets of Kensington were paraded by crowds of men armed with clubs. They attacked and beat persons who came in their way who were obnoxious to them. Some of them took possession of the Nanny-Goat Market, which they boarded up at one end. They also supplied themselves with bricks from a neighboring pile, intended to be used for building purposes. The market committee of the district of Kensington ordered these bricks to be removed from the market, and sent a cartman for the purpose. He was seized, beaten, and compelled to fly. The sheriff finding, by the experience of the previous day, that he could not cope with the rioters, called out four companies of the volunteer battalion, which were marched to Kensington, and in the evening eight companies of Gen. Cadwalader's brigade were also assembled at their armories. Knowledge of these preparations was sufficient to prevent further disturbances.

Commodore Isaac Hull, of the United States Navy, a hero of the war of 1812, died on the 13th of February, and was buried from his residence in Portico Square, Spruce Street, between Ninth and Tenth, on the 17th. The hero of the sea-fight between the United States frigate "Constitution" and the British frigate "Guerrière" was held in high esteem by the people of the United States. The funeral procession was of considerable size. It was attended by a company of United States marines, twenty-five companies of volunteer militia, the City Councils, and many others. The coffin, covered with a pennant, indicating the rank of the deceased, was borne upon a bier, supported by United States sailors. The services took place at Christ Church, where the body was deposited in a vault preparatory to removal to Laurel Hill.

John Tyler, President of the United States, was formally received on a visit to the city on the 9th of June. A committee of citizens met him at Wilmington, Del., from which place he was brought by a steamboat and landed at the navy-yard, where there was a reception by officers of the navy attached to the station and by a committee of citizens, for which Alderman Peter Hay was spokesman. A route of parade had been previously arranged. The procession was principally composed of the military companies, called out for the occasion, and a few citizens. In a barouche drawn by four white horses the President was escorted to the United States Hotel in Chestnut Street. He was accompanied by James Madison Porter, Secretary of War, Abel P. Upshur, Secretary of State, John C. Spencer, Secretary of the Treasury, and Charles A. Wickliffe, Postmaster-General. There was strong political feeling at this time in opposition to Mr. Tyler upon account of the policy which he had developed after the death of President Harrison, which was entirely different from that of the Whig party, by whom he had been elected. His visit to the city was asserted to be a mere political journey undertaken in hope of making some popularity. The procession was coldly looked upon in many parts of the city, and when the President passed along Chestnut Street, near Sixth he was loudly hissed at by persons standing on the sidewalk. City Councils granted Mr. Tyler the use of Independence Hall, and he received his friends there the next day, and left in the afternoon for Baltimore.

Marshal Bertrand, one of the officers of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had afterward been employed in the service of the United States as an engineer officer, visited Philadelphia on the 14th of November. City Councils voted that he should be received as a guest of the city, and tendered him the use of Independence Hall for the reception of his friends.

The Kensington Gas Company was incorporated April 4th, with a capital of ten thousand dollars and right of extension to twenty thousand dollars. The shares were ten dollars each. The company had authority to manufacture carbonated hydrogen gas and lay pipes for distribution for public and private use in the district. Actually this was a huckster corporation, which was expected to buy the gas from the Northern Liberties Gas-Works and sell the same to the inhabitants of Kensington at a profit. The district of Kensington was authorized to buy the rights of the company after five years on payment of the money expended.

The first steps were taken toward the establishment of the district of Penn by act of April 19th, under which James Markoe, Andrew D. Cash, William Esher, Jacob Heyberger, and Edward T. Tyson were appointed commissioners, with authority to have surveyed and laid out that part of Penn township between the north line of Spring Garden District and a line parallel with and one hundred feet north of Sus-

quehanna Avenue, and between the middle of Delaware Sixth Street and the river Schuylkill. They were given authority to lay out streets and lanes, and pitch, pave, and curb them, and establish sewers, etc., in the same manner as the commissioners of the district of Spring Garden might do.

The incorporated districts of the county were restive under the necessity of complying with the demands of the city of Philadelphia, whatever they might be, for the supply of water to the inhabitants of the districts. The city compelled all persons in the adjoining districts to pay on an average a half-rate more than was paid by persons residing in the bounds of the city and using the water. The feeling was that the water-rents from properties in the districts were nearly all clear profit, that the Fairmount Works were large enough to pump and supply all the water needed by the districts by a very trifling additional expense beyond those incident to the ordinary operations of the works. If any attempt was made to induce a reduction it met with no favor. This policy brought about a movement on the part of the commissioners of Northern Liberties and Spring Garden which eventually produced a change in the method of obtaining the water supply, and broke up entirely the supposed monopoly or sole right of the city of Philadelphia to the use of the water of the Schuylkill River for domestic or other purposes. On the 18th of April an act was passed the preamble of which recited that a large portion of the district of Spring Garden could not be supplied with water from the works of the city at Fairmount, the ground in some parts of that district being higher than the level of the said works. The act then proceeded to authorize the incorporated districts of the county of Philadelphia to construct steam or other suitable works on or adjacent to the river Schuylkill, between the south line of Coates Street and the northern boundary of the district of Spring Garden, "for the purpose of pumping up and supplying the said districts and the inhabitants thereof with water from the said river, or such other stream of water in the vicinity of said districts as may be practicable." There was a provision that no more water should be taken than might be necessary for the use of the districts. Much more important was the following: "Provided, that this act shall not go into effect if the city of Philadelphia shall within three months reduce the water-rents in the incorporated districts to the same amount charged to citizens of the city." There was another proviso,—that compliance with the city should not prevent the incorporated districts from taking water from the Schuylkill below Fairmount or from any other stream. The districts were given authority to construct reservoirs, lay pipes, etc. Further provision established that if, after the expiration of four months, any of the incorporated districts should neglect or refuse to accept the provisions of the law, any of the remaining districts should have that privilege. If Northern Liberties, Kensington, Southwark, or Moya-

mensing should not accept the provisions of the act, Spring Garden might execute the work alone. The other districts might, however, have a right to apply to Spring Garden for water, which must then be furnished at Spring Garden rates. This measure came from the Spring Garden district commissioners almost entirely, with some encouragement in words, perhaps, from the officers of other districts. The conditions were not hard. The city could nullify the act by the concession of justice. During the three months which followed the Councils did not reach the opportunity or seem to appreciate the danger which menaced. The watering committee was opposed to the reduction of the water-rents to the inhabitants of the districts. It was argued that as the State had granted the use of the waters of the river Schuylkill to the Schuylkill Navigation Company, and as the city had bought from that company the full right to the use of the Schuylkill water, except what was required for the purposes of navigation, there had been a solemn contract, which was beyond the power of the Legislature to modify or break. Finally the City Councils refused to reduce the water-rents to residents of the districts. Upon this the commissioners of the district of Spring Garden undertook the work. Application was made to the Supreme Court by the city for an injunction to prevent this invasion of the rights of the city corporation. The case went against the city. It was admitted, in the learned and important opinion which was delivered, that the city had an apparent good right under the contract with the Schuylkill Navigation Company. But all this was swept away by the clear declaration that the Legislature had no constitutional right to grant the entire use of any stream in diminution of the privilege to the people of the commonwealth to the use of the rivers for culinary, drinking, or domestic purposes or for any other object. This declaration was equal to a new Magna Charta. Under that authority the districts of Spring Garden and the Northern Liberties united in the erection of a water-works. A piece of ground in a valley on the east side of the Schuylkill, adjoining Sedgely on the north, and now just above Girard Avenue, was purchased. Here was built an engine-house of brick, solid in appearance, with a high chimney-stack in the style of an Egyptian column. The pool from which the water was pumped (called at Fairmount the forebay) ran from the river, from which it was separated by guard-wall and sluice-gate, up to the works, which were some two or three hundred feet distant. Water was pumped from this storage-place to the reservoir, situated in what was then called "Morris City," north of Fairmount. The reservoir was built upon Thompson and Master Streets, west of the present Twenty-fifth Street and east of Twenty-seventh Street. At that time none of those streets were laid out; otherwise the blocking up of Twenty-sixth Street might have been avoided. The Spring Garden and Northern Liberties Water-Works were opened for use in December, 1844.

The spirit of riot and disorder which for some years had mostly vented itself upon negroes and mulattoes found an entirely new object in events which happened during the year 1844. In previous years a feeling against foreigners had arisen in several States, caused by the activity of certain classes of adopted citizens in politics, and their intention, as was suspected, of making the subject of political rewards dependent upon nationality rather than merit. This feeling on the part of native-born citizens was greatly increased by the action of the Roman Catholics in some of the States claiming privileges in regard to the education in the public schools of children of Catholic parents, which were calculated to arouse animosity of feeling among Protestants. The Catholic claims varied in different localities. In New York it was declared that the demand on behalf of the Roman Catholic clergy and laity, by whom they were supported, was that the reading of the Bible according to the King James version should be prohibited in the public schools. These circumstances brought 'sectarianism into the subject, and gave to the Native American party, which would have been of little importance if the object had only been to protest against naturalized foreigners voting or being voted for, a strength from the religious supporters of Protestantism which gave a force to the party at the beginning. Passion and prejudice also added greatly to the hostility which was manifested. If there had been no desire on the part of the Catholics to antagonize the Native American party, they were driven into it by the combination of opposing elements.

The first Native American meeting in Philadelphia was held at Germantown in 1837, and resulted in the adoption of a preamble and constitution for a society, in which the following language was used: "While at the same time we invite the stranger, worn down by oppression at home, to come and share with us the blessings of our native land, here find an asylum for his distress, and partake of the plenty a kind Providence has so bountifully given us, we deny his right (hereby meaning as foreigner any emigrant who may hereafter arrive in our country) to have a voice in our legislative hall, his eligibility to office under any circumstances, and we ask a repeal of that naturalization law, which it must be apparent to every reflecting mind, to every true son of America, has now become an evil." This movement at Germantown found a few supporters, but amounted to very little. In December, 1843, a meeting was held in a hall on the Ridge road in the district of Spring Garden, at which "The Subject" of the undue influence and misused privileges of the foreign population "was discussed." Those who were present formed the American Republican Association of Second Ward, Spring Garden. Shortly afterward an association was formed in Locust Ward, of the city, and in January, 1844, societies were established in

North Mulberry and Cedar Wards. From this time the movement went on so rapidly that, in the course of four or five months, there was a Native American association for almost every ward and township in the city and county. The first doctrine of the Germantown association was that foreigners should not be allowed to vote, no matter how long they remained in the country. This was generally modified by the associations of 1844. The principles of those associations, it was generally agreed to, were embodied in the following declarations:

"First. We maintain that the naturalization laws should be so altered as to require of all foreigners who may hereafter arrive in this country a residence of twenty-one years before granting them the privilege of the elective franchise; but at the same time we distinctly declare that it is not our intention to interfere with the vested rights of any citizen, or lay any obstruction in the way of foreigners obtaining a livelihood, or acquiring property in this country; but, on the contrary, we would grant them the right to purchase, hold, and transfer property, and to enjoy and participate in all the benefits of our country (except that of voting and holding office) as soon as they declare their intentions to become citizens.

"Second. We maintain that the Bible, without note or comment, is not sectarian; that it is the fountain-head of morality and all good government, and should be used in our public schools as a reading-book.

"Third. We are opposed to a union of church and state in any and every form.

"Fourth. We hold that Native Americans only should be appointed to office to legislate, administer, or execute the laws of the country."

For four months the Native Americans went on instituting new societies and obtaining new members, exciting some attention, but with little show of opposition. On the 3d of May an incident occurred which was premonitory of disaster. A Native American association was proposed to be established in the Third Ward, Kensington. The place chosen for the meeting was upon an open lot at the southwest corner of Master and Second Streets, adjoining a school-house. About three hundred persons were present. While a speaker was addressing the meeting an attack was made upon it by a number of persons who were armed with clubs, who suddenly fell upon the individuals who formed the meeting, and took them so unexpectedly that they were driven away. The stage or platform which was in use by the meeting was demolished. The breaking up of this meeting caused great excitement, particularly so as it was asserted that the persons of the attacking party were all foreigners by birth, and the majority of them were Irishmen. The persons connected with the meeting rallied and repaired to a place in the neighborhood, where they passed resolutions denouncing the outrage upon them, and determined that in the maintenance of their constitutional rights to peaceably assemble and discuss public measures they would adjourn to meet on the succeeding Monday afternoon, May 6th, at the place from which they were driven. The narrative of the circumstances connected with this affair, as published in the newspapers, attracted much attention and excited considerable feeling. On the day named the meeting assembled on the lot at Second

and Master Streets. The proceedings commenced quietly and went on favorably for about half an hour. About that time a cart, driven by John O'Neill, an Irishman, was forced on to the lot and into the throng which was assembled and nearly to the speakers' stand. A small quantity of dirt which was in the vehicle was shot upon the ground and the cart driven away. This incident excited some indignation, as it was believed O'Neill came purposely to disturb and break up the meeting. The business of the afternoon was resumed, however, and continued until a sudden shower of rain put the parties to flight. They took refuge in the market-house in Washington [American] Street above Master, called the Nanny-Goat Market, somewhat conspicuous in the weavers' riot of the year previous. Here an attempt was made to reorganize the meeting, and a speaker proceeded to address them. On the outskirts of this assemblage there were persons who evidently were opposed to the object of the meeting, and disposed to prevent its being continued. A quarrel between these and persons composing the meeting occurred, and a pistol was fired. On the west side of Washington Street, immediately opposite the market-house, was a vacant piece of ground about one hundred and fifty feet wide, which extended to Cadwalader Street, which ran northwardly parallel with Washington Street. Upon the west side of Cadwalader Street, and opposite the vacant piece of ground, was a house occupied by the Hibernia Hose Company. As soon as the sound of the pistol was heard a gun was pointed out of a raised window in the hose-house and fired in the direction of the meeting. It was followed by an irregular volley of shots from the same place, and in a few minutes guns were again fired. Some of these came from the hose-house and some from the upper stories of the houses in the neighborhood. Upon this the great majority of persons who were in the market-house scattered and ran. A few stood their ground, and threw stones and brickbats at or toward the houses. The disturbance soon became enlarged to a regular battle. Some of the persons driven away procured fire-arms. Others, who were not present but heard of the affair, also armed themselves and repaired to the scene. Generally the battle was waged prudently and with the tactics of Indian fighting, shooting from ambush, and from shelters behind trees, doors, or corners. By degrees the field was shifted from Washington to Cadwalader Street and Germantown road, and as far north as Jefferson Street, being much beyond the original spot where the first difficulty took place. During this skirmish George Shiffler, a lad between eighteen and nineteen years old, was mortally wounded, and died soon afterwards.¹ Eleven other

¹ It was represented that Shiffler was "defending the American flag" when he was shot, trying to prevent it being carried off by Irishmen. Whether true or false, Shiffler was honored as a martyr and a hero. The scene of his death was painted on the banners of some of the Native American associations. A hose company, established about this time in South-

persons were wounded, all of them Americans, but subsequently recovered. The persons in the houses are not known to have been injured at this time. When intelligence of these transactions flew through the city, great excitement was created. Thousands of persons paid a visit to the neighborhood of the riot. Generally they avoided the battle-field, as any one who was seen there was considered to be in danger of being shot from the houses. The bulk of the crowd was in Second Street, principally about Franklin Street [Girard Avenue]. Here, about ten o'clock in the evening, stones and bricks were thrown against a house said to be inhabited by Catholics. Not far from this place, at the southeast corner of Second and Phoenix [Thompson] Streets, was a school-house, used by Sisters of Charity of the Roman Catholic Church as a seminary. This building was popularly called "The Nunnery." An attempt was made to break into this building, probably to set it on fire. Upon the attack guns were fired from the upper stories, by which two spectators not engaged in any violence were shot. They were John W. Wright and Nathan D. Ramsay. The latter was mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards. Wright was killed on the spot. These occurrences, being reported in the papers next day, intensified the excitement. Extras were published by the *Sun* and *Native American*, requesting citizens to assemble in the State-House yard at half-past three o'clock in the afternoon. Handbills were put up in various places to the same effect, having at the bottom the following significant words: "LET EVERY MAN COME PREPARED TO DEFEND HIMSELF."

The meeting was large and tumultuous. Officers were chosen and resolutions offered. Thomas R. Newbold was president. There were short speeches by James C. Vandyke, William Hollinshead, John H. Gihon, John Perry, and Col. C. J. Jack. The resolutions by Perry stigmatized the proceedings in Kensington as a gross and atrocious outrage. They averred,—

"Resolved, That the proceedings of a portion of the Irish inhabitants of the district of Kensington on Monday afternoon is the surest evidence that can be given that our views on the naturalization laws are correct, and that foreigners in the short space of five years are incapable of entering into the spirit of our institutions.

"Resolved, That we consider the Bible in the public schools as necessary for a faithful course of instruction therein, and we are determined to maintain it there in spite of the efforts of naturalized and unnaturalized foreigners to eject it therefrom.

"Resolved, That this meeting believes that the recently successful efforts of the friends of the Bible in Kensington was the inciting cause which resulted in the murderous scenes of the 6th instant."

There was also a resolution approving of the offering of a reward of one thousand dollars for the conviction and apprehension of the murderers, and that a collection should be taken up for the benefit of the

widows, mothers, and children of the murdered. If the matter had ended with the dispersion of the persons present at this meeting to their respective homes or business places the circumstances would have been proper enough, but somebody moved that the meeting should adjourn to meet in Kensington on the following Thursday, which was lost. Another motion to meet the next day was also lost. Then there was passed a resolution that the meeting adjourn to meet at the corner of Second and Master Streets. This meant forthwith, and forming themselves into an irregular sort of a procession a portion of the meeting swarmed out into Chestnut Street, passing through the centre hall and doors of the State-House, and thence marched up-town. When the head of the line reached Master Street it was about five o'clock in the afternoon. The place selected for the meeting was on Washington [American] Street, between the market and the houses on Cadwalader Street from which the firing had come on the previous day.

A movement was made to hoist an American flag about the spot where Shiffler fell. While this was being done a volley of musketry was poured into the meeting from the Hibernia Hose house. Although the persons who attended the State-House meeting were requested to come armed they had not done so, and there is reason to believe that not one out of one hundred persons in the meeting even carried a pistol. Some persons joined the crowd as it marched up carrying guns. There were probably a dozen of these when Master Street was reached. At a subsequent legal investigation there was a conflict of testimony as to the manner in which the disturbances now commenced. Some said that the meeting was called to order and a speaker began to address them. Others testified that the business of the meeting had not commenced before guns were fired from the Hibernia Hose house. At this the persons connected with the meeting made an attack upon the hose-house, broke it open and ran out the hose-carriage, which was destroyed. They did not venture in the upper stories, but the Hibernia house was set on fire, and the flames spread to other buildings. Guns were then fired from other houses in the upper part of Cadwalader Street as far as Jefferson, afterward above that street, and at times from the back part of houses on the Germantown road and upon Master Street. John Wesley Rinedollar, a young man, was shot in the back and killed on the spot, and five or six others were wounded. Louis Greble, Charles Stillwell, and Matthew Hammett were shot dead. Joseph Cox and John Lescher were wounded mortally and afterward died, and several Americans were wounded. On the other side, Joseph Rice, an Irishman, was killed while looking over a fence on the west side of Cadwalader Street; John Taggart, an Irishman, who was accused of firing a gun, was arrested and ordered to be committed to prison by an alderman; the mob made an attack upon the officers who had him in custody. He was severely beaten,

work, was named after him, and continued until the Volunteer Fire Department was superseded by the "Paid Fire Department," established by the city of Philadelphia in 1871.

and an attempt was made to hang him to a lamp-post. This ferocity being prevented, his body was dragged over the stones of the streets for some distance, beaten, and finally left for dead on one of the stalls of the market-house in Second Street below Poplar. His body was taken to the police-office of the Northern Liberties, his wounds treated, and finally he recovered. While these transactions were in progress the fire which had commenced at the Hibernia Hose house extended along Cadwalader Street on both sides, on the west side of Washington Street and south side of Jefferson Street. Altogether about thirty houses were destroyed, and the "Nanny-Goat Market" also took fire and was consumed. The military was called for by the sheriff on Monday evening, but the officers refused to respond. On Tuesday efforts were again made for the same purpose, and after a meeting of the officers of the First Brigade and a discussion of the matter, it was resolved to muster. The troops came upon the ground about dark, and the firemen, who had been ready to play upon the burning buildings, but were prevented by the danger of being shot, proceeded to check the flames under the protection of the military. The mob had dispersed, and during the night there was no further disturbance. The next day was the 9th of May. Great crowds of persons visited the scene of the riots out of curiosity. The military had been withdrawn, all except two companies, the Monroe Guards and the Philadelphia Cadets, Capt. White. Many of the Irish were removing their goods and fleeing from the dangerous neighborhood. Their dwellings were entered. There were rumors of guns and ammunition being found in them. A row of houses in a court running from Cadwalader Street, above Jefferson, were set on fire, as also two brick houses at the southeast corner of Jefferson and Cadwalader Streets, and a court of frame houses running from Cadwalader to Germantown road, above Master Street. The whole neighborhood was menaced, and American flags were displayed from the windows of various houses to indicate that the tenants were not Irish.

At this time the Roman Catholic Church of St. Michael, a large brick building at the corner of Second and Jefferson Streets, was set on fire. The pastor's residence adjoining and some frame buildings on the south caught from the flames and all were destroyed. About the same time the Female Seminary at Second and Phoenix Streets, which had resisted the attacks of the previous day, was set on fire and consumed, as was also a grocery-store occupied by Joseph Corr, a Catholic, at the northeast corner of Second and Phoenix Streets. The two military companies on the ground were weak in numbers and could not prevent these outrages. Indeed, they were taunted by the rioters and insulted in the most outrageous manner. About five o'clock the First Brigade, under Brig.-Gen. George Cadwalader, Sheriff Morton

McMichael and Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson being with them, arrived upon the ground by way of Fourth Street. They were divided into two bodies, one of which marched down Franklin Street [Girard Avenue] to Second Street and to Jefferson. The other, under command of Col. James Page, marched up Fourth to Jefferson and thence to Second Street. The rioters, who had been insulting to the military, ere this became less demonstrative. Many of them left the ground, and proceeding to some distance from the soldiers, made an attack upon the office of Alderman Hugh Clark, at Fourth and Master Streets, battering the doors and windows. He was an Irishman and a Catholic, free-spoken and unpleasant in his manner, and was highly unpopular. His house stood the attack, but that of Patrick Clark, adjoining, was entered and the furniture thrown into the street. A detachment of military arrived in time to prevent the place from being set on fire. Some other houses on Master and Jefferson Streets were burned. Harmony Court, running west from Cadwalader Street above Master, which contained six or eight houses, was subject to the incendiary and totally destroyed. While these outrages were carried on in Kensington other parts of the city and county were unguarded, and there was a better chance of wanton destruction to exert itself elsewhere. Unfortunately, rumor in the course of the day had circulated through the city that there was probability that the Roman Catholic Church of St. Augustine, on Fourth Street below Vine, and opposite New Street, would be attacked. There was no particular reason why this church should have been selected for destruction while others belonging to the same sect were not even thought of. But there were stories looking to an attack upon St. Augustine's, and they had the effect to attract a considerable crowd to the neighborhood. The seat of previous disturbances having been in Kensington, the city authorities were not prepared for this danger. The mayor, John M. Scott, was on the ground with a body of police, who were stationed on the pavement in front of the church. The First City Troop of Cavalry was stationed in the neighborhood. The throngs of people coming to the scene increased the crowd. Thousands stood or looked at the church or were engaged in low conversation. There was no demonstration of violence to attract attention. But whilst the police and the crowd were on the outside, somebody had entered the church and kindled a fire, the light of which was soon seen. No efforts were made to quench the flames. They increased in brightness as pew led the fire to pew, the galleries caught, and at length the flames broke forth from the roof and the windows in front, and finally the steeple was on fire, and as the cross which crowned the height yielded to the flames and fell in, plaudits arose with savage exultation from many in the streets. The firemen who were upon the ground did not attempt to play upon the church, but devoted themselves to saving the adjoining

ing property. The flames were resistless and they left nothing unconsumed,—nothing but the blackened walls, and there in the morning, through the broken windows over what had been the high altar, were seen as plainly as they had existed on the previous day, the remarkable words, "THE LORD SEETH." Beside the church building, other adjoining property was destroyed. The large building on Crown Street, used as a school-house, in which, during the cholera visitation of 1832, the sick had been nursed and the sufferings of the dying alleviated as far as could be by Sisters of Charity, was totally destroyed. It had contained the large and costly theological library of the Hermits of St. Augustine, including rare books not to be found elsewhere in America. Some of these during the fire were thrown out into Crown Street, and torn up or trodden upon so as to be worthless. Some were picked up and returned eventually to the fathers, but the greater portion of this fine collection of books were destroyed. During all this wanton vandalism the troops had been stationed in Kensington. When news of the occurrences were sent to the military they were marched to the city, and during the rest of the night disposed in detachments for the protection of Catholic churches. Some of these were guarded by citizens. City Councils had an informal session on the evening of the 8th, and it was agreed by those present that twenty thousand dollars should be appropriated to the police committee toward payment of endeavoring to maintain the peace. It was now seen that the temporizing policy of the previous three or four days, the want of preparation to meet emergencies, the seeming helplessness which had allowed rapine, arson, and murder to hold saturnalia, was a great mistake of policy, and had given impunity to the worst elements.

On the morning of the 9th the mayor called a meeting of the citizens in the State-House yard to deliberate upon the present state of the public peace. As many as ten thousand persons were present. John M. Read was chairman, Frederick Fraley secretary. Horace Binney and John K. Kane made short speeches. Resolutions were adopted recommending citizens to "forthwith enroll and hold themselves in readiness to maintain the laws and protect the public peace under the direction of the constituted authorities of the city, county, and State." Other resolutions pledging support to the authorities were adopted, among which was one requesting citizens to meet in their several wards at the places of holding ward elections, "there to organize under the constituted authorities and support of peace and order."

The aldermen of the wards organized these companies. Each man was furnished with a white muslin badge, intended to be worn round the hat, upon which were printed the words "peace police." They were divided into patrols for the blocks and divisions of each ward, and were on duty all that night. On the same day Maj.-Gen. Patterson, who had hitherto not appeared in a military capacity except as attendant with the brigade of Gen. Cadwalader, called out the whole division and established his headquarters at the Girard Bank. Governor David R. Porter arrived in the city on the 9th, and issued a proclamation in relation to the late events. He ordered Maj.-Gen. Patterson to call into service the volunteers of the division to act in conjunction with the sheriff, and



ST. AUGUSTINE'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, DESTROYED BY MOB IN 1844.

made other suggestions in the interests of peace. The soldiers remained on duty for several days, during which there were no disturbances of any kind. On the Sunday, the 12th of May, succeeding the burning of St. Augustine's, the Catholic Churches were closed by direction of Bishop Kenrick. On the same day the military, fearing that persons might collect in places where mischief might be done, paraded through the streets in force. There was also sent up from the United States steamship "Princeton" a large detachment of the crew armed with boarding-pikes, cutlasses, and helmets. There was no disturbance, and in a few days the military were withdrawn from service.

Shortly after Governor Porter arrived he was ad-

dressed in a written communication by fifty-four citizens, whose signatures followed those of Horace Binney and John Sergeant. The communication was voluntary. The signers approved of all the Governor had done for suppression of the riots and prevention of future disturbances. Thanks were due to the military for their conduct during the whole of the trying emergencies; it was asserted that in cases where the military operations had resulted in wounds and death of citizens opposing them, such wounds and death were, in law and in conscience, wounds and death occasioned by the insurgents, and them only. This manifesto was subject in several particulars to severe criticism, which it received at the hands of the Native American party. The grand jury was in session at this time, and immediately afterwards made a presentment which was favorable to the Native Americans. They said that the commencement of the disturbances was caused by "the efforts of a portion of the community to exclude the Bible from the public schools. Those efforts in some measure gave rise to the formation of a new party, which called and held public meetings in the district of Kensington, in the peaceful exercise of the sacred rights and privileges guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution and laws of our State and country. These meetings were rudely disturbed and fired upon by a band of lawless, irresponsible men, some of whom had resided in the country only for a short period. This outrage, causing the death of a number of our unoffending citizens, led to immediate retaliation, and was followed up by subsequent acts of aggression, and in violation and open defiance of all law."

The Catholics were greatly dissatisfied with this, and protested against the conclusions of the grand inquest. A meeting of Catholic citizens was called shortly afterwards, the Hon. Archibald Randall, judge of the United States District Court, being chairman, and William A. Stokes secretary. They adopted an "address of the Catholic laity of Philadelphia." In this document the presentment of the grand jury was boldly attacked and declared to be unjust. It was denied on behalf of the Catholic community that they had made efforts to take the Bible from the public schools. They said that they only sought to procure the Catholic version of the Scriptures for the use of children of Catholic parents. Referring to the letter of the Catholic bishop of Philadelphia to the controllers of the public schools in 1842, they relied upon the fact that the Board of Controllers had by resolution exempted children from the necessity of reading the Bible in public schools whose parents were conscientiously opposed thereto.¹ In political matters

the address declared that Catholics were free from religious control. They recognized no authority in their spiritual teachers to control them in relation to such subjects, and they averred that their obedience to their bishops regards not the things that pertain to this world. In regard to the disturbances of the few days previous, it was asserted that Catholics did not commote them, and that in reference to all matters connected therewith they would await a legal investigation.

Before this time the Native American party had been feeble, and had scarcely attracted serious attention among politicians. The movement was looked upon with contempt by members of the old parties. It is doubtful whether the entire strength of the persons who had shown any sympathy with Native American doctrines before the riots of May were, in Philadelphia, as many as five hundred legal voters. But the riots gave to the party an immense popularity in the city and county, and the reason was because in the public opinion the rights of American citizens had been grossly attacked and abused, and that too by foreigners by birth, many of whom were unnaturalized, while others, who had become American citizens by favor of the naturalization laws, were more bitter even than the aliens. The Native American party from a few hundred swelled up immediately to an aggregate counted by thousands. Native American associations were established in every ward. Two classes of citizens became members. Young men, native-born, enthusiastic, and not politicians by interest, were naturally attracted by the sentiment "Americans should rule America." There was another class, which included some young people, but mostly of persons some years beyond manhood, or approaching or beyond the middle age, who were led by religious prejudices against the Catholics. These conflicting influences were at first accommodated by the immediate pressure and excitement. But the time came when the two sections disagreed, and the party gradually fell to pieces.²

The accessions to the ranks of the organization were so many, the enthusiasm was so high, and the belief in the success of the effort was so strong, that it was resolved to celebrate the Fourth of July by a Native American procession. The associations and clubs

by the controller or directors of the schools. They only desire to enjoy the benefit of the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, which guarantees the rights of conscience and precludes any sectarian modes of worship.

"They ask that the school laws be faithfully executed, and that the religious predilections of the parents be respected. They ask that the regulations of the controllers of the public schools adopted in December, 1834, be followed up, and that the resolutions of the same body adopted in January, 1843, be adhered to. They desire that the public schools be preserved from all sectarian influence, and that education be conducted in a way that may enable all citizens equally to share all the benefits without any violence being offered to their religious convictions."

² In the latter days of the party the "pure" Native Americans, who separated from the sectarian Native Americans, were called in the slang of the party "Mountain Sweets."

¹ The following extract from the communication of Bishop Kenrick, published in March, 1844, shows the Catholic statement of their position in this controversy:

"Catholics have not asked that the Bible be excluded from the public schools. They have merely desired for their children the liberty of using the Catholic version in case the reading of the Bible be prescribed

entered into the project with immense spirit. Fifty ward and township associations participated. They were all provided with banners, and some of them carried several. The greater portion of these were elegant and large, of silk, satin, and velvet, decorated with bright and handsome paintings from the pencils of skilled artists. There was a profusion of gilding, gold and silver bullion fringes, artificial flowers, ribbons, with never-ending recurrence of American flags and repeated presentation of the group colors,—red, white, and blue. There were about four thousand five hundred persons in this procession. The members of the ward associations turned out on foot. There were representatives of twenty-five States, on horseback, each gentleman bearing a banner. A temple of liberty, sixteen feet square at the base and twenty-two feet high, and supported by thirteen columns, rose from a pediment of four steps, and was placed upon a truck drawn by fourteen horses; a full-rigged ship, twenty-six feet long, drawn by four horses, followed by a pilot-boat fifteen feet long, was in the display made by the Fourth Ward, Southwark. The Third Ward, Kensington, the ship-carpenters' home, displayed an elegant model of a sloop-of-war, twenty-eight feet long, which was manned by seamen. There were other vessels with flags and insignia, the whole procession being accompanied by numerous bands of music. The participants turned out with the appearance of health, strength, and intelligence, and the parade, which marched over a long route, was the finest political procession that had ever been seen in the city, and nothing equal to it in the shape of party demonstration has been seen since. The persons participating marched to an inclosure of hill and valley on the east side of the Schuylkill, above Fairmount.¹

Here there were appropriate exercises suitable to the day, and in the evening there was a handsome display of fire-works, which was viewed, according to estimate, by fifty thousand persons. There were some apprehensions of disturbance from this procession. As far as the Native Americans were concerned, they took pains to prevent anything of the kind. They marched quietly, and those who witnessed the pageant made no hostile demonstration. It would have been well if all danger of disturbance had passed away with the smoke of the fire-works. A new occasion of bitterness, violence, destruction, and loss of life was connected with this procession by subsequent events.

Some Catholics, excited by memories of the occurrences of May, anticipated that the "Church-Burners," which epithet was used to designate the Native Americans, would make the day a new occasion for arson and riot. On the afternoon of the 5th of July, some persons who were in the neighborhood of the Catholic Church of St. Philip de Neri, on the south side of Queen Street between Second and Third, saw several muskets carried into that edifice. Southwark at this time was strongly Native American in its population. Immediate excitement followed the spreading of the news. Rumor said that the church was "a fort filled with guns and ammunition." In the evening small groups of persons gathered near the church to talk over the affair, and in time there were some hundreds of them. The small police force of the district was unable to do anything with so large a crowd if there should be any attempt at disturbance. Application was therefore made to the sheriff, McMichael. He had no posse embodied, but applied for troops to Gen. Patterson, and himself proceeded to Queen Street. Here the people outside being somewhat angry, and demanding that the church should be searched for arms, the sheriff, with Aldermen Hertz and Palmer, entered the building and brought out twelve unloaded muskets with bayonets, which were in fact the same that had been taken in at an earlier hour of the day. The crowd was dissatisfied and another search demanded. A party was made up from persons in the crowd. These persons searched closely. Seventy-five additional muskets were discovered heavily loaded, and axes, pistols, bludgeons, knives, and a keg of powder, cartridges, etc., also some bayonets fastened on poles to be used as pikes.

Subsequent investigation ascertained how these carnal weapons were placed there. It was the result of a great piece of folly, principally on the part of William H. Dunn, a brother of the pastor of the church. He was a lawyer by profession, a fiery young Irishman, possessed of much more zeal than prudence and common sense. After the destruction of St. Michael's and St. Augustine's, he persuaded some forty or fifty men to enroll themselves as a company for the defense of the church. They were without arms, and applied to Governor David R. Porter for muskets. The latter gave an order for twenty-five of those weapons to be furnished from the arsenal. Dunn also applied to Brig.-Gen. Horatio Hubbell, of the Third Brigade, for a commission as captain of a volunteer company, which was granted. He held this rank at the time, and the commission was not revoked until afterward, upon the allegation that Dunn was an alien. The company met in the church previous to the 4th of July and were drilled there. There were one hundred and fifty armed men in the building on the night of the 4th of July, when an attack was feared. The guns which were taken into the church on the 5th of July were defective, and had been sent to a gunsmith for repair. The open manner in

¹ The valley was just above Sedgely. The Schuylkill Spring Garden Water-Works are built at the lower end of it; crossing the Reading Railroad, it extended up toward the northeast. A gentle brook purled along the bottom, and the banks were pleasant with wild vines, shrubbery, and in the spring here was the spot nearest the city where the dogwood-tree bloomed most abundant. Years ago this charming little valley was obliterated. Those who would seek for it will wander in vain amid the ponderous and immense buildings of Brewertown in search of the wild beauties of the spot. Scarcely any portion of Philadelphia has been more strangely changed from its original appearance than this.

which they were returned led to the subsequent disturbances.

While the committee of search were in the church the City Guards, Capt. Hill, arrived on the ground. Sentinels were thrown out, and the persons in the crowd were ordered to disperse, which they did. The guards spent a quiet night in watch and sentry duty, but when next day the result of the examination of the second searching committee was reported, the excitement blazed up afresh. The guards remained on duty all the succeeding day (Saturday, July 6th), and, as the throngs increased, the difficulty of restraining them became greater. Brig.-Gen. George Cadwalader was upon the ground in the afternoon, and addressed the crowd, and requested the persons composing it to disperse. His eloquence produced no effect. The crowd increased towards night, and about dark groups of people filled up nearly the entire space on Queen Street, between Second and Third. About dusk a military force, consisting of the Mechanic Rifles, Washington Blues, Cadwalader Grays, Montgomery Hibernia Greens, Markle Rifles, and Junior Artillerists, the latter having three field-pieces, came upon the ground, and reinforced the City Guards. The streets in the neighborhood of Queen, Second, and Third Streets were filled with people. The military filled up the square upon Queen Street, and the crowd was pushed out from there. This movement added to the throngs on Second and Third Streets. On Second Street, by vigorous measures the square between Queen and Christian Streets was cleared, and sentinels were placed. Upon Third Street the movement was not so successful. The people retired slowly. Some of them taunted the soldiers, and dared them to fire. Some persons, it is said, threw stones at the men. Sheriff McMichael, with his posse, was in front of the military endeavoring to clear the streets. The taunts of the crowd were irritating, and Gen. Cadwalader, who was with this part of the force, gave orders to fire. One of the field-pieces was leveled at the crowd. At this moment a man stepped out in front of the cannon and said, "No, don't fire! don't fire!" It was Charles Naylor, a lawyer, formerly member of Congress from the Third District, and at that time acting as a member of the sheriff's posse. His impulse was humane, and in order to save the lives of men, women, and children in the crowd, who were innocent of insult to the soldiers, and were there as spectators. Gen. Cadwalader ordered the immediate arrest of Naylor, and under a guard he was sent at once to the church, where he was held as a military prisoner. The circumstance was sufficient to effect the clearing of Third Street, and guards were placed.

But the people who were forced away from the immediate vicinity were given by the occurrences cause, as they believed, for fresh animosity against the soldiers. Naylor became at once a hero, and the story of his bold interposition in behalf of the people

flew from mouth to mouth. Toward midnight the crowds gradually dispersed. The military companies were dismissed, with the exception of the Markle Rifles, the Mechanic Rifles, and the Montgomery Hibernia Greens. It was one of the blunders of the unhappy occasion that the latter should have been retained for any duty. The organization was Irish, and the members probably without exception Catholics. They might be trusted on this account more faithfully to defend the church. But as the whole trouble arose from the fact that the church had on, and previously to, the 4th of July been garrisoned by a company of armed Catholics, it was bad judgment to have sent that company to the place. And the determination of the general only added to the irritation and excitement. With daylight of Sunday morning, the 7th of July, crowds of people began to assemble in the neighborhood of the church. The story was told that Naylor, the friend and defender of the people, was held prisoner in the church by Irish soldiers. As the day advanced the excitement increased. About eleven o'clock some rough characters made their appearance in front of the church upon Queen Street, dragging with them an old four-pounder cannon, lashed upon wheels, which was reported to be loaded with slugs and various missiles. A formal demand was then made for the release of Naylor. During the delay Alderman Charles Hertz, of Southwark (a Native American in politics), who was present, suddenly stooped to the gutter in the street near the curb-stone, and with his hands scooped up water, which he threw upon the priming of the gun. This bold and thoughtful act no doubt saved the church at the time. While this was going on another gang of desperadoes, with an eighteen-pounder lashed on wheels, came up Christian Street, and entering a court between Second and Third Streets, proceeded toward the rear of the church, against which they commenced a bombardment of little effect for the want of cannon-ball of sufficient size. Two or three rounds were fired at a circular window, the ammunition being slugs and nails, and the damage being but small. This piece was withdrawn about one o'clock, and brought back afterwards with another. They were fired without any serious damage being done. Thomas D. Grover and Lewis C. Levin, two prominent Native Americans, went among these persons and requested them to desist. Finally, they consented to withdraw if Mr. Grover would agree to ride upon one of the pieces. He did so, mounted the cannon, and was drawn down Christian Street to Delaware Avenue. There the guns were abandoned by the persons who had them.

All this time Mr. Naylor was under guard in the church. It was determined that he should be released. The crowd in front of the church, whose cannon had been disabled by the strategy of Hertz, now had recourse to a much more ancient weapon. They got a large piece of timber and, using it as a battering ram,

with frequent blows broke in the front door of the church. The soldiers were within. Fortunately, they did not fire upon the crowd, although it was said that they were commanded to do so by their officers. The release of Naylor became a necessity. He was discharged by some of the aldermen of the district upon his recognizance to appear and answer whenever wanted. His release was the signal of wild enthusiasm. He was received by the mob with cheers, made a short address from the steps of the church, entreated the people to keep the peace and retire to their homes, and was escorted by a multitude of persons to his residence in Fifth Street, above Walnut, where he again made a speech, and requested the people present to act like worthy and respected citizens.

With the release of Naylor might have closed the unpleasant story, if it had not been for another reminder of the excitement of the previous day. The military company of Montgomery (Hibernia Greens) was still in the church. Their remaining there was a constant irritation. The mob demanded that the soldiers should be removed from the church. Lewis C. Levin, Thomas D. Grover, and other leading Native Americans, were present. Each of the former addressed the crowd in the interests of peace. Finally it was agreed by a sort of a treaty made with the ring-leaders that they would cease their attacks if the "Greens" were withdrawn. The church was evacuated entirely and the troops marched out, the Mechanic Rifles and the Markle Rifles escorting and endeavoring to protect the "Greens." The Rifles were received with cheers, but the "Greens" with hootings and yells. The march was attempted to be made by way of Queen and Second Streets. A great crowd followed the soldiers, occasionally cheering the Rifles, but pelting the "Greens" with stones and brickbats whenever there was a chance to reach them. At German Street one of the Greens fired at the crowd; with that the company broke, leaving their escorts, and ran. They were hotly pursued. Some of them were overtaken and beaten. One who was alleged to be the man who had fired was left for dead. Capt. Colahan succeeded in rallying a platoon or two of his men somewhere in Fifth Street, and with them marched up to the State-House. This ought to have been the last outrage of that unhappy day. It was unfortunately the prelude of something yet more serious. The disturbances in Southwark, growing more and more turbulent, were reported all over the city, and great crowds of people repaired in the afternoon to the neighborhood of the church, most of them from curiosity. The troops being withdrawn, there was great danger of further violence. Here the leading men of the Native American party intervened to prevent, if possible, further disturbance. They arranged themselves on the steps, in front of the church, as defenders of the building. They wanted the persons in the mob to understand that the church was under the

protection of the members of the Native American party. Messrs. Thomas D. Grover, Lewis C. Levin, Charles J. Jack, John Perry, and others made short speeches, and whenever new symptoms of violence occurred their voices were heard in expostulation and remonstrance. They could not prevent a demonstration which was made toward the middle of the afternoon, by means of the battering-ram which had been used against the door in the morning. This missile was employed with great effect upon the brick wall of the side yard of the church west of it. A breach was effected, and through this the besiegers entered. Breaking through the windows and doors on the side of the church, they gained access to the building and swarmed over it. The Native American leaders, who had been on the outside, entered with them and endeavored to prevent destruction. They were quite successful. Very little damage was done, with the exception of breaking doors and windows on entering. The satisfaction of curiosity was the prevailing disposition. In the course of the afternoon hundreds of persons entered the building almost with the regularity of a procession. They went through the church and, having satisfied their curiosity, retired by the door of exit in good order. After the pressure of sight-seers was over, and the parties who had desired access to the church had been satisfied, the prominent Native Americans who were present organized a committee of one hundred to defend the church. From their own numbers they stationed guards at the various doors. Persons were allowed to depart, but none to enter, and before dark the building was entirely within their charge. The excitement was now subdued. The riotously inclined were satisfied. Naylor was free, and the church was in charge of the Native Americans. Nothing more could have been desired, and as the spectators dispersed to their homes it was generally supposed that the trouble was over. It might have been so if the citizens' committee had been left in charge of the church.

In the afternoon, while the turmoil was fierce in front of the church, the bell in the steeple of Independence Hall rang out the signal for the assembling of the military staffs. At half-past six o'clock the troops left the State-House yard with music playing, and proceeded in that way, attracting much attention (martial music on Sunday being very unusual, except in case of funerals), down Fifth Street toward Queen. Many persons attracted by the show accompanied them, and when they got to Third and Queen Streets a large crowd was following or marching with them on the sidewalks. The head of the column reached the front of the church about seven o'clock. It was a long summer afternoon, and not yet dark. The Cadwalader Grays, Capt. Robert K. Scott, were ordered to clear Queen Street down to Second. The crowd retired slowly, and some who were in it sullenly. The Grays found difficulty in forcing the people back, and the City Guards, Capt.

Joseph Hill, were ordered to support them. The latter pointed their bayonets in the manner of a charge toward the crowd, and pressed forward. However those nearest might have desired, they could not get out of the way; there was a great pressure behind them, and those farthest away did not understand the necessity of quick movement. There was no extraordinary show of animosity by the people; the majority of them were peaceably inclined, but a few rough-tongued fellows among them endangered the safety of all. At this moment, while persons in front of the bayonets were in some cases taking hold of them and endeavoring to deflect them, so that they should not be wounded, the citizens' committee of one hundred was marching toward Second Street on the south sidewalk in procession two and two. They had surrendered the charge of the building to Gen. Cadwalader.

While some persons in the street were engaged in altercation with the soldiers or taunting them some bricks and stones were thrown from the crowd, and soldiers in Scott's and Hill's companies were struck and some of them knocked down. Capt. Hill, in front of his company with sword drawn, was seized by a person, who took him by the arm and endeavored to wrest the sword from him. In the scuffle Hill was partly down on one knee. More stones were being thrown. Then Capt. Hill gave the order to fire. The companies at the time were near Second Street. They fired across and down Queen Street and down Second Street. By this discharge Isaac Freed, William Crozier, Ellis Lewis, and James Linsenberger, a boy, and perhaps others, were killed outright, and several persons were severely wounded. Among the latter were women, some of whom were standing at their own door-steps as the soldiers came down, and one was shot while leaving a private house at which she was a visitor. The bodies of the dead were removed to the Southwark Commissioners' Hall near by. A savage excitement sprang up among the people. Some of them repairing to the hall took possession of the muskets and the guns which had been taken from the church on the 5th of July. They proceeded to use them against the military. A regular battle commenced. The soldiers were fired at from neighboring streets and alleys. On the other hand every precaution was taken to save the lives of the volunteers. To prevent their being seen by the lamp-lights and good aim taken at them, the lights were put out and the soldiers placed as well as could be under shelter of houses and steps. The mob made the Wharton market, at Second and Wharton Streets, their rendezvous. There were soon brought four cannon, two of them having been in service in the morning attacks upon the church. One of the latter had been pinned.

About ten o'clock a cannon, brought up quietly by the rioters and posted at Front and Queen Streets, was fired up the street at the military. It was loaded

with chains, bolts, spikes, and other missiles. The aim was too high and the load flew over the heads of the soldiers. The latter immediately returned the fire from two guns in battery at Second and Queen Streets. The rioters replied from their gun, and there was a sharp cannonade for some time, as also musketry firing. There had been a general alarm to call out the military from the State-House, and before ten o'clock two regiments of the Second Brigade had arrived with three pieces of artillery. They were posted in the neighborhood of Third and Queen Streets. The rioters becoming aware of this, shifted the point of attack. They muffled the wheels of the wagons upon which their pieces were placed by various devices. Among other things it was said that jackets and portions of the clothing of the ruffians had been tied around the wheels. One gun was brought up Christian to Third Street and pointed up the latter. By its discharges Sergt. John Geyer, of the Germantown Blues, was instantly killed. Corp. H. Troutman, of the same company, was mortally wounded and afterwards died, and several soldiers were wounded. The fire was immediately returned by the soldiers posted on Third Street without doing any damage. The attack was so unexpected that they were not quite ready, and before their piece was discharged the cannon at Third and Christian Streets had been pulled away by a long rope which was managed by the persons who had it in charge, who were skulking behind the house at the corner of Christian Street, and were safe from the soldiers. Afterward a cannon, which had quietly been brought to Fourth and Queen Streets by the rioters, was fired down the street. Some of the soldiers were wounded. The military were under difficulty for the want of cavalry when the fight commenced. A charge upon any gun after it was fired would have insured the capture of the piece. The Washington Cavalry, Capt. Snyder, and the first State Troop, came upon the ground about eleven o'clock. Gen. Patterson had sent them from his headquarters, established at the Girard Bank. The insurgents, who seemed to be well apprised of the military movements, soon knew this. They prepared for it by stretching ropes across the street from tree to tree, or by other means of fastening. Fortunately, the obstructions were not necessary to be passed, otherwise many horses would have been thrown down and the men injured. Later in the night there was firing almost at the same time by the rioters with the cannon from Front and Queen, from Fourth and Queen, and from Third and Christian Streets. In the course of the night the cavalry by successive charges had succeeded in capturing three pieces, and the war was over.¹

¹ It was impossible to ascertain the names and number of the wounded. The following were killed:

Military.

John Geyer, of the Germantown Blues.
Corp. H. Troutman, of the Germantown Blues.

Before morning the fight was over, but the condition of the soldiers was really alarming. Some of them had been marched upon the ground early in the afternoon. They had been without supper or food, or even water, except such as might be obtained from the public pumps during the night. They were exceedingly fatigued and hungry. They were surrounded by a hostile population, and there was no commissariat. They received nothing to eat and no supply of ammunition until near noon on the 8th, when citizens' volunteer police guards, of Locust, Pine, and Cedar Wards, all armed, brought to them ammunition and provisions. This was the first refreshment furnished many of them for twenty-two hours. There were ominous rumors of what was to happen in the evening and night succeeding if the troops were kept at the church. Dreadful scenes of slaughter were predicted. The commissioners of the district of Southwark, recognizing the imminent probability that there would be bloodshed and arson, perhaps, if the troops were kept in the district, interested themselves to obtain an order for the withdrawal of the force. There was consultation with the sheriff, the judges of the Court of Quarter Session, and the members of the County Board. The commissioners were confident that, if possession of the church were given over to them and the aldermen and police of the district, the church-building could be preserved from harm, excitement would cease, and public peace be restored. It was therefore thought prudent to withdraw the military. Maj.-Gen. Patterson gave the proper order. The force marched off from the ground in the afternoon, and there was no disturbance afterward.

Governor David R. Porter, apprised of the disturbances, arrived in the city on the afternoon of Monday. He issued general orders sustaining the course of the military, and directing measures for the maintenance of the peace thereafter. He also called out a considerable number of troops from other counties of the State near Philadelphia. The headquarters of the force was at the Girard Bank. Detachments of soldiers were there, and sentries were placed. The other troops were quartered in detachments at various places. Altogether it is estimated that five thou-

sand soldiers were under arms in the city at this time. They were gradually dismissed during the next two or three weeks, and there was no public disturbance.

The difficulty of the previous season had been the doubt as to whether the military force could be properly called upon by the sheriff, as well as the indisposition of the volunteer soldiers to be used as policemen, and put upon a service unpleasant, thankless, and dangerous. It was under the argument that the city ought to be supplied with an armed force, subject to be called out when necessary for the preservation of the peace, that an ordinance was introduced into Select Council "to provide for the preservation of the peace of the city." It authorized the enlistment of a battalion of artillery, a regiment of infantry, and one or more full troop of horse. The companies might be any of the present volunteer corps, or such as might thereafter be enrolled and equipped. They were to be under command of the brigadier-general of the city brigade in case of necessity. Ten thousand dollars were to be set aside at once to meet the requirements of the ordinance, and six thousand dollars were appropriated shortly afterward. The ordinance was passed on the 11th of July, and on the 26th of September, Gen. Cadwalader reported that the full complement was made up and consisted of one thousand three hundred and fifty men. Seven thousand dollars were appropriated by the city at once to pay for uniforms and equipments. Gen. Cadwalader insisted that these troops should be clothed in the United States uniform. Several of the volunteer companies, which had distinctive uniforms, refused to adopt the suggestion. The city troops were therefore made up from some of the volunteer companies which had been languishing, and were glad, for the sake of filling up their ranks and their treasuries, to accept the bounty. Several of the companies were entirely new in men and in officers.

When the Legislature assembled at the ensuing session, the necessity of strengthening the hands of the civil authorities for the preservation of the peace became of paramount consideration. All through the riots and disturbances of the preceding ten years, and an incentive and assistance even, though not intended, was the anomalous condition of the city and county in consequence of the municipal divisions of government which had been created from time to time. A boundary street running between one district and another was as effectual a barrier to the passage of a policeman or constable across it to an adjoining district as if there had been a strong wall there fifty feet high. When there were riots in Moyamensing the city police might be massed in a body on the north side of Cedar or South Street, and be witnesses of riot, murder, or arson within fifty feet of their station without having the right to interfere. If there was a riot in the city the disturbance was no affair of the police of the districts. The latter, indeed, were of small account, few in number, and expecting in emergency

Citizens.

Isaac Freed, residing in Green Street, aged sixty-one years.

William Crozier, residing in Plum Street, aged thirty-six years.

Ellis Lewis, aged twenty-five years.

James Dougherty, aged fifteen years.

Edward Lyon, aged twenty-five years.

David Cathcart, aged twenty-seven years.

Thomas C. Saunders, aged eighteen years.

Elijah P. Jester, residing on Second above Spruce Street, aged thirty-eight years.

Gerhart Ellis, residing on Queen Street, aged twenty-eight years.

John Cook, an oysterman, one of the rioters, aged thirty-three years.

James Linsenberger, Parrish Street, aged nineteen years.

A German, name unknown, who looked out of a garret-window on the south side of Queen Street, between Front and Second, had his head taken off by a cannon-ball.

valuable reinforcement from the district constables. The latter were conservators of the peace from time immemorial by the common law. But in the city and county at this time they had practically ceased to exercise their privileges, and made scarcely any attempt to discharge other duties than those connected with civil proceedings, the serving of writs of summons and subpoena, the process of execution and distress in suits for debt and under landlords' warrants. The functions of constable were with such men only a business to be conducted for the benefit and profit of the officer, to be discreetly managed so as to need as little work as possible, and to bring in as many fees as the law allowed, and frequently much more. The sheriff, under the common-law doctrine, was considered the conservator of peace of the county. He had large powers; he might summon the *posse comitatus*. The whole power of the county was subject to his command. But if the power should refuse to come, it was a great legal puzzle to the sheriff and his advisers how he could compel it to come. A few friends or citizens might rally round his standard, but even they considered themselves volunteers, with no compulsion to serve or to remain in service longer than they chose. Hence it became apparent that the only hope of the sheriff in great turbulence was in calling out the armed militia. But whether he had any power to do so was a debatable question. The volunteers themselves did not fancy the sort of work which turned them into constables. Coming from among the citizens, some of them were likely to be influenced by the same passions and prejudices that were carried to extremities by the mob. Many of them did not desire to be placed in positions of antagonism to their fellow-citizens, and the duty of enforcing the civil laws in times of excitement was not pleasant. Added to all this was the idea that they were troops of the State, organized under the laws of the commonwealth, subject only to the orders of the Governor as commander-in-chief of their superior officers. There were several occasions during which the sheriffs or mayors sought the assistance of the volunteers in time of danger, and when their services were either refused or given with reluctance.

There were some citizens bolder and more far-seeing than others, the latter being among the most influential, who saw that the remedy for such a state of things was only to be found in the breaking up of the separate and independent municipalities, and uniting them under one government. Some of these persons met in the county court-house in December, Samuel Webb being the chairman, and Joseph Reese Fry the secretary. This meeting boldly attacked the difficulty by adopting an address and presenting the draft of a law consolidating the city and districts in one corporation. The proposition was a great shock to conservatism. Certain persons in the city, whose opinions were looked to as the sum total of human wisdom, were surprised by the au-

dacity of the movement. They could not agree to anything of the kind. Therefore, immediately afterward, a meeting was called at Evans' Washington Hotel, in George [Sansom] Street, at which ex-Mayor John M. Scott was president, and Richard Vaux secretary. Horace Binney, Sr., offered the resolutions which deprecated the proposed remedy of consolidation of the city and districts. A committee was appointed to prepare memorials to Councils and the Legislature in opposition to the plan.¹ City Councils, influenced, it may be supposed, by a desire to prevent the uncertain political changes that would follow consolidation, among which was the danger that the old, respectable, and conservative methods of city legislation would be overborne by the less formal methods of proceedings in the districts, passed resolutions declaring their opposition to the consolidation plan, but recommending, instead, the establishment by act of Assembly of a police system for the city and districts which would not interfere "with the integrity of the (city) corporation." Under this influence the Legislature passed the desired law. The act was passed April 12, 1845. Under its provisions the city of Philadelphia and the incorporated districts of Spring Garden, Northern Liberties, and Penn, and the township of Moyamensing were required to establish and maintain police forces of "not less than one able-bodied man for one hundred and fifty taxable inhabitants," for the prevention of riots and the preservation of the public peace. A superintendent of police was required to be elected for the city and for each district. If there was failure in any section to comply with the law, the city, township, or district so failing was to be held responsible for all damage and loss of property occasioned by riot or tumult within its territorial limits. In case of any riot occurring which the police force of the district was unable to suppress, the sheriff had authority to call on the several superintendents of police for the whole or any part of their forces. In case twelve or more persons were unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled, the sheriff or his deputies or the police superintendents were authorized "to go among them, or as near to them as he can safely go, and there with a loud voice make proclamation, in the name of the commonwealth, requiring and commanding all persons there so unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assembled, and all other persons not being there on duty as police, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business." To continue there after such proclamation was of itself a misdemeanor to be punished by imprisonment, and every one who remained on the ground might be arrested.

¹ It was composed of Josiah Randall, Horn R. Kneass, Horace Binney, Jr., St. George Tucker Campbell, Sidney G. Fisher, Robert H. Hare, William A. Stokes, John H. Markland, and James W. Paul. It is worthy of note that all these gentlemen, as well as the officers of the meeting and the mover of the resolutions, were lawyers.

This statute also clearly established the right of the sheriff to call upon the major-general commanding the military division of the city or county or his assistants, upon certifying to him that there was an existing riot or tumult which the police force under his command was, in his opinion, not competent to suppress without further aid. The troops were authorized to "proceed in military array and subordination, and by military force in any part of the city and county to restore the public peace. . . . And it shall be lawful for the said military to proceed in suppression of such riot, tumult, and unlawful assembly as aforesaid by such military force, and in like manner as in the case of war or public insurrection."¹

In the summer and autumn of this year the followers of the Rev. William Miller, the false prophet, who by pretended interpretations of the Scriptures, and particularly of the book of Revelation in the New Testament, formed theories by which he thought was established the certainty that the end of the world was at hand, were active in the city. They held frequent meetings, and rented a church building in Juliana Street above Vine, at which many of their conferences were held. The Millerites were pious, and generally estimable people, strong in their religious views, but carried astray by the plausibility of the arguments of Miller, strengthened by quotations from Scripture, which they undertook to construe for themselves according to their own belief. Two or three times during 1843-44 the "last day" had been named and waited for by them in apprehension. Each failure instead of discouraging them seemed to strengthen their faith, and every postponement only appeared to them a confirmation of their belief that the great day was at hand. The last dread prophecy told that on the 24th of October the last trumpet would blow. The world would come to an end. Those who were living upon the earth would be translated to heaven. The dead would rise and the awful judgment be pronounced. Fully believing in the expected event, they prepared for it with great solemnity. Ascension dresses were made and ready. With these the persons repaired to various places, some in New Jersey, and some in Pennsylvania. Showing their sincerity, many of them abandoned their houses and property, leaving their dwellings and places of business with doors unlocked, and everything exposed to thieves. Property was of no value to them, and would soon be destroyed. In many places the neighbors of these deluded people, in kindness and pity, watched their property for them, or took

measures to fasten up their houses from predatory visitors. The most of the Philadelphia Millerites repaired to a field near Darby, where they pitched a tent about noon of the 22d, and passed the time with hymns and prayers waiting the dread moment. Before night this canvas shelter was too small for those who sought it. Some of them were compelled to stay in the fields. Some had divested themselves of their earthly garments, and were thinly clad in their ascension dresses. Rain began to fall. The night was dark and stormy. There was no fire nor any means of comfort, nor even food. It was folly to cater to the appetite, or to seek warmth or comfort at such a moment. A second tent was put up on the 23d. That was the last day beyond all question. At midnight it was expected that the Son of Man would come. All were prepared, and they awaited the dreadful change with tears and prayers, and yet the tide of time ran on. Midnight came and passed. There was no signal. Some awaited the consummation all day of the 24th. Others began to go off after daylight, and straggled on to the city toward their earthly homes, disappointed, tired, cold, sick, and hungry. If after they had recovered, they held on to belief in the doctrines of William Miller, they gradually fell away and died without the sign.

This year may be considered the foundation date of the establishment of the great public inclosure, Fairmount Park. Among the assets of the Bank of the United States at the time of its failure was the estate immediately north of Fairmount Water-Works known as Lemon Hill, which had formerly been the seat of Henry Pratt. The disposition of this valuable property, for as large an amount as possible to be obtained for it, was the object of the assignees. The period was unpropitious. The failure of the bank had paralyzed trade, crippled capitalists, and rendered money scarce. "Hard times" prevailed, and the prospect of selling this fine estate, which had been purchased for two-hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, to any one purchaser or even to a company for anything like the amount was small indeed. Some shrewd person seems to have suggested that the city of Philadelphia ought to be compelled to buy it. It was a good idea, and only needed the presentation of certain arguments to make it seem as if such purchase was an absolute necessity. The Schuylkill water! How necessary to preserve its purity for the health and convenience of the people! What a source of poisonous drainage and danger might a piece of property so near the water-works become if it should be built upon and occupied by dwellings, stores, or factories! The newspapers were brought to the assistance of the plan by judicious publications, the text to which was that the possession by the city of the Lemon Hill estate "may prove the means of more effectually protecting the basin at Fairmount from the introduction of substances more or less prejudicial to the community." "The College of Physicians rallied in favor of the scheme

¹ This act was the foundation upon which was afterwards built the act to establish the marshal's police, passed May 3, 1850, which was one step nearer consolidation. Under the act of 1844 there was a police superintendent in each district, and he was independent of the superintendents, Councils, or commissioners of other districts. The act of 1850, while not interfering with the regular police forces of the city and districts, put the extra police under the control of a single officer elected by the people of the districts to serve for three years, and called the marshal of police for the Philadelphia police district.

and sent to Councils a memorial setting forth the sanitary and salutary benefits that would follow the acquisition. Twenty-seven petitions, signed by two thousand four hundred and forty-three citizens, were sent to Councils, and those bodies yielded to the arguments. They got a great bargain. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was the amount which the bank expected to realize from the property at the time. The purchase was made for twenty-five thousand dollars less. The assignees knew that they could not obtain any such sum. They modestly offered to take one hundred and thirty thousand dollars; but the city finally bought the tract, fifty-two acres, for seventy-five thousand dollars, a great bargain, indeed." The deed was dated July 24, 1844. Nothing was done with the property for some years. Lemon Hill Park was dedicated for public use, separated from Fairmount by Coates Street and Landing Avenue, Sept. 18, 1855. Sedgely, north of Lemon Hill, was acquired in 1856. The Lansdowne property, on the west side of the Schuylkill, was obtained in 1866. And in 1867 the possible boundaries of the park were extended, under authority given to the Park Commissioners, on the east side of the Schuylkill from Callowhill Street, Fairmount, up to the mouth of the Wissahickon, and on both sides of that stream to Chestnut Hill, whilst upon the west side the territory extended from the Callowhill Street bridge up to a point nearly opposite to the Falls of Schuylkill.

The borough of West Philadelphia, in the township of Blockley, was incorporated by act of February 17th. The boundaries commenced at the intersection line of Hamilton village and the Darby road; thence along the northwest curb-line of that road to the north side of Chestnut Street; along the curb, on the north side of that street, to the Schuylkill; along the Schuylkill to the north line of property of the city of Philadelphia on Washington, or Market Street; thence on the north line of the said property west to the western termination of that property; thence south by the west line of that property to the north side of Hugh McIlvaine's property; thence west along the said north line to McIlvaine's western boundary; thence south along the west line of his property to the south side of the Lancaster turnpike road; thence along the south side of the said road to the eastwardly line of the late Creans estate; south by the same to the south side of Green Street; along the south line of that street to the west side of Cedar lane; along the latter to the east line of Rose's estate; thence south along the same to the westerly line of Hamilton village, and along the same to the intersection of Darby road, the place of beginning. It would puzzle a surveyor to lay out these lines at the present day. The usual method of laying out districts by recognized street or ward boundaries was laid aside for the benefit of special private estates mentioned in the act. This legislation had been rendered necessary by a former illegal proceeding. The borough of West

Philadelphia had been created by order of the Court of Quarter Sessions in 1840. The authority to do this was contested by certain citizens, and the proceeding was finally decided by the Supreme Court to be illegal. The act of Assembly chartering the borough was intended to do away with the mischief caused by the former error, and to provide for the debts of the late borough. The first commissioners of the borough appointed under the act were Henry Leech, H. G. Freeman, Jacob Brown, Richard McIlvaine, James Hanna, and James Twaddell.

By act of February 26th the inhabitants of the district of Penn., as the same was bounded by the act of April 19, 1843, were constituted a corporation under the title of "The Commissioners and Inhabitants of the District of Penn." There were nine commissioners, the full term of each being three years.

The borough of Frankford was authorized to elect councilmen for three years, full term, by act of March 14th.

The Northern Liberties Gas Company, which had been established before this time, was incorporated April 13th, with a capital of \$200,000, with authority "to construct and maintain suitable works for the manufacture of high carburetted hydrogen gas from bituminous coal and other substances, for the purpose of public and private illumination in the district of the Northern Liberties, or in streets dividing that district from those opposite."

The Spring Garden Gas Company was incorporated April 27th, "for the distribution of hydrogen carburetted gas, for the purpose of public and private illumination." The capital was \$20,000, with right to increase to \$40,000. The public lamps in the district, it was stipulated, should be lighted at one-half the rates to private consumers. This corporation was given authority to purchase the works of the Spring Garden Gas Company then in existence.

A horse-race at the Camden (N. J.) race-course between "Fashion" and "Peytona," on the 28th of May, was attended by many thousands of citizens of Philadelphia. The horses were favorites. During the morning the stand upon which many people were crowded fell. Several persons were thrown down. The wildest excitement was caused by the accident. The news spread to the city, and the horrors of the case immensely magnified. Hundreds were killed, so rumor said. Their friends and relatives swarmed the ferries, crowded the steamboats, and crossed to New Jersey. Terror and alarm followed in many families. Finally, it was discovered that nobody had been killed. Twelve persons were injured rather seriously, and several more slightly, but eventually all recovered.

A fire took place in the Academy of Fine Arts, in Chestnut Street, between Tenth and Eleventh, by incendiary means, on the evening of the 11th of June. The valuable collection of statues, casts, models, paintings, and engravings belonging to the society

were in great danger, and many of them were destroyed. Benjamin West's painting, "Death on the Pale Horse," was cut from the frame and saved in a damaged state. Stuart's original full-length portrait of Washington was rescued, but was considerably injured, and several other paintings of great merit were lost. Among them were the "Roman Daughter," by Murillo, which once belonged to Godoy; "Prince of Peace;" "St. Jerome," by Murillo; a shipwreck; by Salvator Rosa; "St. Francis," by Guido; a portrait of Columbus, and portraits of Dugald Stewart, John Quincy Adams, Judge Shippen, and Judge Hopkinson. The antique gallery, containing fifty or sixty statues, was totally destroyed. The library of the academy was materially injured. In many particulars the loss was irreparable. A public meeting was held shortly afterwards, and subscriptions were authorized to be taken up for the benefit of the academy. Many paintings and engravings were damaged by water, but were afterwards restored with considerable skill.

In the early part of September a fire at Broad and Cherry Streets destroyed two forwarding depots and warehouses, extensive in size and well stored with goods ready to be transported. The fire commenced in a stable near Arch Street, on the west side. The flames were communicated to the large storehouse of Siter, James & Co., and thence communicated to the warehouse of James Steel & Co., at the southwest corner of Cherry Street. Crossing over that street to the north side, the warehouse of Craig, Bellas & Co. was also totally destroyed. In front these establishments took up nearly three-quarters of a square between Arch and Race Streets, and they extended back two hundred or two hundred and fifty feet. They were filled with grain, flour, provisions, and other staples brought from the West, and with groceries, dry goods, clothing, etc., ready to be taken West. The loss was very heavy.

The first movement toward the construction of the Pennsylvania Railroad took place during this year. It was thought that the transportation facilities between Philadelphia and the West were not sufficient for the business. Transportation was slow by railroad to Columbia. By canal along the Susquehanna and Juniata to Blairsville, by inclined plane over the mountains to the Conemaugh, and thence by canal at Pittsburgh, was considered slow in comparison to what might be done and what ought to be done. A meeting was held December 9th at Musical Fund Hall, Thomas P. Cope, president. Speeches were made by William M. Meredith, Henry D. Gilpin, Isaac Hazlehurst, John J. McCahen, James M. Sanderson, and George Darsie, of Pittsburgh. The burden of all these addresses was that better means of communication were necessary, and that they could be secured by building a railroad between Harrisburg and Pittsburgh. Committees were appointed to prepare an address on the subject to the people of

Pennsylvania, and to petition the Legislature for an act of incorporation for a railroad company between the points named. This proceeding led to important results in after-years.

The intelligence of the death of ex-President Andrew Jackson was received with regret. City Councils ordered that the Independence Hall should be hung with black; that the State-House bell should be muffled and tolled upon such day as should be appointed for a general mourning solemnity. This occurred on the 26th of June. There was a great procession; Samuel J. Henderson was chief marshal. The volunteers of the city and county brigades, firemen, Odd-Fellows, Sons of Temperance, and the officers of municipal corporations and members of various societies swelled the concourse. The procession marched to Washington Square, where, upon a platform deeply draped with sable hangings, the Rev. George W. Bethune delivered a prayer, and the Hon. George M. Dallas, Vice-President of the United States, an oration.

Commodore Jesse Duncan Elliott, of the United States navy, died in December, and was buried on the 13th from his residence, South Fourth Street near Spruce. The volunteers of the First Brigade, United States seamen, City Councils, and other public bodies attended. The burial took place in the modest little graveyard belonging to the United States Naval Asylum.

The project to connect the Columbia Railroad and the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad on the east side of the river Schuylkill led to the passage of the act of April 15, 1845, by which the Schuylkill Railroad Company was incorporated. Power was given to construct a suitable railroad, with a single and double track, commencing at and connecting with the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad at a point between the east side of Schuylkill Front Street (Twenty-second), and the west side of Fairmount Street (Twenty-fifth); thence southwardly by the most convenient and practicable route, approaching as near the Schuylkill River as the nature of the ground, the accommodation of trade and business, and other circumstances will reasonably admit, until it reaches South Street, with liberty of extension, if stockholders approve, from South Street to the intersection of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad at a point above Gray's Ferry, subject to the same rights and restrictions as the Northern Liberties and Penn Township (Willow Street) Railroad Company by act of April 23, 1829. One track of this railroad was built. It was near the Schuylkill, and crossed Market Street about Twenty-third, ran west on the south side of the abutments of the permanent bridge and southward by Beach Street and other streets as far as South. It is doubtful whether it extended farther. It was really of no benefit, and if used at all might have been for the benefit of some of the coal-yards near the Schuyl-

kill. The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company did not need to use it, as it had a clear and agreeable connection with the Columbia Railroad in its most busy quarter of the city by the means of Broad Street.

Some of the streets and lanes in the upper part of Spring Garden and Penn township, built and opened originally for private rather than public use, running irregular courses, were found to be in the way of improvement. An act of Assembly ordered the vacation of old Master Street, or Masters' Lane, between the east side of Tenth Street and the east line of Broad Street. This had been laid out by William Masters long before the Revolution, and by usage was presumed to have been a public highway. The ground went one-half to the owner on each side. It was made a condition of the vacation that the ground to be occupied by Jefferson Street from Tenth to Broad, Eleventh Street from Jefferson to Camac, and Tenth Street from old Master Street to Jefferson, should first be laid out by the owners of property thereon without cost to the county.

Before this time the property of the public schools had been held by the county of Philadelphia and the commissioners of the county, and in some cases by private persons, in trust, for the use of the controllers of the schools. The latter, by previous acts, were given authority to use the schools and the school property, but they were not the owners. The fact led to the passage of the act of April 16th, by which the controllers of the public schools of the First School District of Pennsylvania, then in office, and their successors, were constituted a corporation to take and hold real and personal estate for public-school purposes, and to sell and convey the same when necessary free from all trusts.

On the 11th of May, 1846, the Congress of the United States declared that war existed by the act of the republic of Mexico. Ten millions of dollars were appropriated for the expenses of the war, and the President was authorized to call out fifty thousand volunteers. On the 13th of May a public meeting of the citizens of the city and county was held in Independence Square. It was large and highly enthusiastic, and free from party manifestations. In order to insure a representative set of officers the sheriff of the county, Morton McMichael, called the meeting to order, and on his motion John Swift, mayor of the city, was made president. The vice-presidents were Richard Vaux, recorder of the city; William M. Meredith and Samuel Norris, presidents of the Select and Common Councils of the city; John F. Belsterling, mayor of the Northern Liberties; Jacob Fry, president of the Commissioners of Spring Garden; Thomas D. Grover, president of the Commissioners of Southwark; Samuel F. Reed, president of the Commissioners of Moyamensing; Samuel T. Bodine, president of the Commissioners of Kensington; Ignatius Ford, president of the Commissioners of

North Penn; James Landy, president of the Commissioners of the Northern Liberties; and Thomas Allibone, Burgess of West Philadelphia. There were eleven secretaries, selected fairly from the political parties, Democrat, Whig, and Native American. Speeches were made by Josiah Randall, Col. Robert M. Lee, Col. James Page, Benjamin H. Brewster, Peter Sken Smith, and Robert T. Conrad. The resolutions were offered by Peter A. Browne. The preamble recited the facts in the President's message to Congress, that hostilities had been commenced by Mexican troops on the Rio Grande against troops of the United States, and that war actually existed. It was said "the power of a government to resist aggression or chastise the aggressor, and its means of maintaining its honor and defending its territory, depend upon the hearty concurrence of the people in the measures adopted by their representatives and a steady co-operation in carrying out those measures. It was therefore

Resolved, That while this meeting deeply regrets that negotiations of a friendly character have failed to effect a pacific settlement with our sister republic and that she has resorted to hostilities, we deem it a duty to make known to the nation at large, and particularly to the government, that our full and entire sympathies are with our country, and that should the emergencies of the nation require it, our services, our fortunes, and our lives are now voluntarily pledged for the preservation of the integrity of the national domain, the security of the liberties and the conservation of the rights of our fellow-citizens, and the honor of our country."

On the 13th of May, President James K. Polk issued a proclamation of war against Mexico. It was not published in the city until the morning of the 15th. Before that time there was a stir among persons willing to volunteer.

On the morning of the 13th, in anticipation of the call, the state of affairs between the United States and Mexico being such that war seemed inevitable, Charles J. Jack, of No. 12 North Seventh Street, who had been an officer of the militia in former years, issued proposals for recruiting "the First Regiment of Native Guards." In support of this scheme he said, "The foreigners have heretofore raised companies and battalions, let us raise a regiment. The undersigned, long known to you as connected with the volunteers of this city and county, will assume the command and take upon himself the discipline of the corps, nor will he ever be found absent from the post of duty." Announcing that the colors of the regiment would be red, white, and blue, the obliging self-commissioned Col. Jack announced that he would select officers to fill up all the "commissioned posts."

On the same day the journeymen printers met at the Keystone Building and resolved that they would take up their shooting-sticks in their country's cause.¹

¹ The company afterward organized was called the Press Guard, Capt. William C. Toby (a writer for the *Spirit of the Times* and other papers, and afterward a correspondent of newspapers from Mexico, under the signature of "John of York"); First Lieut. Franklin D. May (afterwards a railroad agent and officer, familiarly known as "The Subcriber"); Second Lieut. John T. Doyle (years afterward captain of the Hibernia Target Company); First Sergt. James H. Roberts.

They had heard "with pride and pleasure" that their brother craftsmen in New Orleans had done this. For themselves, they declared "as long as we have life and limb we shall be found battling in the cause of American freedom and against the wily schemes of crowned heads, so palpably shown in the recent movement by the Mexican soldiers." The printers resolved that they would give their own services when wanted, and called upon their fellow-citizens to "at once rally round the standard of our country's glory." Young men of Spring Garden to the number of several hundred, meeting at Buddy's Hotel, corner of Ninth and Green Streets, on the 16th, resolved to form a military corps. Governor Francis R. Shunk on the 16th made proclamation stating that the President had called for volunteers, and ordering the officers and soldiers of the commonwealth to hold themselves in readiness. Pennsylvania, according to requisition through the Secretary of War, Hon. William L. Marshall, was called upon for six regiments of ten companies each for the United States service; each company to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians, and sixty-four privates. On the 21st recruiting-parties with drummers and fifers marched through the streets. Governor Shunk did not call for the six regiments until May 26th. The orders were issued through Adjt.-Gen. George W. Bowman.

The reputation gained by Gen. Zachary Taylor in the military operations on the Rio Grande made him the hero of the hour. His "availability" as a candidate for the Presidency at once struck the fancies of the politicians. A meeting of Whig citizens, by call signed by James Vinyard, Dr. J. Knox Morton, William F. Parry, Samuel Allen, and others, took place in the hall over Keim's plumber-shop, North Fourth Street, "opposite the Indian pole." The object was to make preparations to celebrate the Fourth of July, and "to rejoice over the victories of the WHIG HERO, Gen. Taylor, on the Rio Grande."

The spirit was so strong and the number of adventurous persons so many, that Gen. Bowman found, before the end of July, that he had a much greater force of volunteers than could be employed. His officers were from one hundred and two companies. Those who belonged to Philadelphia were as follows:

Patterson Guards, Capt. William A. Stokes, seventy-seven men.
 Steuben Fusiliers, Capt. Arnold Syberg, seventy-eight men.
 Independent Guards, Capt. Edwin Chandler, seventy-seven men.
 National Guards, Capt. Stephen B. Kingston, seventy-seven men.
 State Fencibles, 1st Company, Capt. James Page, seventy-eight men.
 State Fencibles, 2d Company, Capt. Jos. Murray, seventy-seven men.
 Washington Blues, Capt. William C. Patterson, seventy-seven men.
 City Guards, Capt. Joseph Hill, seventy-seven men.
 Lafayette Light Infantry, Capt. William G. Smith, eighty-eight men.
 National Artillery, Capt. John K. Murphy, eighty-two men.
 Philadelphia Repealed Volunteers, Capt. William Dickson, seventy-seven men.

Monroe Guards, Capt. William F. Small, seventy-seven men.
 Frankford Artillery, Capt. John F. Pechel, eighty-one men.
 National Grays, Capt. Peter Fritz, eighty-five men.
 Cadwalader Grays, Capt. Robert K. Scott, eighty-four men.

Union Fencibles, Capt. Robert M. Lee, eighty-five men.
 Philadelphia Light Guard, Capt. John Bennett, eighty-four men.
 Philadelphia Grays, Capt. George Cadwalader, eighty-two men.
 Harrison Blues, Capt. N. Hicks Graham, eighty-three men.
 Washington Light Infantry, Capt. F. W. Binder, eighty men.
 Irish Volunteers, Capt. Amable J. Brazier, seventy-eight men.
 Montgomery Guards, Capt. Rush Van Dyke, eighty-two men.
 Washington National Guards, Capt. John Reiss, ninety men.
 Jefferson Guards, Capt. Turner G. Morehead, seventy-nine men.
 Tyler Guards, Capt. Robert Tyler, eighty-four men.
 Junior Artillerists, Capt. Frederick Fritz, seventy-eight men.
 Germantown Blues, Capt. John D. Miles, seventy-eight men.
 Jackson Artillerists, Capt. Jacob Hubell, seventy-nine men.
 Mechanic Rifles, Capt. ———, seventy-seven men.
 Montgomery Guards (Irish), Capt. Michael McCoy, eighty-six men.

This was a total of thirty companies,—enough to fill three regiments. In other parts of Pennsylvania volunteering was quite as active, and on the 15th of July information was sent to the War Department that ninety companies—enough for nine regiments—had volunteered in the State. The responses from other portions of the Union came thick and fast, and the War Department was embarrassed. Finally it was resolved not to call upon Pennsylvania at that time. The majority of the companies above named belonged to the regular volunteer militia of the city and county. Their members were disappointed, and their offers not having been accepted, the enthusiasm in some degree fell away, and the membership dropped off. On the 18th of November the Governor received a requisition from Washington for one regiment of infantry to rendezvous at Pittsburgh on the 15th of December. The call found not one of the thirty companies which had volunteered in May and June ready to go. It was manifest that many of them could not recruit in time to the required number. Some of them, however, immediately beat up for recruits. The Washington Light Infantry, Capt. Frederick W. Binder, was the first company ready for the field. The City Guards, Capt. Joseph Hill, Monroe Guards, Capt. William F. Small, Philadelphia Light Guards, Capt. John Bennett, Cadwalader Grays, Capt. Robert K. Scott, Jefferson Guards, Capt. Turner G. Morehead, and Philadelphia Rangers, Capt. Charles Naylor, were got ready in time for acceptance.¹ Of the six companies accepted for the First Regiment, three, those of Binder, Bennett, and Morehead, had never made parade. The same may be said of the Rangers of the Second Regiment. Two regiments only went from Pennsylvania. The colonel of the First was Frederick M. Wynkoop; the colonel of the Second, E. T. Roberts. Subsequently there was recruited in the city for the regular United States service a company of voltigeurs, Capt. Charles J. Biddle, infantry originally raised for volunteers, Capt. Arnold Syberg, and a company of dragoons, Capt. John Butler. A public meeting to obtain funds to assist the volunteers with means to equip themselves, with a few private comforts for the soldiers, the government

¹ The Rangers were ready in time, but missed the inspection. They were subsequently accepted, and attached to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment.

bounty of twenty-one dollars being thought insufficient, was held, and two thousand dollars raised for the purpose. Drilling went on without cessation at the company quarters until they left the city. The friends of officers and soldiers presented them publicly with swords, revolving pistols, munitions of war, and uniforms. On the 7th of December the four companies the first to depart were ready to go. The uniform was sky-blue pantaloons and roundabout jackets, Monroe shoes, and blue caps of the pancake fashion. Plainer uniforms had never been seen in connection with military costume, and though the volunteers proved themselves effective in the Mexican campaign, there was as little of the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war" about them as could be imagined. The companies were escorted to the Columbia Railroad depot by the Washington Volunteers, Capt. Metz, and the Native Rifles. There were the usual scenes of tender leave-taking by the mothers, wives, children, and sisters of the volunteers, and wild huzzas and displays of excitement by throngs of spectators, who only thought of the glory and patriotism of the occasion. The companies of Small, Scott, and Morehead were escorted with like circumstances to the depot by the Washington Rifles, Capt. Baumgard, two days afterward. Naylor's Rangers went on the 14th, and so ended the volunteer contributions of the city of Philadelphia to the Mexican campaign. The soldiers were almost immediately given some taste of the fatigues of war. The winter was well on. The State canals were closed. The troops were carried by railroad to Chambersburg. From that place, in the cold month of December, they marched to Pittsburgh, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles.

The construction of the Pennsylvania Railroad occupied attention during the greater part of the year. The amount of money required was so great that even with the valuable assistance of general public interest and favor, and of liberal subscriptions according to the means of citizens, it was evident that there was little hope of success in obtaining the necessary capital. Unless help could be secured from large and powerful corporations it was feared that the project would fail. A meeting upon this subject was held at the Chinese Museum on the 27th of April. Care was taken to make it strongly impressive by the weight of character of the participants. Thomas P. Cope was president. The vice-presidents were John K. Kane, Robert Toland, George N. Baker, Isaac W. Norris, George W. Carpenter, David S. Brown, and Thomas Sparks. The secretaries were Henry Welsh, John S. Littell, and Thomas Tustin. Robert Toland, on behalf of the committee of twenty-six appointed at the meeting of Dec. 10, 1845, made report of their proceedings, and submitted the charter of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company passed April 13, 1846. It authorized the incorporation of the company by the Governor as soon as fifty thousand shares at fifty dollars each had been sub-

scribed for, and five dollar installments had been paid upon each. The route was to be "from the western terminus of the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mount Joy, and Lancaster Railroad at Harrisburg, or of the Columbia Railroad at Columbia, and to be carried by such direct practicable routes with moderate gradients as will . . . most conduce to the public interests and the interests of the company, . . . and to terminate at such point or points at or near the city of Pittsburgh, or other place in the county of Allegheny . . . as to said president and directors may seem most advantageous or expedient." The first subscription might be extended to one hundred and fifty thousand shares, and be increased at times until the capital should reach ten millions of dollars. At the same time that this bill was passed another was enacted for the benefit of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, which contained a clause that if, before the 30th of July, 1847, three millions nine hundred thousand dollars should not be subscribed to the stock of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, one million dollars paid in, and thirty miles of the road put under contract for construction, all those advantages should be transferred to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. This concession was the key-note of the report, which set forth the positive necessity of immediate action. The resolutions offered by David S. Brown and seconded by Frederick Fraley set forth the facts, and the danger of the trade which might come to Philadelphia being carried to a rival city. The resolutions declared that it was the duty of the Councils of the city and the commissioners of the districts to subscribe to the stock. The proportion of the city should be at least two million five hundred thousand dollars, and of the districts not less than one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, thus making the municipal corporation subscriptions equal to one-half of the capital stock, leaving the other half open for private subscription. Speeches were made by Frederick Fraley, Col. William Bigler, of Clearfield, afterward Governor of the State, William A. Crabbe, Hill, of Montgomery, and Piolet, of Bradford County. Petitions immediately afterward began to pour into the City Council in favor of the two-million-and-a-half subscription, and remonstrances followed in great numbers. The members were somewhat in doubt as to the best policy to be pursued. The joint special committee to which the subject was referred reported in May that before proceeding it would be judicious to obtain the views of citizens at an election to be held in June. Select Council refused to receive those suggestions. The matter was recommitted, with instructions to obtain legal opinions as to the authority of the committee to subscribe. On the 3d of July, the committee reported that in the opinion of John Sergeant, Thomas M. Pettit, and Thomas I. Wharton the city had a right to subscribe to the stock, and the opinion of engineers as to the feasibility of the route was also submitted, with opinions of transporters

as to the value of the road if it should be built. The committee recommended a subscription of ten thousand shares by the city whenever fifty thousand shares should be subscribed by other parties, and ten thousand shares additional when one hundred miles of railroad were finished and in use, ten thousand shares more when one hundred and twenty-five miles were finished and in use, ten thousand more when one hundred and seventy-five miles were completed, and ten thousand more when two hundred miles were finished, making the total of fifty thousand shares. The majority of the committee which made this report was composed of Henry C. Corbit, chairman, Isaac Elliott, Robert Toland, A. J. Lewis, Edmund A. Souder, James J. Boswell, Benjamin Orne, Algernon S. Roberts, and John Rodman Paul. The minority of the committee were John Price Wetherill and Horace Binney, Jr. The latter said "of the four thousand and odd persons who are so ready to place upon the city the burden of the debt which they have memorialized Councils to assume, only some three or four hundred have been found willing to prove their own faith in the success of the road by subscribing to the stock. About eight hundred thousand dollars is all that is subscribed up to this time. The corporation cannot be called into existence unless the city subscribes, two million five hundred thousand dollars being necessary before letters patent can be issued." The minority estimated that the cost of the construction of the road, with double track, with locomotives, cars, machinery, depots, etc., would be one hundred and twelve million five hundred thousand dollars, and if the Councils should subscribe two million five hundred thousand dollars the city would eventually, to save her money, be obliged to subscribe seven or eight millions.

The minority argued that the city had no right to involve tax-payers in that way. The resolution for a subscription finally came before Councils, and being taken up in Common Council was lost on second reading by a vote of nine to nine. The question entered into the political contest for election of members in the fall, and the friends of the railroad seem to have succeeded. Within a week after the organization of the new Councils, in October, a new resolution in favor of a subscription for thirty thousand shares was introduced. It was to be conditioned upon thirty thousand shares having been subscribed by others. Ten thousand shares were to be taken when ten thousand shares above the former amount had been subscribed by others and seventy-five miles of the road finished and in use, and ten thousand more shares when ten thousand more were subscribed by others and one hundred miles of the road finished. The opposition tried to hamper this bill by amendments, but they were all voted down, and it went through finally by twelve yeas to eight nays. In Select Council the bill was amended so that it should be necessary that one hundred miles of the railroad

should be finished before the second installment was subscribed for, and one hundred and twenty-five miles before the third block of shares were taken. Various amendments were proposed, with the intention of clogging or killing the bill in Select Council, but they were voted down and the ordinance was finally passed by eight yeas to four nays. One of these amendments was quite important. It was to the effect that the sanction of the Legislature to the subscription should be obtained.¹ The majority refused to act with the caution which such an amendment would have caused. Subsequently other districts of Philadelphia also subscribed to the railroad stock. At the time of consolidation, with the shares subscribed by the city and those by the districts, the full holding was one hundred thousand shares, worth five million dollars. Of these the city had subscribed for eighty thousand shares, value at par, four million dollars; the district of Spring Garden, ten thousand shares, value, five hundred thousand dollars; Northern Liberties, ten thousand, value, five hundred thousand dollars.

On the 22d of December a public dinner was given to Daniel Webster at the museum. About four hundred gentlemen participated and sat down to table. Quite an unusual thing on such occasions, there were ladies present. Fifteen hundred of them sat in the galleries, and saw how their husbands, sons, and brothers ate. The occasion of their being present was the expectation that Mr. Webster would make a great speech. There was no disappointment about this. After Samuel Breck, the president, read the complimentary toast, Mr. Webster rose in reply, and spoke for nearly five hours, during which time he went over the whole range of political discussion on topics domestic and foreign.

The remains of Commodore Stephen Decatur, who fell at Bladensburg, in the District of Columbia, March 22, 1820, in the duel with Commodore Barron, were brought from Kalorama, where they were originally entombed, and reinterred in the graveyard of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church at Third and Pine Streets. A handsome monument had been erected here by subscription. The remains were reinterred on the 29th of October. They were received

¹ Horace Binney, Sr., had delivered an opinion that the city had no right to subscribe without act of Assembly. In the end his opinion was demonstrated to be the correct one, and the opinions of Sergeant, Pettit, and Wharton were wrong. The Supreme Court, some years afterward, decided in another case that a municipal corporation had no right, under the ordinary provisions of a charter, to subscribe to the stock of a railroad company. The fear of such judgment led to an application to the Legislature, which passed, March 7, 1848, an act authorizing the county of Alleghany, the cities of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, and the municipal corporation in the county of Philadelphia to subscribe to stock of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and to borrow money to pay therefor. The aggregate of subscriptions was not to exceed five per cent. of the taxable value of property for State or county purposes. As a matter of precaution and safety it was declared that the previous subscription of the city of Philadelphia and the loans contracted therefor should be validated. Any county, city, or municipal corporation having ten thousand shares or more in the said company might elect one director for each ten thousand shares.

and escorted to the ground by three brigades of volunteers, comprising thirty-six companies, marines and seamen of the United States navy, City Councils, and citizens.

In this year Charles Mosler, convicted of the murder of his wife under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, was hanged in the yard of the county prison. Mrs. Eve Mosler was nearly seventy years old at this time. Her husband cut her throat with a razor. Bridget Harman, convicted of the murder of her infant child, which she drowned by holding its head in a pool of water, was convicted at the same time with Mosler. She was sentenced to be executed, but the death-warrant was never signed by the Governor, and she remained in prison many years.

The people watched with anxiety the events of the Mexican war. For a time the progress of the arms of the United States seemed slow. Yet, while not advancing as rapidly as some had expected, there was a sure management which led to victory and progress. The intelligence of the result of the battle of Buena Vista, and the defeat by Gen. Zachary Taylor of the Mexican Gen. Santa Anna, was received in April. On the 8th, Charles Gilpin introduced into Select Council a resolution which declared that the successes at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, and Buena Vista had shed imperishable lustre on the American arms, and that it was expedient to illuminate the public buildings in honor of Maj.-Gen. Zachary Taylor, his officers and soldiers, for brilliant victories won with disparity of numbers by their skill and labor. The resolution was adopted. Mayor Swift by proclamation recommended that citizens should join in the testimonials. The 19th of April was chosen for the celebration, and it proved to be clear and pleasant. Great preparations were made all over the city and districts. Nothing equal to the display had been seen before that time. The old State-House, City Hall, court-house, and public offices were illuminated in the old way with candles in every pane. The State-House steeple was festooned with displays of colored lights. Large stars of burning gas blazed between the columns of the custom-house, behind which, and invisible from the streets, were pillars of lights which gave to the colonnade a soft yet brilliant appearance. The newspaper offices were lighted from roof to pavement, some with Drummond lights and other bright displays, which lighted up the entire square in which they were situate. Theatres and places of amusement were brilliant. The windows of the museum were illuminated with three thousand candles. Baldwin's locomotive-factory on Broad Street was lighted at every pane. Engine- and hose-houses, hotels, factories, and stores vied with each other in display. In private dwellings all the chandeliers were lighted in every story, and blinds and curtains drawn up, and in many the burning candle was at every pane. Flags, flowers, festoons of national colors, and other devices abounded. The num-

ber of transparencies was large, some of them finely painted. The subjects represented were generally connected with the war, and many of them were identical in the idea of the representation, differing only in the delineation. Gen. Taylor on horseback upon all sorts of horses, white, black, roan, sorrel, and bay, surrounded by his staff, were favorites. Maj.-Gen. Winfield Scott and the heroes of the bombardment of San Juan de Ulloa and the capture of Vera Cruz, news of which had been received in the city two or three days before, were not forgotten. The battle of Buena Vista, hard fought, furnished various incidents for the painter, favorite among which were the charge of Capt. Bragg upon the Mexican field batteries, and the flight of the Mexican, with such mottoes as, "A little more grape, Capt. Bragg," "Gen. Taylor never surrenders." The battles of Palo Alto, the charge of Capt. May, the death of Maj. Ringgold, the capture of the Bishop's palace, and the bombardment of Vera Cruz, with many other appropriate designs were exhibited. The streets were filled with a large concourse of spectators moving from building to building until long after midnight.

Shortly afterward Commodore David Connor, who was in command at Vera Cruz, arrived in this city, of which he was a resident. A complimentary dinner was tendered to him by citizens, which took place on the 7th of May, at the Columbia House, north side of Chestnut Street, east of Seventh. The Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll presided. Commodore Connor responded to the compliments paid to him, and appropriate speeches were made by George M. Dallas, Vice-President of the United States, John M. Read, Col. James Page, Capt. Reynolds, and Surgeon King, of the army, and Commodore Engle, of the navy.

President James K. Polk, on a visit to the Northern States, came to the city on the 23d of June. Traveling by railroad as far as Wilmington, Del., he was received there by a committee of citizens of Philadelphia and brought up the river Delaware by the steamboat "George Washington." A formal act of delivery of the custody of the charge of the guest was made about the Delaware State line by the Wilmington committee, which transferred the visitor to the Philadelphia committee, with accompanying speeches. At the navy-yard the United States steamer "Princeton" and the revenue-cutter "Forward" were decorated with flags. After proceeding up the Delaware along the city front as far as Kensington, receiving *en route* the customary salutes by artillery, ringing of bells, huzzas, etc., the steamboat returned to the navy-yard, where a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the "Forward." The President, on disembarking, was received by Commodore Charles Stewart, of the United States navy, and Gen. Robert Patterson, then of the United States army. A military procession of three brigades, under Brig.-Gen. A. L. Roumfort, Col. James Goodman, and Brig.-Gen. Horatio Hubbell, consisting of thirty-four companies,

was the principal escort. The President was taken to the residence of Vice-President George M. Dallas, on the north side of Walnut Street, east of Ninth. At night there was a serenade by the Mænnerchor Vocal Society, and the Liedertafel and Breiten Band, which organizations turned out in great strength, and were assisted in executing the music by torches in abundance. The principal performances were "Hail Columbia" and "Star-Spangled Banner," sung in German by the vocal societies, and some fine instrumental music by the band. On the succeeding day the President visited Laurel Hill Cemetery, Fairmount, Girard College, the Mint, and the Public Model School, in Chester Street. At noon he was formally welcomed by the mayor and Councils in Independence Hall, and received his friends there. In the evening he visited Commissioners' Hall, Northern Liberties, and attended a ball and banquet given at the house of Maj.-Gen. Patterson. On the succeeding day he went to New York.

A severe fire, which broke out in the evening of August 21st, in Bread Street, near the corner of Quarry, at the large sugar-house refinery of George L. Broome & Co., occasioned loss of life. The building was eight stories high. The flames came from the engine-room, and mounted successively to the top of the house in one roaring, fierce conflagration. The flames were carried to the large brewery of Robert Newlin and a range of stables on the north belonging to Joseph Rubicam. The grain, liquor in vats and hogheads, hops, and other merchandise, added to the fury of the fire. Bread Street being very narrow, the firemen worked in much peril. By the falling of the north wall of the refinery into Quarry Street the Reliance Engine was crushed, and some of the firemen severely injured. Shortly afterwards the gable end of the refinery fell upon the brewery, and forced the walls of the latter into Bread Street. Twenty-seven men were struck down by the falling walls. They were connected with the working of the Fairmount Engine and the Perseverance Hose-Carriage. Andrew Butler and Charles H. Hines, members of the Perseverance Hose Company, were so badly crushed and hurt that they died soon after. Mr. Butler had been for several years secretary of the Fire Association, and was widely known. Hines was about twenty years of age, and an apprentice to Mr. Dunlap, a coachmaker. The two victims were buried at the same time, and the funeral was attended by fifty-one fire companies, numbering over three thousand members. The line of the procession was estimated to be three miles long.

By act of February 27th was incorporated "the district of Richmond, in the county of Philadelphia." It was immediately north of Kensington. The bounds commenced at the river Delaware and the northern boundary of the Kensington District. The eastern boundary was the Delaware River. The northern boundary commenced at the river, on the west side

of Westmoreland Street, and ran along the same to the westward side of Emerald Street, along the same to the southerly side of Hart Lane, and along the latter to the northern boundary of Kensington District, and by the same to the Delaware River and place of beginning. The official title of the corporation was "The Commissioners and Inhabitants of Richmond, in the County of Philadelphia." The act named as the first commissioners Philip Duffy, Michael Barron, Isaac Tustin, Richard R. Spain, Joseph Ashton, John W. Kester, Henry Mather, George Funk, and Enoch Blackman. The first election was to be held on the first Tuesday of October, 1847, at the Railroad Hotel, occupied by Elisha McCarty. Three commissioners were to be elected for one year, three for two years, three for three years, and afterwards three annually, to serve for three years. The charter of this district contained two provisions not to be found in any other act of municipal incorporation, namely, that no new street should be thereafter opened by the public, or individuals for public use, less than twenty feet in width. All streets heretofore opened to be public highways. The following streets were vacated by the same act: Indiana Street, from Frankford road to Richmond Street; Ann Street, from Tulip Street to Richmond Street. Richmond Lane and Frankford road, as originally laid down and now opened, were to remain.

A supplement to the act of incorporation of the borough of Manayunk increased the number of the Town Council to ten, five to be elected for one year, five to be elected for two years, and afterwards five annually.

A supplement to the act for the incorporation of Germantown recited that the duties of the burgess and Town Council were growing onerous by increase of population. The burgess was directed thereafter to be elected to serve one year, and four persons for Town Council were to be chosen annually to serve for two years.

Some changes were made in the western wards of the city for voting purposes. They had grown largely in population within a few years. It was not thought judicious to create new wards, which would have affected the representation in Councils, but the plan was taken of dividing the wards into precincts bounded as follows:

LOCUST WARD.—*East Locust Precinct*, between the west side of Delaware Seventh and east side of Twelfth Street, north side of Spruce Street and south side of Walnut. *West Locust Precinct*, between Spruce and Walnut, and from Tenth Street to the Schuylkill.

SOUTH WARD.—*East South Precinct*, from west side of Delaware Seventh to east side of Twelfth Street, and from north side of Walnut to south side of Chestnut. *West South Precinct*, from west side of Twelfth Street to the Schuylkill, and from North side of Walnut to south side of Chestnut.

MIDDLE WARD.—*East Middle Precinct*, from the west side of Seventh to the east side of Broad, and from the north side of Chestnut to the south side of Market Street. *West Middle Precinct*, from the west side of Broad Street to the river Schuylkill, north side of Chestnut to the south side of Market.

NORTH WARD.—*East North Precinct*, from west side of Seventh to the

east side of Twelfth, and from the north side of Market to the south side of Arch, or Mulberry. *West North Precinct*, from the west side of Twelfth to the river Schuylkill, and from the north side of Market to the south side of Mulberry.

SOUTH MULBERRY WARD.—*East South Mulberry Precinct*, from the west side of Seventh to the east side of Twelfth, and from the north side of Mulberry to the south side of Sasfras Street. *West South Mulberry Precinct*, from the west side of Twelfth Street to the river Schuylkill, from the north side of Mulberry to the south side of Sasfras.

NORTH MULBERRY WARD.—*East North Mulberry*, from the west side of Seventh to the east side of Twelfth, north side of Sasfras Street and south side of Vine. *West North Mulberry*, from the west side of Twelfth to the river Schuylkill, from the north side of Sasfras to the south side of Vine Street.

UPPER DELAWARE WARD.—*East Upper Delaware Precinct*, from the river Delaware to the east side of Third Street, and from the north side of Sasfras to the south side of Vine. *West Upper Delaware Precinct*, from the west side of Third to the east side of Seventh Street, and from the north side of Sasfras to the south side of Vine Street.

LOWER DELAWARE WARD.—*East Lower Delaware Precinct*, from the river Delaware to the east side of Fourth Street, from the north side of Mulberry to the south side of Sasfras Street. *West Lower Delaware Precinct*, from west side of Fourth Street to east side of Seventh Street, and from north side of Mulberry to south side of Sasfras Street.

The creation of these sixteen new voting divisions made it necessary that new voting places should be obtained at the State-House or in its neighborhood. The electors of East and West North Mulberry, East and West Lower Delaware, East and West Upper Delaware were directed to vote at windows on the north side of the State-House. Chestnut and Walnut Wards, and East and West South Mulberry, and East and West North Wards on the east and south sides of the south room of the County Court. East and West South, with High Street Ward, to vote on the north and east side of the north and east rooms of the county court-house.

A scheme of improvement, upon the success of which high hope was built, originated among property owners in Richmond and Kensington Districts. Gunner's Run, entering the Delaware at the Dyottville Glass-Works, ran north by west, and touched the Richmond branch of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. It was believed that by widening and deepening the stream a grand depot for trade could be established near the railroad with docks and basins, and that the ground on the side of the creek could be made available for wharves, warehouses, etc. This scheme culminated on the 15th of March by the passage of an act to incorporate the Gunner's Run Improvement Company, with power to construct a canal not exceeding one hundred feet in width from the north side of Queen Street (not far from the Delaware), on Gunner's Run, Kensington, and to terminate at a point at or near the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad crossing. There was to be a tide-lock and gate not less than twenty-four feet wide, and at least one hundred and fifty feet long, at or near Queen Street, and from Second Street to the river Delaware; the canal was to be not more than sixty feet in width. The building of a bridge by the company of the full width of Franklin Street (now Girard Avenue) over the canal was provided for. Authority to take tolls was granted, and the commissioners of Kensington

might change the grades of streets or water-courses so as not to interfere with the navigation of the canal. The shares were to be one hundred dollars. In 1848 authority was given to carry the canal to the river Delaware at or near Wood Street. Subscriptions were made, and some work was done. By act of April 6, 1850, it was declared that the canal should thereafter be known as the Aramingo Canal. The work turned out to be useless. A great deal of money was spent upon it. The amount of business done was found insufficient to pay expenses, and for many years afterwards the so-called canal was considered a nuisance.

By act of March 25, 1848, the boundaries of the district of Richmond were extended by taking off from the township of the Northern Liberties the tract of ground beginning at the river Delaware, on the west side of Westmoreland Street, and extending along the river to the north side of Tioga Street; thence along Tioga to the east side of the Point road; along the Point road to Westmoreland Street, and along the same to the place of beginning. By this addition the importance of the district of Richmond was increased.

A new division was made between the townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk by a change of boundaries. The dimensions of Passyunk were changed by the addition of new land taken from Moyamensing. The territory next began on the west side of the Delaware River, two hundred feet south of the line of McKean Street, then west on line parallel with McKean Street to a point two hundred feet west of the west side of Broad Street; thence north to a point two hundred feet south of the south line of Franklin [Tasker] Street; then west on line parallel with Franklin Street to lower water-mark on the river Schuylkill; all that portion of the township of Passyunk north and west of the said line to become part of the township of Moyamensing. The act was really an increase of the Moyamensing territory; that township now became a district, and was called "The Commissioners and Inhabitants of the District of Moyamensing." A new ward was added, the Fifth. The Fourth Ward was extended south to the new boundary, and the Fifth Ward was all that part of the township west of Broad Street. Ward elections for the Fourth Ward were ordered to be held at the public-house of Mahlon Gilbert, at the intersection of Tenth and Passyunk road. The Fifth Ward elections were at Daniel Young's, corner of Buck road and Long Lane. An addition was also made to Kensington District by act of April 6th. The annexation was of "that portion of the township of unincorporated Northern Liberties, beginning at the middle of Norris Street and the west side of Frankford turnpike road; then north along the said turnpike road to a point one hundred and thirty feet north of Lehigh Avenue; then crossing the said turnpike road, continuing parallel with Lehigh Avenue

west, to the west side of Germantown turnpike road; then south and southeast along that road to the then north boundary of Kensington; thence crossing Germantown road along the boundary between Kensington and the Fairhill estate to the place of beginning." Actually this was an annexation of the Fairhill and Sepviva estate, belonging to the Norris family. The new territory was made the Eighth Ward of Kensington, and elections were ordered to be held at the house of Michael Price, Frankford road above Wood Street. By a special section the trustees of the Fairhill estate, under the will of J. P. Norris, were authorized to sell to the commissioners of Kensington, for such consideration as they might think proper, two lots of ground, to be held "for public use as a public green and walk forever." One of these was Fairhill Square, bounded north by Lehigh Avenue, south by Huntingdon Street, east by Fourth, and west by Apple Street. The other was Norris Square, bounded north by Susquehanna Avenue, south by Diamond Street, east by Howard Street, and west by Hancock Street. An intermediate street called Clinton Street, which would have run through the middle of the square from Diamond Street to Susquehanna Avenue, was vacated. The two squares were a gift from the Norris family. The sale was for a nominal consideration. The district commissioners were ordered by the act to have the squares "properly inclosed and planted with trees for public squares and walks, for light, air, and recreation forever. . . . Such square shall never be used for any other purpose whatever, and no building shall ever be erected upon them." By the same act the commissioners of Kensington were authorized to construct steam or other suitable works on or near to the river Delaware, at the foot of any public street landing, or other suitable location, "for the purpose of pumping up and supplying said district, and any other district in the said county and the inhabitants thereof, with water from the river Delaware;" also with authority to buy ground and establish a reservoir, lay pipes, etc. The authority thus given was embraced willingly by the commissioners of the district, but with very little discussion on their part as to the location of the pumping works. They selected a lot on the south side of Gunner's Run, at its junction with the Delaware River. There were erected an engine-house, with pumps and apparatus, which took the water from the Delaware, adjacent to the mouth of the creek, which became a foul drain, into which flowed filth and impurities from establishments on the stream, or Gunner's Run Canal, or Aramingo Canal, far beyond the Reading Railroad crossing, above Lehigh Avenue. The water might have been comparatively pure in 1850, when the Kensington Water-Works were finished. It has been complained of ever since. Sometimes widespread sickness through the district has resulted from its use. The Water Department has been frequently called upon to devise means to avoid the pumping

up of the foul discharges from Gunner's Run, and of obtaining the purer waters of the Delaware. The reservoir of the Kensington Water-Works was built between Lehigh Avenue and Somerset Street, and Sixth and Seventh Streets.

The district of Penn was divided into two election precincts. The East to be that portion of the district east of the middle of Broad Street, and the West Precinct west of Broad Street. Elections for the East Precinct were to be held at the Commissioners' Hall, northeast corner of Tenth and Thompson Streets, and for the West Precinct at the house of Jacob Peters, southwest corner of Ridge road and Girard Avenue.

A horrible murder committed March 23d created a strong sensation among citizens. C. L. Rademacher, keeper of a German bookstore at No. 39 North Fourth Street above Arch, occupied the back part of the house and the upper stories for a residence for himself and his wife, a young woman of twenty-four years of age. In the early portion of the morning one or more persons entered the house. By some means Mr. and Mrs. Rademacher were awakened and may have interposed. The burglar or burglars made a desperate attack upon them with a knife. Mrs. Rademacher was killed. Upon her person after her death were found six incised wounds on her left arm, one upon her right arm, one upon her face, and one upon the breast which penetrated the region of the heart. Mr. Rademacher was found covered with blood, with a large wound on his right arm which deprived him of the use of that limb, a gash on his head through to the skull and bruises about his face and head, where he had been beaten by some blunt instrument. The wife was dead, the husband senseless, and unable to give any explanation of the circumstance. Among the bedclothes was found the blade of a peculiar looking knife resembling the instrument of that kind generally in use among shoemakers. It was broken off near the handle. Upon examination of the wounds, it was determined that they could not have all been produced by that sort of a knife, and that although that instrument had been employed, there must have been some sharper cutting instrument in use. Everything about the premises showed that there had been a terrible fight against the burglars. It was conjectured that the assassin had obtained access to the house by climbing up a shed in the rear, above which a window opened directly into the bedroom. Within two days, by the efforts of the police, a German named Charles Langfeldt was arrested. He was a shoemaker, and boarded somewhere on Front Street, in the Northern Liberties. He had been convicted in 1844 of larceny of a velvet pulpit-cloth belonging to the Zion Lutheran Church, at the southeast corner of Fourth and Cherry, near by. Convicted of this crime, he had been in prison for about four years. His time had but lately expired. In the morning of the same day

Langfeldt was in the shop with other workmen, and news having been received of the affair at Rademacher's, it was discussed in his presence. He said nothing, but arose, took a basin of water up-stairs to his lodging-room, but came down shortly afterward with a bundle, and said that he was going to take his clothes to a washerwoman. Upon subsequent inspection blood was found on the bed in which he had lain, upon his outer clothing, in his pockets, and on his boots. The broken blade of the knife found at Rademacher's was identified by his comrades as that of his knife. It had some peculiar marks, and on the morning after the murder was missing from the work-bench of Langfeldt. A crooked sharp knife was missing from another shop which Langfeldt had visited a day or two before, and its loss had been noticed immediately after he left the premises. As it appeared that the wounds had been produced by two knives of different character, and the one which Langfeldt had used at his own shop was identified, it was conjectured that the stolen crooked knife was the other one which he had used. It was a case of circumstantial evidence, sufficiently strong in the opinion of the jury to justify conviction. Langfeldt was found guilty of murder in the first degree, and hanged in the yard of the county prison (Moyamensing) October 20th.

In this year the government of France was overthrown by revolution. Louis Philippe I. fled to England. An attempt to permanently establish a republican government was made. In Italy the government of Naples was attacked by revolutionists, and the Bourbon king of Naples, commonly called Bomba, was forced to fly. Risings took place in Germany, causing bloodshed, but not being successful. In sympathy with these movements a grand meeting was held in the State-House yard to express the feelings of the natives of foreign countries in the revolutionary movements in Europe, which not only promised republicanism to France, but gave hope for the success of popular rights in Germany and Italy. Three stands were erected for the convenience of the participants in this polyglot assemblage. One of them was decorated with a French tri-color, red, white, and blue, and the Italian liberty flag, red, white, and green. The speakers here were French and Italian, and very enthusiastic. Another stand was decorated with the colors of the German nation, black, red, and gold. The speakers addressed those within hearing in the German language. The main stand was reserved for the English-speaking people. Mayor Swift presided. Speeches were made by Henry D. Gilpin, Morton McMichael, Benjamin Champneys, Joseph R. Chandler, William D. Kelley, Peter Sken Smith, William E. Lehman, and Francis J. Grund. An incident entirely unexpected and unprepared for was furnished by the assemblage of men of color, Americans by birth. No invitation had been given to them, but as this was a celebration on behalf of universal lib-

erty, they ventured to attend in sufficient numbers to get up a meeting of their own. They were addressed in good style by several speakers of their own race. There was more noise than oratory, more music than speeches. The Frenchmen in small groups sang the "Marseillaise" and "Mourir pour la Patrie." The Germans sang many national songs and choruses. "Hail Columbia" and the "Star-Spangled Banner" were attempted by the Americans, and in the noise of so many lyrics, all sung at the same time, there was some discord but no confusion.

The war with Mexico was over in this year. Its successful result was reason for exultation. Brig.-Gen. George Cadwalader, who had been appointed to a command in Mexico and served in the Mexican Valley campaign, came home in May, and was accorded a public reception. He was received at Gray's Ferry by five companies of cavalry, on the 20th of May, and escorted to Broad and Prime Streets. Here the First Division, artillery and infantry, were drawn up, under command of Brig.-Gen. A. L. Roumfort. Amid salutes of artillery, Gen. Cadwalader reviewed the line, and was then escorted to Independence Hall, where he was received by the City Councils of Philadelphia. The speech of reception was made by William M. Meredith, president of Select Council. In the course of his remarks he alluded to the gallantry of Cadwalader in the engagements at the National Bridge, La Hoya, Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and the Garita San Cosme.

About the same time the trustees of the Philadelphia Gas-Works determined to make an exhibition in honor of victory and peace of the availability of gas for the purpose of ornamental illumination. John C. Cresson, superintendent of the gas-works, made the arrangements, and the display took place in front of the State-House, by permission of Councils. By the shaping of gas-pipes and the multiplication of jets from them figures in fire were made. The Goddess of Peace, seated on a chair holding in her right hand the olive-branch, was the principal figure, and nearly thirty feet high. At her feet and by her side were the emblems of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture,—the anchor, boxes, barrels, chests, wheels, the plow, with a ship in the distance. Above all hovered the eagle with wings of fire, surrounded with a halo of stars, and bearing a scroll with the national motto, while below was the simple inscription, "Peace." There were four thousand burners which lighted up this piece.

The Pennsylvania volunteers did not return from Mexico until late in the year. It was determined that they should be honored with a grand complimentary reception and a banquet. A town-meeting was held to make arrangements. Councils made liberal appropriations. The cars, by the Columbia Railroad, arrived at Coates Street and Pennsylvania Avenue about eight o'clock in the morning of July 24th, and formed in the street to meet the escort

which was being prepared in their honor. There were not as many of them as there were when they started. The bullet and disease had reduced them to about one-half of the original strength, as the following will show:

First Pennsylvania Regiment.	Went away with	Returned with
Co. C, Monroe Guards, Capt. Wm. F. Small,	95 men.	45 men.
Co. D, City Guards, Capt. Joseph Hill,	90 "	20 "
Co. E, Washington Light Inf., Capt. F. W. Binder,	92 "	49 "
Co. F, Philadelphia Light Guards, Capt. John Bennett,	96 "	58 "
Co. G, Jefferson Guards, Capt. Turner G. Morehead,	90 "	37 "
Co. H, Cadwalader Grays, Lieut. S. D. Breece,	96 "	45 "
Totals	559	254

With the Philadelphia companies were the Pottsville Artillerists, Capt. Nagle, who had lost fifty men. The Philadelphia Rangers, Capt. Naylor, of the Second Regiment, did not return at this time. The reception at Coates Street when the escort came up was quite interesting. The women—wives, mothers, daughters, and relatives—were present in great numbers, and there were some interesting scenes, yet everything was quiet and even solemn. The committee of reception greeted them through David Webster, who made the address of welcome. The ceremonies were entirely civic. The usual accompaniments of most parades, in the presence and participation of military, were absent; the Mexican soldiers were to be welcomed again to the pursuits of peace. There was a respectable civic procession,—six hundred butchers on horseback, in white frocks, blue sashes, and rosettes; thirty-four fire and hose companies, in costume, and with their apparatus; clubs and societies, and public officers in coaches. Col. S. W. Wynkoop commanded the detachment. Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, in whose division the Pennsylvania regiments had been in Mexico, marched at their head, with Maj.-Gen. Pillow, the latter in citizen's dress. The Mexican soldiers marched quietly. There was little enthusiasm in their demeanor. They seemed to be worn and weary. Flags were hung out upon the route of march. There were hurrahs, ringing of bells, and salutes of artillery. The soldiers were marched to the museum building, where a banquet had been prepared for them. The tables extended the whole length of the upper saloon. The decorations were appropriate. A large banner, stretching from side to side of the hall, near the ceiling, bore the inscription, "Pennsylvania volunteers, welcome home!" The tables were elegantly decorated with statues, vases, flags, and other ornaments, and the colors of the United States and Mexico, so lately carried in hostile directions, were twined together in the bond of peace. About one thousand persons were present; James Ross Snowden, president. A welcome song, written by James Bellak, was sung by a choir of ladies and gentlemen. John M. Scott delivered a classic and elegant oration of welcome. Regular toasts succeeded. Gen. Patterson and Col. Wynkoop made speeches, and this part of the ceremony closed in the

afternoon. In the evening the State-House, public buildings, hotels, theatres, and custom-house were illuminated. There was no general illumination by citizens. This was by recommendation of the committee, in consequence of the heat of the weather and the absence of many persons from town.

Henry Clay visited Philadelphia on the 24th of February. He was the idol of the Whig party, and nowhere stronger in the affections of men of Whig politics. As this was the year of the national convention, which was also to be held in the city, it was determined among the leading men to make the reception more than usually enthusiastic. A committee of the Young Men's Democratic Whig Association and a committee appointed at a town meeting of the friends of Henry Clay, met him at Elkton in Maryland and escorted him to Broad and Prime Streets, where the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad intersected the Southwark Railroad. A large concourse of persons were present to await his coming. The procession included twelve hundred citizens on horseback and a large number in carriages. Mr. Clay was placed in a barouche which was drawn by six splendid horses. While the accompanying procession was not large, its reception in every street was most enthusiastic. The huzzas which began in Broad Street rolled on with the idol of the hour in one incessant pean, being taken up from house to house; as the guest came onward, ladies waved their handkerchiefs from the windows of houses, and the whole community was wild with excitement. No such reception had been given to any man in Philadelphia since Lafayette had come in 1824. On the same evening Mr. Clay was serenaded by several fine bands; he was received the next day at Independence Hall by City Councils, and was visited by about eight thousand persons, after which he remained for some days, visited several institutions, and was entertained by his friends. On the 1st of March he held a *levée* for the reception of ladies only at the museum. On that occasion it is estimated that five thousand women were present. He made some remarks to the ladies upon the respective duties and privileges of the sexes which were in excellent taste and marked by good sense.

On the 7th of June the national convention of the Whig party to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States met at the museum building, northeast corner Ninth and George [Sansom] Streets. Great hope had been placed upon this assemblage by the friends of Henry Clay. His services as a statesman, his ability as an orator, and his long career as a friend of protection of American industry were all elements in his favor. The Whigs of Philadelphia admired Clay; they were willing to acknowledge his claims. The large majority of them were stanch, while others, not hostile to Mr. Clay, argued that in the selection of a candidate "availability" was the most important consideration. They

perceived in the military services of Maj.-Gen. Zachary Taylor the opportunity which was needed. The contest in the convention was bitter, but availability triumphed, and Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, was nominated for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice-President.¹

In honor of the conclusion a grand Whig ratification meeting was held on the evening of the third day in Independence Square. It was not as enthusiastic as had been hoped, although there was no disorder. The friends of Clay were disheartened at the "treachery" of those who had been his friends, and they took no great interest in the demonstration. As far as regarded the proceedings and the number of speakers, this occasion was quite exceptional. William F. Johnston, of Pennsylvania, Speaker of the Senate, and by the resignation of Francis R. Shunk, a month afterward, Governor of the commonwealth, was president of the meeting. There was a vice-president for every State, and fourteen secretaries. The city being crowded with delegates of the national convention from all parts of the Union, there was no difficulty in obtaining the services of speakers, many of whom were men of distinction in their own States. At the main stand speeches were made by Governor Morehead, North Carolina; Gen. Barrow, Tennessee; George R. Richardson, Maryland; Col. Haskell, of Tennessee; John Sherman, of Ohio; and Maxwell, of New York. At the southeast stand, in the square, Gen. James Irwin presided, and among other speakers were Walker, of Indiana; Rivers, of Rhode Island; Whitney, of New York; Sweet, of Illinois; Col. Duncan, of Louisiana; Cogdill, of Indiana; Ray, of Ohio; Parker, of Massachusetts; Barringer, of North Carolina; and Beddinger, of Kentucky. At the southwest stand Col. Fowlers, of New York, presided. The speakers were Batchelder, of Massachusetts; Z. Collins Lee, Maryland; ex-Governor Stratton, New Jersey; Cocke, Tennessee; Lyman, Vermont; Stanton, of Ohio; Brown, Pennsylvania; Foster, Georgia; Platt, Delaware; Mix, of New York; Dr. Cowdell, Indiana; Ricardo, Louisiana; Chandler, Massachusetts.

The remains of Maj. Levi Twiggs, of the United States marine corps, who was killed at the battle of Chapultepec, Sept. 13, 1847, were reinterred with appropriate ceremonies on the 25th of February. They were taken from the United States navy-yard to St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, on Tenth

Street, under charge of four companies of volunteers and one company United States marines. The funeral service at the church was read by the Rev. Henry W. Ducachet. The body was interred in the little graveyard adjoining the church. The Washington Grays, Capt. McAdam, fired a volley over the grave. The body was subsequently removed to Laurel Hill Cemetery.

A much more solemn display took place on the 7th of March. The remains of John Quincy Adams, who had died at Washington, D. C., February 23d, were received while on their way to Quincy, his former residence in Massachusetts, under charge of a committee of thirty appointed by Congress. The committee with the body was received at Broad and South Streets by the First and Second City Troop. A funeral-car heavily draped had been provided, and the coffin being placed therein, was considered to be in charge of the pall-bearers, who were Chief Justice John B. Gibson, Richard Willing, Samuel Breck, United States District Judge John K. Kane, John M. Scott, Dr. R. M. Patterson, Horace Binney, Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, William J. Duane, Benjamin W. Richards, Isaac Roach, and James Page. The hearse was drawn by six white horses, carrying black plumes. The cavalry acted as a guard of honor. The City Councils, with numerous societies and citizens, several hundred men being in the procession, accompanied the remains to Independence Hall. It was dark before the procession started, and the novelty of a funeral by torchlight was added to the ceremonies. The cortege was in consequence of more than usual solemnity. There was no music; the participants marched quietly. The absence of noise and the strange appearance of the men under the fitful light made the occasion quite impressive. The body remained in Independence Hall during the night, and was removed for further progress the next day. That building had been prepared for the occasion, and was heavily draped with black. The Washington Grays acted as a guard of honor during the night, and escorted the body to the Kensington Railroad depot the next morning.

The remains of Commodore James Biddle were interred on the 5th of October, in the burial-ground of Christ Church, in charge of a military escort commanded by Gen. Cadwalader.

The remains of Capt. George Ayres, who fell in Mexico, were carried from Southwark Hall, March 20th, and reinterred in Monument Cemetery by a funeral procession consisting of sixteen military companies. The body of Lieut. Montgomery P. Young, of Capt. Morehead's company, Jefferson Guards, who was killed in Mexico, was brought to the city and deposited in Monument Cemetery in December. The military escort was under the command of Col. James Page. On this occasion the returned Mexican volunteers who were in the city participated. It was the first time that they had met together since they were

¹ Henry White, of Pennsylvania, called the convention to order. John H. Collyer, of New York, was temporary chairman, and James Harlan, of Kentucky, and John Sherman, of Ohio, temporary secretaries. The permanent president was Governor John M. Morehead, of North Carolina. A vice-president represented each State, and the twelve secretaries were headed by John Sherman. The balloting occupied two days. Taylor was nominated at the fourth ballot. On the first ballot the vote stood,—Zachary Taylor, Louisiana, 111; Daniel Webster, Massachusetts, 22; Henry Clay, Kentucky, 97; Winfield Scott, New Jersey, 43; John M. Clayton, Delaware, 4; Lewis McLane, of Maryland, 2. Clay's vote in three ballots fell steadily,—first, 97; second, 86; third, 74; fourth, 32.

mustered out of service, and from that period may be dated the foundation of the association of soldiers of the Mexican war known as the Scott Legion.

A vexatious accident on the 12th of November deprived the districts of Spring Garden and Northern Liberties of a water supply. About four o'clock in the morning the large reservoir belonging to the water-works of those districts north of Girard College (now at Twenty-fifth and Thompson Streets) gave way, and the whole body of water rushed in a torrent out of the southwest corner of the basin. A ravine—the dry bed of a stream—extended from near that part toward the Schuylkill, through the grounds of Girard College. The water found this to be a convenient course. A culvert had been laid down in the upper part of the ravine. The water swept away this construction so completely that not a brick was left, and the chasm was thirty feet wide and twenty feet deep. An obstruction to the rush was encountered at the wall of Girard College, three feet thick and twelve feet high. For a short time the progress of the flood was stayed; but the obstruction could not withstand the pressure, and gave way to a width of about one hundred feet; then, rolling across the college grounds, the flood carried the stones of the north wall even to the distance of the south wall. The latter also gave way in turn. There was no obstruction after this. The Dark Woods Pond was near, lying between high hills, with an area greater than any water-works reservoir could fill. The flood was received there, and found a way to the Schuylkill without further destruction. The break did little damage comparatively. No lives were lost, no houses were in the way, and as the outburst took place in the night-time, nobody saw the flood. The consequences might have been very serious to the inhabitants in daylight. Here were two important districts, comprising several thousand houses and inhabited by many thousand persons, literally without a drop of water. The quarrel of these districts with the city of Philadelphia a few years before had been so bitter upon the question of the water supply that as soon as the Spring Garden Water-Works were finished the stop-cocks of the pipes connecting the city distribution with that of the districts were turned off, so that there should be no claim for water furnished. The authorities of the city acted with great kindness. The watering committee of Councils took the responsibility of ordering that the pipes of Northern Liberties and Spring Garden, which had formerly been connected with those of the city and supplied from Fairmount, should be reconnected with them. The work was prompt. By ten o'clock in the morning of the day of the break at the Spring Garden reservoir the water of the city works was turned on in Spring Garden and Northern Liberties, and intense suffering and distress was thereby avoided.

The bitterness of feeling and insubordination to the authorities exhibited on the part of the fire department, and the frequent scenes of riot and disorder, to

the scandal of the community, led to the passage of an act "for the better regulation of the fire department of the city and incorporated districts of the county of Philadelphia," passed March 7th. This law declared that if members or adherents of fire companies were guilty of fighting or rioting in the streets while going to a fire, or upon an alarm of fire, the company which they represented might be put out of service for six months by the Court of Quarter Sessions and their doors closed. If, after return to service, the members of the company should be again guilty of rioting, the company might be disbanded. New fire companies could only be created by the authority of the Quarter Sessions; no company thereafter to use a stationary alarm-bell.¹ The city and districts were ordered to keep at least one alarm-bell, to be rung in time of fire. Defacing, injuring, or destroying fire apparatus was declared to be a felony, punishable with fine or imprisonment of not less than six months nor more than one year, either or both.

The boundaries of Richmond District were now extended so as to take in the ground on the Delaware north of Westmoreland Street and extending to Tioga, and westward from the Delaware to the Point road. The boundaries of Passyunk township and Moyamensing District were also changed. Passyunk was to begin on the Delaware River, two hundred feet south of the line of McKean Street, and to run of that width westward to a point two hundred feet west of Broad Street, thence north to a point two hundred feet south of the south line of Franklin (Tasker) Street, thence west to low-water mark on the river Schuylkill. All that part of the township of Passyunk lying west and north of the line mentioned was to be added to and become part of the township of Moyamensing. The Kensington District was also extended by act of April 6th. The added territory was bounded south by the middle of Norris Street, and eastwardly by the Frankford turnpike road. Extending northwardly along that road to a point one hundred and twenty feet north of Lehigh Avenue, it extended west to the west side of Germantown turnpike road, and down the latter to the north boundary of Kensington. This extension was made the Eighth Ward of Kensington.

By act of March 27th the cities of Pittsburgh and Alleghany and the city of Philadelphia and the municipal corporations of the county were authorized to subscribe for shares of stock of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and to borrow money to pay therefor, the aggregate of subscriptions not to exceed five per cent. of the taxable value of property for State or county purposes. The previous subscription to the railroad stock by the city of Philadelphia and the loans issued therefor were validated. It was provided that any city, county, or municipal corpora-

¹ This act was soon modified in favor of several companies, which were by special act of Assembly given authority to use stationary alarm-bells, notwithstanding the restrictions of the act of 1848.

tion owning ten thousand shares or more of the stock of the company might elect one director for each ten thousand shares.

By act of April 1st the village of Bridesburg was created a borough. The boundaries were: Beginning at a junction of the Frankford Creek and the river Delaware, along the creek southwest to a corner of land of Mr. Reynolds, thence by his line southeast to the river Delaware, and along the latter to the place of beginning. The official title of the corporation was, "The Commissioners and Inhabitants of Bridesburg, in the County of Philadelphia."¹

The Asiatic cholera made its appearance in Europe in the year 1847, and had progressed in its western march as far as England in 1848. In November of the latter year the attention of the Board of Health was attracted to the subject. It was deemed a certainty that the disease would be brought to the United States in the year 1849. The board passed a set of resolutions declaring that it was the duty of the various municipalities to place the city in a favorable condition to avert as much as possible the consequences of the expected visitation. Attention to cleansing, sewerage, and the removal of nuisances was particularly recommended. The districts appointed agents, and by the beginning of December they were at work carrying out the objects intended. A ship from Havre brought the disease to Staten Island, N. Y. Just about the same time its ravages were noted at New Orleans. A committee of the Board of Health sent to New York reported that the disease manifested at New York, at the Quarantine station, was the Asiatic cholera in its malignant form. In the early part of January the board notified the authorities of the city and district of the necessity of paying special attention to the condition of the market-houses. On the 6th of January a resolution was passed that vessels coming from New Orleans, or other ports of the United States where the cholera prevailed, should be subject to detention and quarantine. Dispensaries and hospitals were arranged for by a general plan adopted on the 7th of March. The row of houses on the east side of Front Street above Vine, which had been pest-places during the yellow fever of 1820, were again made objects of particular inquiry and attention. They were in a filthy condition. Some of them were cleansed and closed, and the tenants compelled to find accommodation elsewhere.

The first three cases of cholera in Philadelphia occurred on the 30th of May, the victims being two persons employed upon a canal-boat which had arrived shortly before at Port Richmond.

The third case was that of an Irish emigrant in

Fourth Street, above Shippen. He had recently come from New York, at which port he had arrived from Europe a few days before. All these died. A case on Barclay Street, above Sixth, on the 31st of May, was that of a laborer who usually worked at Market Street wharf. Two more cases were reported the same day. Under charge of the board general supervision was used over the streets; the gutters were cleansed constantly by the copious use of pure water; the sprinkling of streets by the watering machine was discouraged. The controllers of the public schools were recommended to give a vacation to the children during the epidemic, and were asked to give the use of some of the school buildings for hospitals. They refused both these requests. The city hospitals were opened in Cherry, Pine, and South Streets; in the county, at Bush Hill, Moyamensing, Southwark, Northern Liberties, Kensington, Richmond, and West Philadelphia. The following physicians were in attendance at these hospitals: Drs. T. W. Sargeant, W. B. Wilson, J. Neill, R. B. Cole, S. L. Hollingsworth, E. Shippen, J. P. Bethell, H. Ladd, J. L. Adkin, H. Y. Smith, D. F. Condie, M. W. Dickeson, J. L. Zorns, H. W. Rohl, J. McAvoy, M. E. Senderling, W. C. Makin, T. C. Smith, and S. C. Hustin. The whole number of persons admitted into the hospitals during the summer of 1849 was four hundred and sixty-three, of whom three hundred and forty-four were cholera patients, the others having various diseases. The number of deaths in the hospitals was one hundred and eleven. The Moyamensing hospital was most actively employed, the number of admissions being one hundred and twenty, of which one hundred and sixteen were cholera cases; the number of deaths there was twenty-nine. In June the disease manifested but little influence. On some days there were no cases reported, and on others but one or two. From the 30th of May to the 20th of June there were but thirty-six cases reported and seventeen deaths; after this time they increased. On the 24th the cases were twenty; on the 25th, twenty-one; on the 26th, forty-three; and on the 1st of July, sixty-five, with twenty-five deaths. The height of the epidemic was on the 13th of July, when there were eighty-four cases and thirty-two deaths. The returns from that time decreased steadily. On the 18th of August, the report for the day being but four cases and one death, the board discontinued its daily bulletins. The disease lingered on in a mild form until September 8th, when the last death was reported. The whole number of deaths in the city and county between May 30th and September 8th was one thousand and twelve. The number of cases is not as well ascertained. According to the daily bulletins of the Board of Health there were up to August 18th two thousand two hundred and forty-one cases and seven hundred and forty-seven deaths; there were fifty deaths between August 18th and September 8th, which would make the aggregate but seven hundred and ninety-seven deaths. The

¹ In 1850 additional ground was annexed to the borough south of the limits above named, and extending to the north line of Mortimer Lewis' land; along the latter it ran to the Point road, then not by the road, but by a direct line through other properties west of the road until it struck the middle of Frankford Creek, then down the same until it reached the former boundary of the borough.

weekly reports were prepared with more care, and show that some physicians did not report cases for the daily reports, which were afterwards included in the weekly bulletins. The average of deaths to cases was reported to be 1 in 2.86. The number of cases not being reported after the 18th of August, it may be estimated that, according to that ratio during the entire season, the cases were two thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, and the deaths one thousand and twelve. The greatest mortality at any one place was at the almshouse, the inmates of which were generally broken down in constitution or weak and feeble. The number of cases there between the 1st of July and the 14th of August was three hundred and fifteen, and the deaths two hundred and twenty-nine. The cost of preparation for the visitation by the Board of Health and of attendance and relief during its continuance was \$22,635.37, a contrast with the expenditure upon account of the cholera in 1832, when the population was much smaller,—\$105,285.91 were appropriated at that time. The difference may be ascribed to better knowledge of the nature of the disease by the city authorities, and partially to the experience which had been gained as to the character of the epidemic at the former visit.

The triennial parade of the firemen in this year took place amid the severity of a driving snow-storm, which continued until night. The fine banners and paraphernalia could not be displayed without receiving such injuries from the snow that they would be useless. The most costly of these standards, together with the tinsel and artificial flowers usually displayed on fine parade days, were left at home. The few banners which were brought out to brave the storm were old. The greater portion of them were dismantled before the day was over, and at the close of the procession but one, which belonged to the Shiffler Hose Company, was to be seen in the whole line. Only forty-eight companies, about one-half the usual number, paraded, and these with ranks constantly reduced by desertion. The whole number of firemen out at the beginning of the parade was about two thousand. They fell away gradually, so that at the end of the route there were only a few hundred. The noted curiosity of the procession was an old fire-engine which once belonged to the city of Philadelphia, and which is supposed to have been the same bought by the corporation from Alderman Abraham Bickley in 1718. A plate upon it showed that it was built by Loud, of London, in 1698. On this day the Diligent Hose Company paraded by itself. The trouble which led to that course was produced by the band which had been hired to attend the company in the parade. It was that of Dodsworth, of New York. The members of this high-strung organization were shocked at the employment of Frank Johnson's band of colored men and of other bands of colored musicians, which was quite an ordinary thing for many years in Philadelphia. The Dodsworth bandmen, a consider-

able portion of which were foreigners by birth, declared that they would not parade in a procession in which bands composed of colored musicians were allowed to play. The fire companies which had hired colored bands for the procession refused to submit to this impudent dictation, and would not discharge their bands or withdraw from the procession. The result was that the Diligent was compelled to make a solitary march. The firemen were very much dissatisfied with the misfortunes of the day, and they resolved to try it again. They were quite successful. The day, May 1st, was bright and balmy. All the fine banners, decorations, and insignia, which could not be brought out on the stormy 27th of March, were now in full display. There were sixty companies and over four thousand men. Among the novelties of the parade was the stuffed skin of the dog Cash, who for many years ran to fires with the Good Intent Hose Company. The Northern Liberty Hose presented a Roman triumphal car, drawn by horses, in which was a living representative of the Goddess of Liberty. The William Penn Hose Company presented its usual masque of William Penn and the Indians, at this time in unusual strength, the members in it numbering fifty.

Three companies paraded on this occasion apart from the main procession. They were victims to their musicians, who would not play in the same procession with colored bands.

The spirit of misrule and disorder which had been growing annually for fifteen or sixteen years was now at the height. The miserable system of a city with adjacent districts each independent of each other was a protection to the disorderly and encouragement to them to unite together for the purpose of showing their disregard of law. Organized gangs of ruffians and thieves were associated under such names as Killers, Blood-Tubs, Rats, Bouncers, Schuylkill Rangers, and other vulgar appellations. The walls and fences in the neighborhood of the resorts of these gangs were decorated with their titles in chalk and paint. It was a noticeable thing that all of these associations were "No. 1." The Killers, No. 1, fought with the Buffers, No. 1, or the Rats, No. 1, as the case might be, but nobody ever heard of the Killers, Buffers, or Rats, No. 2. These associations were so strong that they committed depredations with impunity, to the terror of citizens, and in contempt of the authorities. The district of Moyamensing was particularly afflicted with these gangs. The district police arrangements were ineffective. The firemen of the district were also in deadly enmity. A fire was as likely to be an incendiary attempt to lure a hostile company into a district where it could be taken in ambush as to have been accidental. An outrageous fight which took place in that district in June, on a Sunday, lasted nearly all day, and was fought with bricks, stones, and fire-arms in the public streets, ranging from Eighth to Eleventh, and from Christian to

Fitzwater Streets. Two weeks afterward a shed on Shippen Street, between Ninth and Tenth, was fired purposely. The carriage of the Franklin Hose proceeding toward the place was seized by a gang of ruffians who were lying in wait, and run down to Washington Street wharf on the Delaware, where it was pushed into the river. A retaliatory operation on the same night was brought about by setting fire to a shed on another part of Shippen Street. The Moyamensing Hose was attacked by adherents of the Franklin. A serious fight took place with fire-arms, in the course of which Alexander Gillies was killed and nine or ten wounded.

The work upon the Pennsylvania Railroad and the progress made in laying the tracks upon the sections between Harrisburg and Pittsburgh was guarantee that in a few months the entire line would be in full operation. As a great increase of trade was expected, the means of proper accommodation were important. It was obvious to persons acquainted with the subject that the old route by way of the inclined plane at Belmont would be quite insufficient, and that some better means of communication with the city was necessary. It was a mistake of the engineers when the Columbia Railroad was built which brought it to Belmont, with necessity of adoption of the slow, expensive, and dangerous inclined-plane system. The surveys which had been made previously showed the availability of routes to the Market Street bridge by which that structure might be crossed nearly at the level of the street grade. The Canal Commissioners notified City Councils that they were willing to so alter the Columbia Railroad as to avoid the inclined plane at Peters Island. The City Councils offered, if the tracks were brought to Market Street, to pay the expense of altering the permanent bridge and of laying a track along Market Street to connect the road with Broad Street. This proposal was accepted and the changes were soon commenced, in the course of which the bridge was so strengthened, modified, and changed as to be in the wood-work an entirely new structure. The builder was John Rice.

Zachary Taylor, President of the United States, passed through Philadelphia, on his way from New York to Washington, in September, and received courtesies somewhat novel in character. The steamboat "Trenton," coming down the river with the President on board, was met in the stream near Port Richmond by the steamboat "State Rights," in which were Mayor Swift and a committee of Councils. The President, together with William M. Meredith, Secretary of the Treasury, Reverdy Johnson, Attorney-General, and others, were transferred to the "State Rights." Gen. Taylor did not intend to stop in Philadelphia. The design was to give to the crowds assembled on the wharves and in the shipping a sight of his features and person. The "State Rights" steamed down the river very near to the

wharves, and the old soldier was recognized by applauding thousands. Near the navy-yard the "State Rights" approached the steamboat "Robert Morris," of the Baltimore line. The President and suite were placed on board the latter and proceeded on their journey.

A serious riot on the night of the general election, October 9th, ended with murder and arson. In the evening an old wagon on which combustibles were placed and set on fire was dragged by a party of men from the lower part of Moyamensing up Seventh Street as far as St. Mary Street, and along the latter toward Sixth. The neighborhood was inhabited by colored people, and they were greatly alarmed because it had been reported in the course of the day that an attack would be made at night upon a large four-story brick building at the northwest corner of Sixth and St. Mary Streets, called the California House. It was a tavern frequented by blacks. The proprietor was a mulatto and his wife a white woman. This case of miscegenation was well known, and had been the subject of hints of violence before that time. Nothing might have come from the running of the burning wagon down St. Mary Street if it had not been for the rumors of the day. Many of the negroes anticipated an attack, and had prepared for it. They manifested their intentions in St. Mary Street by throwing bricks and stones at the party drawing the blazing wagon. This assault led to retaliation. An attack was made upon the California House, and missiles thrown at the doors and windows. The building was defended. In consequence of the rumors of the day several colored persons were in the house. They employed bricks, stones, and fire-arms against the assailants. Finally the latter triumphed. They obtained an entrance to the house, went to work in the bar-room, broke the fixtures and furniture, piled them in the middle of the apartment and set them on fire. The city police, unarmed, now came upon the scene. They encountered ruffians armed with revolving pistols, knives, clubs, and stones. The officers were boldly attacked and driven back as far as Lombard Street, where they endeavored to hold in check a body of excited blacks who seemed to be anxious to participate in the fight. The latter were restrained a short time, but tearing up bricks and paving-stones they went toward St. Mary Street and took part in the fight. The fire at the California House had been slow in its progress, too slow for the impatience of the rioters. To assist the destruction they tore out the gas-fixtures and set the gas free. Soon the building was in a fierce blaze. The alarm of fire was now sounded. The firemen with their apparatus repaired to the scene and encountered strong opposition. The members of the Hope Fire Company preparing to go into service were beaten off, the engine taken from them, run up St. Mary Street and abandoned. The Good-Will Fire Company, on arriving near St. Mary Street, was received with a volley of fire-arms.

Charles Himmelwright, a member, was shot, and died in three minutes, and John Hollick, a member of the same company, was seriously wounded, and afterward died from the effects. The California House was now in a full blaze. Two frame houses adjoining on Sixth Street, two brick houses and a carpenter-shop were burned. This riot raged during the evening and night without attempt to check it by the police until about midnight, when the State-House bell was rung to call out the military. The rioters had in the mean while retired for a time. The soldiers reached the scene about half-past two o'clock on the morning of the 10th. They found everything quiet. The mistake was committed by the commanding officers of withdrawing them. They marched down Sixth Street as far as Shippen Street, along the latter to Fifth, and up the latter to the mayor's office, where they were dismissed. This unusual proceeding, not proper to be adopted while the passions of the rioters were yet heated, gave them notice of their opportunity. In the morning they set fire to a frame house in St. Mary Street, and commenced attacks upon the colored people. The Phoenix Hose Company on the way to the fire was stopped, the members assaulted with stones and compelled to fly. The Robert Morris hose-carriage was seized, taken from the members, and run into Moyamensing. The Diligent Hose Company, attempting to get into service, had its hose cut and injured. The firemen at length rallied and succeeded in saving the burning house. The blacks were emboldened by this assistance. They gathered before daylight, and until about eight o'clock maintained a furious battle with the rioters in Fifth Street. About ten o'clock the military, which had been again summoned, marched to the scene, stationed their guards, and placed two cannon of Col. Bohlens' artillery in front of the California House. Companies and sentries were stationed on Sixth Street at Pine, Lombard, South, and Shippen Streets, and on the cross-streets at Fifth and Seventh Streets. The military were on the ground for two days, when, quiet being restored, they were withdrawn. Beside Himmelwright and Thomas G. Westerhood, a fireman, who died in the same month, Jeremiah McShane, an Irishman, was shot and killed while looking out of a window, and John Griffith, a colored boy, lost his life. The wounded taken to the hospital were nine whites and sixteen blacks. The number injured was doubtless greater.

The Philadelphia and Atlantic Steam Navigation Company, chartered in 1848, commenced business with the new steamship "Osprey," Capt. R. H. Leese. The route was between Philadelphia and Charleston. Passage by cabin, twenty dollars; steerage, ten dollars. This ship had not been built by the company. It was specially chartered for the purpose, and the steamship "Albatross" was associated with it in the same line. The latter made her trial trip in March, 1851. This line, after a trial of three or four years,

failed. The "Osprey" was sold at the close of 1853, and broken up.

Cemetery companies were organized in this year, as follows: The Odd-Fellows' Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, by act of March 14th. The persons associated had before that time purchased a lot on Islington Lane, Penn township, northeast of the Ridge road, the dimensions of which were about thirty-two acres. The Olive Cemetery Company, incorporated February 5th, had purchased a lot of ten acres in Blockley township, on the north side of Lancaster turnpike, and west of the present Belmont Avenue. This ground was taken up by colored persons, and intended to be for the use of that race. The Lebanon Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, another graveyard for the use of colored persons, was chartered January 24th. They selected a lot on the northerly side of Passunk road, about one-fourth of a mile west of Broad Street, which contained about eleven acres.

In this year, also, the ground of the Philadelphia Cemetery Company, on the northwest side of the Passunk road, immediately below the Girard school-house, came into use as a burial-place. The grounds contained about twenty-two acres. The company had been incorporated March 24, 1848.

By act of April 9th, White Hall, in the county of Philadelphia, was erected into a borough, to be called "the Borough of White Hall." The boundary began at Frankford Creek and the easternmost line of Dr. Dunkin's farm, from which it extended to the centre of the Tacony road, and by that road to the centre of Church Street; north by the centre of that street to Little Tacony Creek; up that stream the boundary was carried to James D. Pratt's land; thence by that tract and other farms over to the Delaware and the mouth of Frankford Creek, and along the middle of that creek to the place of beginning. The government was to be by a burgess and a Town Council of six members.

The feeling in favor of consolidation of the city and districts was extending, although greatly resisted. A town-meeting, held Nov. 16, 1849, brought business methods to the assistance of the project. An executive committee was appointed, consisting of John Cadwalader, Eli K. Price, Gideon G. Westcott, Charles M. Ingram, John M. Read, John M. Coleman, Henry L. Benner, John M. Ogden, Francis Tiernan, William White, George W. Tryon, Job R. Tyson, John G. Brenner, Josiah Randall, William L. Hirst, Henry M. Watts, John H. Dohuert, John M. Kennedy, Edward F. Hoeckley, Thomas S. Smith, Peter Williamson, Alexander Cummings, Jacob Esher, Christopher Fallon, and Michael Pray.¹

¹ The following citizens signed this call for the meeting:

John Swift, Josiah Randall, Clement C. Biddle, A. M. Prevost, William Rawls, Garrick Mallory, John Cadwalader, William S. Charney, G. G. Westcott, David Paul Brown, Benjamin Miffin, Francis Wharton, Samuel H. Perkins, Jacob Carrigan, Jr., John M. Kennedy, James Dur-

Nothing resulted from their efforts except the passage of a new police bill, which proved to be one step further toward consolidation. Efforts made in 1849 to insure the nomination of candidates for election to the Legislature who would be favorable to the passage of a consolidation act were but moderately successful. There was a strong influence in all the districts against the measure, and more of it, perhaps, in the districts than in the city. Yet the measure was warmly urged, and could not be safely opposed in a regular fight. To turn aside the feeling a substitute was proposed, which it was hoped would appease the popular demand. The act passed in May, 1850, for the establishment of a consolidated police had been tested to some extent, and was not satisfactory. The various special policemen of the city and districts restrained their vigilance within their own boundaries. Practically this was nothing more than a system of a separate police force for each district without any superior directing authority. The sheriff might call out the consolidated police, but as his principal duties were to get as large amount of fees and commissions out of the civil business of his office as was possible, he had no desire to meddle with the police except upon some important emergency. The riot at the California House in the previous year was sufficient to prove the defect of the system. An improvement of the former method was therefore determined upon.

On the 3d of May the Legislature passed an act directing that the citizens of the city of Philadelphia, Northern Liberties, Southwark, Spring Garden, Moyamensing, Richmond, and Penn districts should at the next fall election choose one person to serve for three years as marshal of the Philadelphia police district. The territory was sub-divided thus,—the city formed four police divisions, and each of the incorporated districts of the county was a division. There was to be a lieutenant of police for each division. The policemen were not to exceed one for every one hundred and fifty taxables, nor to be less than one for every six hundred taxables. The old system of nomination to the police marshal by Councils and commissioners of the names of three times the number of policemen required from which he was

to make his selections was re-enacted. A police board, consisting of the presidents of the two Councils of the city and of the presidents of the various boards of commissioners of the districts, was provided for. They were to have direction of the ways and means of raising a force and of paying them. The force was to act in conjunction with the regular police of the city and districts, or independent of them if necessary. It was charged specially with maintenance of the peace of the police district, or might go beyond it into any part of the county if necessary. The marshal was granted the full power of the sheriff in suppressing riots and disorders, and of arresting offenders against the laws. When in his opinion the existing police force was not sufficient to suppress disturbance, he had authority to call on the major-general commanding the military division to call out a military force to assist in maintaining the law. After proclamation to the evil-doers to disperse, and neglect or failure on their part to do so, the marshal and the military force were authorized to suppress the disorder "in like manner as in case of war or public insurrection." At the election in October, John S. Keyser, of Spring Garden, was elected police marshal. He had been lieutenant of the consolidated police of that district, and had shown himself to be vigilant and bold, so that his merits were well understood by the people.

The police board, which was shortly after organized, agreed that the number of policemen should consist of one for every four hundred taxable inhabitants of the police district, and that the salaries should be four hundred dollars per annum, payable monthly. The force was small, but being in charge of a man of activity and courage the effect was wonderful. The lawless clubs and associations which had for years committed disorder and crime were subdued and broken up. In a few months scarcely any of them pretended to exist, and the small force which Marshal Keyser had under his command was managed admirably. The office of the police marshal was established upon the organization in the Adelphi building, Fifth Street below Walnut.¹ The ruffians who were particularly active in the districts were but little interfered with before the marshal's police got to work. On the 25th of May, about one o'clock in the morning, a large bonfire was kindled in an open lot in Eighth Street, near Fitzwater, and opposite the Moyamensing Hose House. Neil Mooney, a watchman of the district, in accordance with his duty, attempted to extinguish the fire. He was warned to desist by some persons lying in ambush near, but persisted in the discharge of his duty, and while taking an empty barrel from the flames was shot with a musket, and afterward died from his wounds.

nell, Jacob Freas, Edwin R. Cope, John W. Kester, David Boyd, George W. Tryon, John M. Ogden, P. P. Morris, M. Myers, Thomas McGrath, Thomas Bradford, F. Stoeve, John Leadbeater, George C. Naphes, John C. Breuner, William G. Cochran, John H. Dohmert, C. L. Ingram, Henry M. Watts, William Elder, Henry D. Gilpin, A. Boyd Hamilton, Henry S. Patterson, Henry Horn, George H. Earle, James Laws, Chapman Biddle, Henry A. Beck, William West, L. Johnson, Mahlon Gillingham, Thomas Finley, George W. Biddle, Jacob Snider, Jr., Theodore Cuyler, B. Arthur Mitchell, St. George T. Campbell, William L. Hirst, Benjamin Siles, Eli K. Price, John Naglee, Andrew Miller, William H. Smith, William White, Jacob Esler, James Magee, John H. Campbell, George W. Farr, E. S. Jones, T. M. Pettit, J. B. Sutherland, Samuel Barton, Daniel Smith, Sr., William McGlensye, W. C. Parker, B. H. Brewster, Peter Armbruster, William R. Dickerson, John M. Coleman, Peter Fritz, James Harper, E. P. Middleton, Thomas Sparks, George K. Childs, Harry Connelly, Passmore Williamson.

¹ In 1853, John K. Murphy (Democrat) was elected police marshal. By special provision in the consolidation act of 1854, this office and police force were retained until the expiration of Marshal Murphy's official term, in 1856.

The perpetrator of this murder was never discovered.

The attempted revolution against the Austrian domination in Hungary, under lead of Louis Kosuth and others, which had been carried on in 1848-49 with spirit, was subdued in the latter year. Much interest in the contest had been excited in the United States, and the patriotism of the Hungarians was greatly admired. A band of exiles arrived in Philadelphia in January. In this party were Gen. Ujhazy, governor of the fortress of Comorn, his wife, daughter, and two servants; Mademoiselle Jagella, whom it was asserted had fought in soldier's uniform in the Hungarian ranks; Edward Remenyi, Antoine Count Vass, and Col. Prejal. They were lodged at the Washington House, Chestnut Street above Seventh, and serenaded on the evening of their arrival by the members of five German vocal societies who came upon the ground with one hundred torches, by the assistance of which they could see the score of the music which they were singing.

By act of February 19th the Glenwood Cemetery Company, an association established before that time, was incorporated. They had bought a piece of ground on Ridge road, at the northeast corner of Islington Lane, in Penn township. The incorporators were Joseph D. Stewart, John W. Trumpp, Joseph S. Langer, Horn R. Kneass, Thomas Sandland, William D. Baker, Charles R. Bicking, Francis Knox Morton, William A. Witte, Henry A. Stevens, Aaron Waters, Henry T. Grout, Henry S. Patterson, Alexander Whiteside, John G. Michener, George W. Gordon, Peter Weikel, James D. Whetham, William L. Ward, and Henry Simonds, Jr.¹

The Philadelphia and New York Steam Transportation Company was chartered March 8th, with authority to carry merchandise and passengers between Philadelphia and New York, connecting with intermediate points. Robert T. Loper, William M. Baird, William H. Loper, William Thomson, and Nathaniel Briggs were the incorporators. The capital was to be one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, with right to increase to one million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The company was restricted from receiving or landing freight or passengers from any point on the river or bay of Delaware or Schuylkill River, above or below the city or incorporated districts. This corporation, originally a private partnership, managed a large business of transportation by steam-propellers, which ran to and from New York and Providence, R. I., by way of the Delaware and Raritan Canal.

A fire of great extent in the ground burned over, in the number of buildings destroyed, and in the value of the property destroyed, broke out on the 9th

of July, 1850, in a store at No. 39 North Water Street below Vine, on the east side, in the upper part of the building, which, with one adjoining, was occupied by Gordon & Berger, whose stock consisted principally of pressed hay. The fire is believed to have originated from the friction produced by the wheel of a hoisting-machine in active use. The firm of John Brock & Co. occupied the lower part of the store, and the wheel was in use all day in lowering hog-heads of molasses into the cellar. The firemen were summoned, and were soon in full service, principally in Water Street and on the wharf adjoining. During the operations of the firemen some noises, as of explosions, were heard. A witness afterward, before the coroner's jury, testified that he had counted sixteen of them before the last and most terrible in its force. The noise made by the latter was exceedingly loud. In a moment the walls of the Brock, and Gordon, and Berger warehouses were blown out, and the material (bricks, stones, and blazing timbers) were sent flying about the neighborhood. Upon the west side the fragments were with great violence blown into a house immediately opposite, which was occupied by several families. Of the inmates, Marcus Marcus, aged eighteen years, Caroline Marcus, his younger sister, and Isaac Marcus, a younger brother, were killed, and the father of the Marcus family very much injured by the explosion. Persons in the street were also injured and killed. A large number who were standing on a wharf near by were blown overboard, and several jumped into the river.² By the explosion a fire which might have been local was rendered of general character. The falling walls crushed in the roofs of adjacent buildings, and communicated the fire to their contents. Adjoining the Brock store were the warehouses of Ridgway & Budd on one side, and of the Lehigh Transportation Company on the other. Immediately opposite a burning bale of hay and fire-brands had been blown into houses on Water Street extending to Front. They were soon all of a blaze. In a short time the flames crossed Front Street, and attacked dwellings on the west side. Extending south to New Street, the flames swept along the latter to Second Street. About the same time the houses on Vine Street, between Front

² The number of persons killed was twenty-eight, as follows: Marcus Marcus, aged eighteen years; Caroline Marcus; Isaac Marcus; Miss Ann Connell, burned to death; David Mulford, member of the Northern Liberty Hose Company; Mortimer Morris, United States Engine Company; Thomas Stees, Fairmount Engine Company; Caroline E. Drake, thirteen years; Ellen Theresa McKee, thirteen years; Dorothy Hand, twenty-five years; Thomas Donahoe, forty years; Ellen Gilligan, two years; Adolph Soistman, a boy. Two men and three boys, names unknown, were found, and inquests held upon them. William L. Bachman and Benjamin Davis May afterward died from their injuries. There were missing and never found, Cornelius Griscoe; George Smith, nine years old; Isaac Brown, of the Weaccac Hose Company; Samuel Reeves, thirty-eight years; H. Leichtenhahm, Assistance Engine Company; Richard Owens, Assistance Engine Company; Samuel McKee; Mary McKee. None of the missing were ever heard of again. Probably others were killed or drowned. The number of wounded was fifty-eight, as far as known. No doubt there were a greater number.

¹ Nearly all, perhaps all, of these persons were members of the order of Odd-Fellows. The ground was immediately adjoining the Odd-Fellows' Cemetery on Islington Lane.

and Second, were on fire. Laborious efforts to prevent the flames from crossing to the west side of Second Street were successful. Above Vine Street they were carried along Second northward on the east side, and were only stopped about six houses below Callowhill Street by the parapet walls of the White Horse Tavern. One house above that was consumed. There was considerable destruction on Front Street above Vine, in New Market Street, and upon Callowhill Street. The following will give some idea of the extent of the destruction:

Houses burned on east side of Water Street and Delaware Avenue south of Vine.....	17
Houses burned on east side of Front Street through to Water Street.....	18
Houses burned on west side of Front Street south of Vine.....	12
Houses burned on south side of Vine Street, between Front and Second Streets.....	26
Houses burned on New Street, between Front and Second.....	28
Houses burned on east side of Second Street south of Vine.....	10
Houses burned between Vine and Callowhill, Delaware Avenue and Second Street.....	211
Houses burned north and east of Callowhill and Water Streets.....	15
Total.....	367

These were totally destroyed. Many other houses were injured by sparks and pieces of burning boards, which were carried by the explosion and the wind far and wide. Pieces of brimstone from Brock's store were picked up in Broad Street, and zinc from the roof of that building fell in Ridge Avenue. About three hundred of the buildings destroyed were dwelling-houses; the remainder were stores. The loss could scarcely be estimated accurately. It was supposed that it could not be less than a million of dollars, and it might have been much more. The insurance amounted to three hundred and sixty-eight thousand dollars. During the continuance of this fire the greatest consternation prevailed in the neighborhood for squares distant, and anxiety all over the city. The volumes of flame and smoke were immense, and were visible from every direction. Many persons who resided or were in business at the distance of one-quarter or one-half mile from the place where the fire was burning packed up their goods, and prepared for a sudden removal. The flames were got under control by the firemen about two o'clock the next morning, and were confined to the district already injured. The news being sent by telegraph throughout the United States brought firemen from other cities. One hundred of them came from New York the same night; some from Newark and some from Baltimore. The City Councils appropriated ten thousand dollars for the relief of the sufferers by the calamity. The Commissioners of the Northern Liberties gave an equal amount. A meeting of citizens was held at which measures were taken to collect contributions for the assistance of the injured. They received about thirty-one thousand dollars, which was properly appropriated. The cause of the explosion was for a long time a subject of controversy, and was never satisfactorily settled. The most general belief was that it was caused by the large quantities of saltpetre and brimstone in the store of the Messrs. Brock. Here were

two of the ingredients of gunpowder. The other, it was suggested, could have been furnished by the brands and coal from the fire dropping from above into the saltpetre and nitre. There was great discussion on the subject in the newspapers, with ingenious attempts to solve the question, "Will saltpetre explode?"¹

On the same day, when the fire was making its ravages, Zachary Taylor, President of the United States, died at Washington, D. C. The news was in the same paper which contained the accounts of the great fire. The Councils of the city resolved that the death of the President should be commemorated by appropriate ceremonies, which took place on the 30th of July. The shops and public buildings were generally closed, and the fronts of many of them draped and hung with black. At the custom-house the marble columns of the portico were shrouded in crape wound round them from bases to capitals. The doorways were festooned. Upon the cornice, in silver letters upon a black ground, was the sentence, "I have endeavored faithfully to discharge my duty." The city buildings on Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth were heavily draped. Crape and black hangings were generally displayed upon the large hotels, stores, and some private residences. There was a military parade of the three city brigades, under Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, with United States marines from the navy-yard, a company of United States artillery from Fort Mifflin, and returned Mexican volunteers. A catafalque fifteen feet high was elaborate in its sombre decorations, which were of white satin for the canopy, white satin for the pillars with capitals of silver flames, which supported an elliptical arched canopy with a dome covered with black cloth surmounted by an eagle. Black and white with silver fringes, stars, and trimmings decorated the car, which was drawn by eight white horses covered with black cloth, and led by white grooms dressed in black, except that the bands upon their hats were white. A white horse with military saddle and caparison followed. In the civic part of the procession were Governor William

¹ There was stored in the store of John Brock, Sons, & Co., at the time of the fire two hundred and fifty bags of saltpetre, averaging two hundred pounds each; eighty barrels of brimstone, about three hundred and thirty pounds each; fifty hogheads, twelve tierces, seventy barrels of molasses, and ninety-one hogheads of sugar. The saltpetre and brimstone were on the first floor on Water Street; the molasses and sugar on the lower or cellar floor. A hatchway was between each floor and open. As the saltpetre and brimstone fused it ran down through the hatch and spread among the sugar and molasses. This was seen by a number of firemen in or about the building. The burning of so large a quantity of saccharine matter rapidly formed carbon, and thus were brought into contact in a high state of heat all the elements of gunpowder.

To prevent such dangers in future the Legislature passed a law, April 8, 1851, "to regulate the storage of saltpetre in the city and districts of Philadelphia," and not more than three kegs, or three hundred pounds, were allowed to be placed in any storehouse at one time, under penalty of one hundred dollars. Forwarding houses in Philadelphia might receive and store any quantity of saltpetre intended to be carried over the public works of Pennsylvania for forty-eight hours.

F. Johnston and other State officers, with officers of the city and districts, societies, firemen in citizens' clothes. There were forty-one companies of the latter. The Vigilant Fire Company had in their line a marble monument, drawn by horses, which had upon it the inscription, "This is the end of life. I am prepared." The Hope Hose Company had a funeral car. The line of the procession extended over twenty-six squares. The day was intensely hot; the thermometer at 11 o'clock A.M. stood at ninety-four degrees, and at 3 P.M. at ninety-seven degrees. There was considerable suffering among the soldiers and persons in line from the heat. The cortege halted at Christ Church, where a memorial sermon was preached by the Rev. William Bacon Stevens, from the text Jeremiah xlviii. 5-17.

The boundaries of West Philadelphia were changed in this year by additions of territory of such intricate character as to boundaries that an attempt to describe them, except with the particularity of the technical language of a surveyor, would be impossible. The extension began at the mouth of Sweet Brier Creek, which emptied into the Schuylkill near Sweet Brier mansion, now in Fairmount Park. The boundary was by the centre of the creek until the centre of the Falls of Schuylkill road was reached. Westward the boundary extended outward toward the Cathedral Cemetery and down the creek to the Haverford road, crossing by the Pennsylvania Hospital wall to Mill Creek, by the latter to the Philadelphia and Baltimore turnpike road, and along the latter to Hamilton village and the Darby road to John Hare Powell's ground, the Philadelphia Almshouse, and then to the Schuylkill River. In this tract was included the village of Mantua and a great deal of adjacent ground. West Philadelphia was divided into three wards. The first ward had no name. The second was called the Hamilton Ward, and took in the greater part of Hamilton village. The third, or Mantua Ward, was north-east of the Lancaster turnpike.

The western boundaries of Kensington were changed so as to include ground between Lehigh Avenue and Somerset Street, and out to Sixth Street, with some other modifications.

The village of Doverville and its neighborhood, in the unincorporated township of the Northern Liberties, was, by act of April 11th, made a corporation, under the title of "the Commissioners and Inhabitants of the Borough of Aramingo." The situation was west of Salmon Street and the Bridesburg borough line, and was bounded by Frankford Creek and private properties, the location of which would now be difficult to fix. The dimensions of Bridesburg were also extended by act of April 30th.

In the city the elections for ward officers, which had been held in the spring, were carried over to the second Tuesday in October. A change was also made in the manner of electing councilmen. These had previously been chosen in both chambers

by wards, there being one representative from each ward in Select Council at all times, and in Common Council one or more from each ward, according to population. Under the new law, for the Select Council the city was divided into four districts, which were not a single ward. The Select Council districts extended from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. The First District was from the south side of Vine to the north side of Mulberry, and included Upper and Lower Delaware, North Mulberry, and South Mulberry Wards. The Second District extended from Mulberry to Chestnut Street, and included High Street, Chestnut, North, and Middle Wards. The Third District extended from Chestnut to Spruce Street, and took in Walnut, Dock, South, Locust, and Spruce Wards. The Fourth District, from Spruce to Cedar, took in Pine, New Market, Lombard, and Cedar Wards. A member for each district could be elected from any portion of the districts. One member of Select Council was to be elected annually in each district, to serve for three years. The Common Council was divided into seventeen districts, as follows:

1st, Upper Delaware Ward; 2d, Lower Delaware Ward; 3d, High Street; 4th, Chestnut; 5th, Walnut; 6th, Dock; 7th, Pine; 8th, New Market; 9th, Spruce; 10th, Lombard; 11th, Cedar; 12th, Locust; 13th, South; 14th, Middle; 15th, North; 16th, South Mulberry; 17th, North Mulberry.

Each district was to elect one member of Common Council annually, except in the 12th, 15th, 16th, and 17th districts, which might each elect two members.

The act of May 15, 1850, changed the boundary lines between Moyamensing and Southwark. Beginning on the river Delaware, on the south side of Mifflin Street (laid out but not then opened), the line extended on the south side of that street west to the west side of Fifth Street; then crossing to the north side of Mifflin, and then along the same to the east side of Seventh, and along Seventh to the north side of Reed Street, and along the same west to the western boundary of the district of [Southwark] on the west side of Passyunk road. This was the district of Southwark, and embraced the land up to the city line. Moyamensing was somewhat reduced in size by the change.

Commodore Jacob Jones, of the United States navy, who had, in the United States sloop-of-war "Wasp," captured the British sloop-of-war "Frolic," Oct. 18, 1812, died in August, and was buried on the 7th, with military honors, City Councils participating.

Gen. Antonio Paez, ex-President of Venezuela, arriving in the city in July, was received as a public guest by the mayor and Councils. At the hall of Independence he was addressed in English by the mayor, and responded in Spanish. During his stay in Philadelphia he received many hospitalities and civilities.

A violent freshet on the 3d of September did considerable damage on the Schuylkill. The bridge at Flat Rock was destroyed. A new bridge at the Falls,

with the exception of one arch, was swept away. At Fairmount dam the water was ten feet ten and a half inches above the ordinary level. At Harding's Tavern, on the west side of the Schuylkill, near the Suspension bridge, the water was twenty inches above the first floor. William Street [Twenty-fourth] from Callowhill to Vine Street was flooded, and the water extended nearly to Schuylkill Front Street [Twenty-second], Beach Street [Twenty-third], below Chestnut, Bank Street, and Sutherland Avenue were submerged. The city gas-works at Market Street and the Schuylkill were flooded. The fires were put out. The manufacture of gas was stopped. In the evening the city was in darkness. The Arch and Walnut Street Theatres were closed. At Barnum's Museum a large number of camphene lamps were put into requisition. Candles, for which there were no candle-sticks, were the only means of illumination in many private houses. The public lamps were in gloom until about nine o'clock, when tallow candles were placed in some of them. The damage on the Schuylkill front of the city and county was great throughout its extent. Coal, wood, and lumber in large quantities were swept from the wharves. On the west side of the Schuylkill the cars of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad found that it was not safe to cross the river at Gray's Ferry. The passengers were taken back to Chester, and brought to the city in the steamboat "Robert Morris." The amount of the damage was never satisfactorily estimated.

The City Councils, in 1845, had made a pledge of a subscription of five thousand dollars to the stock of the Schuylkill Railroad Company whenever twenty thousand dollars should be subscribed by citizens. This sum had been obtained and the money was appropriated. The railroad was built, but never succeeded in attracting business to a profitable degree. Peculiarly it turned out a complete failure.

The city on the 17th of January made a subscription for ten thousand additional shares of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

The convention to consult upon the subject of building a great railroad to the Pacific, which had met at St. Louis, Mo., at an earlier period in the year, adjourned to meet at Philadelphia in April. The session commenced at the museum building in April, and lasted two or three days. This matter had been discussed for some time previous, and efforts were made to enlist a public sentiment in favor of the work. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, by resolution of March 3, 1848, declared in favor of the plan of Asa Whitney, of New York, of constructing a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean, by an appropriation and sale of the public lands upon its line, connecting the sale and settlements of the lands with the building of the road, and making it an individual enterprise, yet under the control of Congress. Resolutions of a similar character were passed by the Legislature in the succeeding year.

In August, a range of government store-houses, erected in Granite Street, between Dock and Front Streets, suddenly fell in by the breaking of the timbers and supports. The floors were heavily loaded with goods, spirits, wines, brandies, and large quantities of heavy merchandise, the weight of which was beyond the capacity of the structure. Several persons in the warehouse were injured, but it is believed none of them died. The building was a perfect wreck. The walls were forced out, and the interior presented a confused mass of barrels, boxes, and crates. Casks of wine and brandy were stove in, boxes of tea were broken, casks of hardware were burst open, and their contents thrown out. The *débris* presented a remarkable scene of confusion, and the work of clearing out the ruin was difficult and slow. The stores were afterward rebuilt in stronger fashion.

The steamship "Benjamin Franklin," of Loper's Philadelphia and Boston line, was launched in the early part of the year. In December, a fine war-steamer, built for the republic of Venezuela, and named "The Libertador," was built at Kensington, and made her trial trip December 28th. The boilers of the steamboat "Telegraph," on the Wilmington line, exploded on November 9th; eight or nine persons were killed and thirty wounded. This had been a popular and fast boat, built in 1836, and for a long time favorably known upon the Cape May line. The machinery of the Kensington Water-Works was first put in operation December 21st of this year.

Charters for medical colleges were granted this year by the Legislature. One of these, the Medico-Chirurgical College of Philadelphia, was given power for the furtherance of the dissemination of medical knowledge, the defense of the rights and the preservation of the repute and dignity of the medical profession. It was not a school, but rather a trade society. The college might grant diplomas of fellowship, honorary, senior, and junior membership, but not the degrees of doctor or bachelor of medicine. The Eclectic Medical College of Pennsylvania was incorporated February 25th, with power to grant the degree of doctor of eclectic medicine to any such person as shall have attended two courses of medical lectures and completed a course of study, and possesses the qualifications necessary for the same. An important innovation upon the restrictive and close guilds which had authority in matters of medical instruction was effected by the incorporation of the Female Medical College of Philadelphia, for the purpose of instructing females in the science and art of medicine. The incorporators were Frederick A. Fickard, M.D., William J. Mullen, Henry Gibbons, M.D., Joseph S. Longshore, M.D., Ferdinand J. Dreer, William J. Birkey, M.D., Robert P. Kane, John Longstreth.¹

¹ The Medico-Chirurgical College was probably organized and continued in existence for a period. The Eclectic Medical College was first established in Haines Street, west of Sixth, adjoining the Odd-Fellows'.

The Philadelphia and Savannah Steamship Company was incorporated by act of March 18, 1851. Shares, five hundred dollars. The company was to receive a charter whenever twenty-five dollars were paid upon forty shares. The object was to own, employ, and dispose of ships, vessels, steam-engines, etc., for the navigation of oceans, bays, and rivers by steam power, and the transportation of merchandise, goods, passengers, etc., the act to be void if the company did not instruct and employ at least one steam vessel suitable for ocean navigation between Philadelphia and Savannah within three years. No corporations were named in the act. By act of February 10th was incorporated the Pennsylvania Steamship Company. The incorporators were Charles S. Boker, Thomas Richardson, S. Morris Waln, Thomas S. Newlin, James C. Hand, Daniel L. Miller, Jr., John Ashhurst, Christopher Fallon, Matthew Newkirk, Jesse Godley, Richard Price, John B. Myers, George H. Martin, Gideon G. Westcott, John G. Brenner, Robert Ewing, Robert Patterson, Thomas Allibone, Stephen Flanagan, William C. Ludwig, and William V. Baker. Stock, one million dollars. The power given was to equip, own, purchase, and sell vessels to be "propelled solely or partially by the power of steam or other expansive fluid, and to be run and propelled in navigating the Atlantic or other oceans."

The opening of the new year was signified by public rejoicings upon the occasion of the establishment of a line of steamships between Philadelphia and Europe. The screw steamship "City of Glasgow," Capt. Mathews, the pioneer of the line, entered the Delaware on the 2d of January. When the ship was in the bay the fact was telegraphed to the city. In a short time afterward the steamboat "Trenton" went down the river with four hundred merchants and business men on board. Near Chester the "City of Glasgow" was seen, and greeted with "Hail Columbia" by the band on the "Trenton," with a salute of thirteen guns and hearty cheers. Capt. Mathews and some of the passengers were brought on board the "Trenton," and received with speeches by John Price Wetherill and Morton McMichael. The captain, who was a stout little Englishman, and no orator,

was surprised and embarrassed by these unexpected attentions, but managed to make a suitable reply. On the passage up the river salutes were fired from the steamship "Osprey" and the Venezuelan war-ship "Libertador." One hundred guns were fired from artillery stationed at Washington Street, Southwark, and a salvo from Kaighn's Point, N. J. The shipping in port was decorated with flags, and cheers and demonstrations of welcome were heard all along the city front. On the 11th of January a grand banquet in honor of the arrival of the "City of Glasgow" was given by City Councils in the upper room of the museum building, at Ninth and George [Sansom] Streets. There were eight hundred guests present, including the members of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, the executive officers of the commonwealth, the leading officers of the city and districts, and merchants and business men. Charles Gilpin, mayor of the city, presided. A prayer was offered by the Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania. An address of compliment was made to Capt. Mathews, to which he responded appropriately. Speeches were made by Hon. James Buchanan, afterward President of the United States; William M. Meredith, who had been Secretary of the Treasury; William C. Patterson, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company; Daniel L. Miller, Jr.; Robert Morris, editor of the *Pennsylvania Inquirer*; John L. Dawson, Judge William D. Kelley, and others.¹

The Girard College now being completed, it was resolved that the remains of the donor, Stephen Girard, should be transferred to the sarcophagus beneath the statue of the merchant and mariner by Gevelot, in the vestibule of the main building of the college. It was intended that the funeral should be entirely under the control of members of the Masonic order. Some of the heirs of Stephen Girard objected to this transfer, alleging that the body of their rela-

¹ The "City of Glasgow" was under the British flag, and belonged to an English corporation, which had determined to try its fortune in establishing a line to Philadelphia. The steamships were all named after cities. The "City of Glasgow" was followed by the "City of Manchester," which came into the river in the month of August. The "City of Pittsburgh" arrived in January, 1852. The "City of Philadelphia" was built some months afterward, but never entered the Delaware. The fate of these vessels was unfortunate. The "City of Glasgow" left Liverpool for Philadelphia March 1, 1854, and was never heard of afterward. There were more than five hundred passengers, and the value of the vessel and cargo was eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The "City of Pittsburgh" was burned in the harbor of Valparaiso Oct. 24, 1852. No lives were lost. The "City of Philadelphia," while on a voyage from Liverpool to Philadelphia, struck on Cape Race Sept. 17, 1854. The passengers were saved and the ship lost. The value of the ship and cargo was six hundred thousand dollars. The "City of Manchester" alone remained, and ran between Philadelphia and Liverpool monthly until the breaking out of the Crimean war between Great Britain, France, and Russia, when her services were demanded by the British government for the transportation of troops. After the war the title of the line was changed to the Philadelphia, New York, and Liverpool Steamship Company. The first name in the title was surplusage. The office of the company was transferred to the city of New York, from which the "City of Manchester" and other vessels ran for some years. No vessel of this line afterward entered the port of Philadelphia.

Hall, and was afterward removed to the northeast corner of Sixth and Calowhill Streets, upper story. It was reputedly managed for ten years by a quiet, earnest faculty, strictly in the interests of science. The graduates were but few in comparison with those of other institutions. About 1859 or 1860 a quarrel between the professors led to the establishment of a rival institution, also eclectic, and the running off of a large number of the students to the new concern. The institution declined from that time, and finally got into bad hands. Ostensibly open for medical instruction, on the south side of Pine Street above Fifth, the Eclectic Medical College became a great factory of bogus diplomas of doctors of medicine, which were sold to any applicant who was willing to pay for them at home or abroad, without distinction of birth, race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Female Medical College became in the course of years an honorable and highly successful institution, during which time was erected a fine hospital in connection with the college building on North College Avenue, Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets. The title of this school was afterward changed to the Woman's Medical College.

tive had been deposited in the vault of the Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church, Sixth and Spruce Streets, in accordance with his own wishes, and that there was no authority, either in the Masonic order or the city of Philadelphia, to remove them. It was an important fact that they had been removed before application was made for an injunction. The point was strongly debated on both sides. Judge Edward King, of the Common Pleas, before whom the motion for an injunction was discussed, took the sensible view that the body having been removed, an injunction against removing it could not be consistently granted. The public ceremonies had also been arranged for, and, finally, he continued the case without making any decision, stating that if an injunction could be legally ordered after the remains had actually been removed from the churchyard, it could be as well disposed of afterward upon full argument on bill and answer and final decree. Nothing was ever done afterward in relation to the matter. The object of the heirs was vexatious and without justification. They asserted that the will of Girard and the trusts created in the city of Philadelphia by that instrument were void, but possession of the mortal remains of their relative could have no influence upon a decision of the legal questions involved in the controversy. Under the particular state of the case, the old adage that possession is nine points of the law became available. The funeral ceremonies were entirely Masonic, under direction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, which upon this occasion permitted the first parade of the brotherhood for many years. Care was taken to present the members of the order under the most favorable circumstances. They were uniformly attired in full-dress suits of black, and wore white kid gloves, the white sheepskin apron of the Master Mason trimmed with broad edging of blue ribbon, and blue sashes, ornamented with silver fringe. Fifteen hundred and nineteen members of the order paraded, and the procession, in the fine appearance of the members, the personal respectability of all of them, and the decorum exhibited, had never been equaled in impressive character. The procession marched from the Masonic Hall, Third Street above Spruce, by the most direct route, *via* Ridge Avenue, to Girard College. Here the orphans under tuition in the institution, three hundred in number, were placed upon the steps of the college building. The remains of the founder were brought forth and borne by twelve Past Masters to a platform erected on the east side of the main building for the purpose. The Grand Lodge was placed upon this elevation, the brethren being arranged in close columns before it. A dirge, composed for the occasion, was played by a band of musicians under the direction of Brother William P. Cunningham. Past Grand Master Joseph R. Chandler then delivered an appropriate and eloquent oration, and the Most Worthy Grand Master, William Whitney, made a

short address. The dirge was again performed. The remains of Girard were then removed to the vestibule of the college and deposited in the sarcophagus. The line of Masons filed along in front of the latter, and each brother deposited his palm-branch upon the coffin as he passed. After this the march was resumed to Masonic Hall, where the members were dismissed.

On the 12th of November a terrible disaster occurred at Bruner's cotton-mill, at the southwest corner of Nixon [Twenty-third] and Hamilton Streets. The mill at that time was a stone building, four stories in height, immediately at the corner of the two streets. A fire broke out in a lower story, and the flames rapidly ran up the only stairway in the building, which was at the southeast corner, on Nixon Street. There were about thirty men and women in the third and fourth stories. A few of them, upon the alarm, managed to get down the stairway, but the majority of them were cut off from escape in that way by the flames. The contents of the factory were very inflammable. Some of the persons in the upper stories endeavored to get down by the hoisting-rope, which was upon the outside of the building. A few managed to escape in this way, but the others, the greater portion of whom were girls and women, could not escape in that manner. They were driven to the dreadful alternative of jumping from the third- and fourth-story windows into the street beneath. All of them were severely bruised, and several of them broke their limbs. Edward Crossley and Mary Ann Browning were burned to death in the factory. Agnes Morrow, who jumped from a window, was killed. In a short time the factory was totally destroyed. Such a melancholy circumstance had never happened in Philadelphia, and the owners of other mills and factories, admonished by the disaster, generally adopted measures for the better escape of their employés in case of fire, but with little success, judging from the number of similar catastrophes that afterward happened. The apparatus of the fire department at this time consisted only of fire-engines and hose-carriages. There was no ladder service. A hook-and-ladder company, the Empire, No. 1, was shortly after established, and it was followed by the institution of the Keystone Hook-and-Ladder Company, No. 2.

On the 18th of March the Assembly Building, four stories in height, situated at the southwest corner of Tenth and Chestnut Streets, and extending to George [Sansom] Street, was totally destroyed by fire. The lower stories were fitted up with stores and shops. The upper stories were occupied by two large saloons, which were used for balls, concerts, lectures, etc., and it had been a place of great resort. It had been opened for such purposes on the 10th of November, 1839, and for over eleven years had been in good service and constant employment upon festive occasions.¹

¹ It was rebuilt immediately after the fire, opened in 1852, and has been employed for public purposes in the upper stories ever since.

The fire was first discovered in a grocery-store at the corner of Tenth and George Streets, and mounting rapidly to the upper stories, the whole building was totally destroyed. The loss was estimated, to the owner of the building and the tenants, at one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The night was cold and stormy. Much snow was falling, and the firemen were embarrassed by the freezing of fire-plugs and hose. Their labors were arduous, and they only succeeded in saving the buildings in the rear on George Street and Chestnut Street, and prevented the flames from doing damage to the houses on the east side of Tenth Street immediately opposite the hall. The snow was heavy, and the weight upon roofs of buildings was very great. Early in the morning of the 19th, about five o'clock, the roof of the Spring Garden Presbyterian Church, at the northeast corner of Eleventh and Wistar Streets, fell in from the weight of the snow. It was a new building, but was weak in the upper portions. The weight of snow upon the roof pressed out the side and end walls, and the entire interior was demolished. Nothing was left standing except the pillars of the front colonnade.

Millard Fillmore, President of the United States, passed through the city on the 12th of May. The steamer "Roger Williams" took down a large escort of gentlemen to Wilmington, from which place the President was brought by the boat to the city. He was accompanied by Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General; Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster-General; and William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy. At the navy-yard the party was received with an official salute, and thence escorted by eight companies of volunteers to the United States Hotel, Chestnut Street. At that place short speeches were made by the President and Daniel Webster to the citizens assembled in front of the house. In the evening the party was complimented by a serenade. They left the city in the morning train for New York.

On the 20th of May the steamboat "Ohio," coming up the Delaware with passengers from Baltimore, came in collision with the steamboat "Commodore Stockton" a short distance below Greenwich Point. The "Ohio," struck nearly amidships, was in danger of sinking. The captain steered the boat at once to the Jersey shore, and it was run upon the flats below Kaighn's Point. The bell was tolled as a signal of distress, in hope of bringing to relief the ferry-boat at Kaighn's Point, which came to assist. Forty or fifty passengers were rescued by that means. But before all who were on board the "Ohio" were taken off the boat filled with water and slipped off the shoal into the deep channel, where it sank. Some of the passengers were rescued by wherry-boats and by means of the long-boat belonging to the "Ohio." Three horses upon the forward deck swam ashore, one of them carrying the owner on his back. Two

passengers, E. A. Taylor, of Washington, D. C., and — Shute, of Baltimore, were drowned. The hull of the boat was submerged, the tops of the chimneys alone being visible. The "Ohio" was afterwards raised, repaired, and put in service upon the line.

The anniversary of American independence was celebrated this year more generally than for a long period previous. The Councils appropriated a liberal sum for an exhibition of fire-works in honor of the day, which was to take place in Broad Street, between the Southeast and Southwest Squares. In the morning the entire First Division of volunteers paraded under the command of Brig.-Gens. George Cadwalader, John Bennett, and John Sydney Jones. The Declaration of Independence was read at one o'clock in Independence Square by William M. Bull. Political meetings and dinners also took place in various parts of the city. In the evening about fifty thousand persons assembled in Broad Street at Market, and in Broad Street above Chestnut and neighboring streets to witness the display. Unfortunately, it was not brilliant. The day was very warm, and some of the principal pieces set up in the afternoon exploded from the heat of the sun. There was a meagre show in consequence, and the persons present were much dissatisfied.

The Fugitive Slave Law, passed by Congress on the 18th of September, 1850, led to many displays of feeling. The sentiment of a large portion of the people of Philadelphia was in opposition to the statute, and great interest was manifested in fugitive slave cases. Under the act commissioners appointed by the United States District Courts were vested with the powers of magistrates, and authorized to remand to captivity all fugitive slaves who were brought before them. In Philadelphia, Edward D. Ingraham, a member of the bar, was appointed commissioner under this act. He was a man of strong feeling, prejudice, and determination, and decided in his views not only as to the expediency, but as to the legality of slavery. Other commissioners were appointed, but Ingraham was the first to be appealed to on behalf of slave-owners. The examples of the law commenced unfortunately. The first case brought before Ingraham was that of a colored man claimed to be a slave of a person residing in Delaware. The owner was not present, but was represented by his agents. The alleged fugitive offered testimony to show his identity and prove his right to freedom. All efforts in this way were overruled, and the man was sent to Delaware. Upon his reception there the claimant declared that he was not his slave. He was not the man whom he had intended to be arrested, and the negro was set free. This terrible blunder on the part of the commissioner was the point of many personal attacks afterwards made upon Commissioner Ingraham by the Abolitionists and sympathizers with them. The result did not change his determination, but rendered

him more careful, so that in after-time his judgments were scarcely ever attacked.¹

Louis Kossuth, Governor of Hungary during the attempted revolution of 1848-49, was compelled to fly after the failure of that desperate effort, and took refuge in Turkey. There he was confined with his companion in Widin, Shumla, and in Kutaieh, in Asia Minor. His extradition was demanded of Turkey by Austria and Russia. The measure was opposed by England and France, and at the intervention of the United States and England he was permitted to leave Turkey with his wife and family. The United States government, in accordance with the resolution of the Senate, sent the steam frigate "Mississippi," Capt. Long, to receive him and bring him to the United States. He arrived at New York on the 5th of December, 1851, accompanied by his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Pulzsky. The visit of Kossuth created great interest and enthusiasm throughout the United States. In Philadelphia special preparations were made to receive him with honor. On the 24th of December the Hungarian patriot arrived at the Kensington depot of the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad. The Councils of the city and the commissioners of the districts had resolved to receive him with every possible honor. The party arrived on the 24th, at three o'clock in the morning, and were taken to lodgings at the United States Hotel. At ten o'clock Kossuth was escorted to Independence Hall, the front of which, in reference to the season, was decorated with evergreens, and with flags of Hungary, Turkey, and the United States. Here in the chamber of Independence the guest was appropriately received by the mayor and City Councils. Placed in a barouche drawn by six horses, and escorted by the City Troop, at Sixth and Arch Streets a body of soldiers was met. The military procession was unusually large, and as an evidence of the great interest which the people throughout the State took in the fortunes of the man, there were more volunteer companies from the interior of the State present than had marched in the streets of the city on a festival occasion since the reception of Gen. Lafayette, more than a quarter-century previously. There were twenty companies from Berks, Schuylkill, and other counties, under command of Gen. William H. Keim and Col. John P. Hobart. Twenty-six companies of the First Division were in line under command of Maj.-Gen. Patterson.

Kossuth reviewed the troops from his carriage. His figure was not conspicuous in size, for he was a man somewhat under the average stature. But his dress, a black velvet coat with a fur collar, fur edges and

sleeves, and low hat with black feather, attracted general attention. His pale countenance, the regularity of his features, the brilliancy of his black eye, and the general expression of melancholy which was settled over all, was a subject of interesting study. In the civic procession were members of Councils and Commissioners of Southwark, Northern Liberties, Kensington, and Spring Garden, in carriages. The Scott Legion of soldiers of the Mexican war marched in their old uniforms. The survivors of the "Dartmoor" prisoners of the war of 1812 turned out the remnant of their rapidly-decreasing number. Several German societies, natives of Switzerland, the Independent Order of Red Men, and the Junior Sons of Temperance swelled the procession. At Independence Hall Charles Gilpin, mayor of the city, greeted the guest in a complimentary speech, to which a suitable reply was made. Afterward Kossuth made a short address to citizens assembled from a platform in Independence Square. The reception was a city gala day. At the corner of Eighth and Chestnut Streets an arch with four spandrels springing from the corners of the streets was decorated with evergreens, the flags of Turkey, Hungary, and the United States flying from the top. This structure had been erected by the volunteer company of State Fencibles, Capt. James Page, the armory of which was in the Union building adjoining. In the evening the Fencibles marched to the United States Hotel, where an elegant gold medal, the gift of private Martin Leans, a member of the Fencibles, was presented to Kossuth by Capt. James Page on behalf of the donor, and received by Kossuth in an interesting speech. On the same evening the corporation of the city of Philadelphia gave a banquet in honor of Kossuth at the United States Hotel. Kossuth made a few remarks in reply to the compliment tendered to him. Speeches of a spirited character were made by Commodore George C. Read, of the United States navy, Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, Morton McMichael, Judge John K. Kane, of the United States District Court, Judge William D. Kelley, of the Common Pleas, and John C. Montgomery. The next day, being Christmas, Kossuth was waited upon by a deputation from Harrisburg, and a delegation of the clergy of the city, of which the Rev. John Chambers, of the Independent Presbyterian Church, was spokesman. In the evening, at the upper saloon of the museum, there was a reception by the children of the public schools. Master John S. Painter delivered an address on the part of the boys, and Master A. McNeill on behalf of the girls. A book containing a copy of the Constitution of the United States was presented to the great Hungarian. The citizens of German birth took warm interest in the visit of Kossuth. They arranged a grand torchlight procession and serenade for the evening. The vocal societies and other participants met in Broad Street, near Chestnut, and marched down the latter street to the hotel. Their way was lighted

¹ Among the fugitive slave cases subsequently decided, nearly all by Ingraham, were the following: 1850, December 22d, Adam Gibson; 1851, January 26th, Stephen Bennett; 1851, February 9th, Tamer or Uphemia Williams; 1851, March 9th, case of a colored woman and boy; 1852, George Bordley; 1853, January 23d, Charles Wesley; 1853, July 24th, William Fisher; 1853, July 24th, William Cummins, before Commissioner Heazlitt.

with fourteen hundred torches and many large fire-baskets filled with blazing faggots. There were illuminated paintings, transparencies, banners, and flags. The coopers had with them a large painting representing the assault which had been made a short time before upon the Austrian Gen. Haynau by the brewers in the city of London. A transparency representing the Goddess of Liberty, holding a laurel wreath in her right hand and a broken wreath and shackles in her left, was also displayed. At the custom-house, opposite the United States Hotel, the vocal societies were arranged upon the steps with their flags, banners, and insignia, in picturesque groups. The effect was heightened by the fact that snow was falling fast, covering every building and tree, which, with the lights, gave to the scene a wild and fantastic character. The chorus clubs simply sang the national anthem of the Star-Spangled Banner, the words in German. Kossuth had retired, and was in bed. He was addressed at his bedside in behalf of the members of the procession by Herr Wesendonck, after which Hanjik, one of the Hungarian exiles, addressed the people from an upper window of the hotel. The procession then withdrew in good order and with cheers. On the evening of the 26th of December a banquet was given by subscription by citizens of Philadelphia to Louis Kossuth at the Musical Fund Hall. One table, upon a raised platform, extended across the hall at the south end. There were seated the guest of the evening and other invited guests. Three tables, extending northward in the centre and at the sides of the room, were occupied by the subscribers to the banquet. After the feast was over the Hon. George M. Dallas, as president of the subscribers, addressed the guest and the people present in a classic and well-considered speech. Kossuth responded in a speech which occupied nearly four hours in delivery. It was in the English language, a knowledge of which he had acquired by unassisted study during his captivity in Turkey. In the manner of delivery, fervency of expression, and elegance of language, this was an oration extraordinary by reason of the previous life-studies and exercises of the man. It was historic in character, an able and philosophic examination of European politics, and colored by a surprising and correct familiarity with the leading events of American history, and the sentiments and policy of the American people. What was more remarkable was the correct pronunciation of the English language by the orator, which only occasionally was marked by a peculiarity of accent that did not prevent the words from being understood. The general opinion of all who listened to this address was that Louis Kossuth, mentally, was one of the most extraordinary men of the age. On the same night, in response to the regular toasts, speeches were delivered by Capt. Bayse N. Westcott, of the United States navy, Judge John K. Kane, James Cooper, United States senator for Pennsylvania, Simon Cameron, of Dauphin County, Judge Joseph Allison, of the Common Pleas, Judge

William D. Kelley, Robert Morris, John Cadwalader, and Dr. William Elder. Kossuth and his suite left the city for Washington the next day.

The night of the 26th was cold and stormy. The guests who tarried long at the Kossuth banquet had scarcely left the building before they heard an alarm of fire, the light of which showed that the place was very near the State-House. At the northeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, extending northward, was a large four-story brick building occupied by stores in the lower portion and by bookbinders, engravers, and other tradesmen in the upper parts. This property belonged to Abram Hart, long a successful bookseller and publisher, and was familiarly known as Hart's building. The flames were first discovered in a drying-room attached to the engraving-office and copper-plate printing establishment of John M. Butler. They broke out about half-past twelve o'clock on the morning of the 27th. The firemen came at the alarm. The thermometer stood at four degrees above zero. Most of the fire-plugs were frozen. To thaw them the firemen, in many instances, set fire to the straw which surrounded the pipes to which the hose was to be attached. In some cases the woodwork of the plugs was destroyed. The delays and difficulties were so serious that Hart's building was soon enveloped in flames. It was totally destroyed. On the west side of Sixth Street the Shakespeare building, an old landmark, was also attacked by the fire and entirely consumed. It extended from Chestnut Street to Carpenter Street. Not a wall was left standing. Immediately adjoining the Shakespeare building was the Chestnut Street Theatre, filled with combustible scenery and in great danger. Luckily the west wall of the Shakespeare building was thick and rose like a battlement above the roof of the theatre. It was a barricade which kept off the fire, and no more injury was done in that direction. Adjoining Hart's building, on Chestnut Street, was the store of Messrs. Johnston, law booksellers and publishers, and next to that Holahan's Eagle Tavern, an old and well-known place of resort for many years. J. W. Moore, bookseller, joined Holahan's. These buildings and their contents were seriously injured, but not entirely destroyed. The roof of the county court-house, immediately opposite, on the south side of Chestnut Street, was on fire. Fortunately the flames were checked, and the public offices in State-House Row and the venerable old State-House building were preserved. A melancholy incident of the Hart's building fire was the death of William W. Haly, a lawyer and member of the City Councils, and police-officer Baker. They were engaged with others in removing goods from a store on the ground floor of a building, and while in that service were overwhelmed by the falling in of the upper walls and the precipitation of bricks, timbers, and machinery into the store. They could not escape, and were burned to death. Several other persons were caught in the wreck, but managed to ex-

tricate themselves. Shortly after the fall of the walls of the Hart building, the east walls of the Shakespeare building fell into Sixth Street. Two colored men, who were active in removing goods that were in danger, were crushed in this disaster. Their names were never ascertained. The pecuniary loss by these fires at Hart's and the Shakespeare building was estimated to be two hundred thousand dollars.

Two days after this great destruction, and while the ruins were yet smoking, people in the neighborhood of Sixth and Chestnut Streets were startled by another alarm. About five o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th of December, a large brown-stone building five stories in height, and situate at the southeast corner of Seventh and Chestnut Streets, commonly known as Barnum's Museum, was discovered to be on fire.¹ Barnum had made the establishment a branch of his museum in New York, and supplemented the display of figures and curiosities with performances in the lecture-room, sometimes plays, songs, music, exhibitions of sleight of hand, ventriloquism, etc. There had been an exhibition in the lecture-room in the afternoon. Fortunately, the audience was not subjected to the danger of an attempt to escape by the only stairway which was connected with the upper stories. The flames were first discovered among the scenery. They spread rapidly through the wings and flies, and were gradually carried downward until the whole building was enveloped and the walls fell in, and the whole structure was involved in ruins. The Clymer mansion, occupied by George Harrison, on the east, was slightly injured. The fronts of the buildings on the opposite side of Chestnut Street were severely scorched. The value of the building was estimated at sixty thousand dollars, and the museum collection and fixtures at fifty thousand dollars. The occupants of the stores beneath had sufficient time to remove the bulk of their valuable property, and, excepting in counters, shelves, and fixtures, they lost but little. A fire at the office of the *Public Ledger*, at the southwest corner of Third and Chestnut Streets, on the 5th of January, originated, it is believed, in a spontaneous combustion of some rags in the press-room. The flames were carried to the upper stories. The fourth and fifth stories were

burned out and the lower portions of the building flooded with water. The proprietors, with indomitable energy, determined that this occurrence should "not stop the press," and the next morning the *Ledger* came out as usual. There was a serious fire at James S. Earle's picture-gallery, on Chestnut Street, in February, which destroyed many valuable paintings and other works of art.

During this year the steamship "Albatross" was finished and run, in connection with the "Osprey," on a line to Charleston, S. C. The steamship "S. S. Lewis" was built by R. F. Loper, and purchased as a pioneer ship to run between Boston and Liverpool. The steamship "Lafayette" was brought from New York in April, and intended to be the first vessel of the new Philadelphia steamship line to Liverpool. She left the city in the next month on her first trip, but it was found that the "City of Glasgow" line was so well established that there was no opportunity for an opposition.²

The Odd-Fellows' Hall, at the southwest corner of Tenth and South Streets, was dedicated, after a parade of the brethren of the order, on the 22d of September. The lower portion was used for business purposes; the upper rooms for the lodges, of which there were several in Southwark and Moyamensing. The corner-stone of the Roman Catholic Orphans' Asylum of St. John was laid April 6th, upon ground adjoining the cemetery afterwards known as the Cathedral Cemetery, which was greatly in use.

In the early part of the year the committee appointed at the town-meeting of 1850 addressed the Legislature, asking for the consolidation of the city and districts in one municipal corporation. They said, "Uninfluenced by either personal or political bias, and prompted by a sense of the public welfare only, this committee, composed of men of all parties, earnestly commend this measure to the favorable action of the Legislature."

John Cadwalader and Eli K. Price repaired to Harrisburg to represent the evils under which the community suffered, and to advocate the passage of a consolidation bill. They were heard with attention and treated with respect, but no legislation on the subject ensued.

Granville John Penn, a great-grandson of the founder of the province of Pennsylvania, arrived in the city in the early part of the year 1852. Many courtesies were paid to him by societies and citizens. The City Councils, January 15th, passed resolutions of congratulation, and appointed a joint special committee to invite him to meet the corporation of the city in the Hall of Independence, "to receive the expression of their gratification and satisfaction on his sojourning in a city whose foundations were projected by William Penn, and amid the successors of

¹ This building had been constructed by the estate of the late William Swaim, proprietor of "Swaim's Panacea," a celebrated patent medicine in its day, upon the site of the fine mansion and grounds originally built by a member of the Wain family, but which had been occupied by Mr. Swaim until the time of his death. The lower stories were arranged for stores. The upper stories were constructed in large apartments for a museum on the second story and a theatre on the third, extending to the height of the fourth story and the roof, which was commonly called the lecture-room. The entrance was by the western store space on Chestnut Street, with hall, ticket-office, and stairways. The place was opened on the 25th of December, 1848, with some curiosities, wax figures, etc., and a regular dramatic company for the lecture-room, by Taber and Silsbee, under the title of the Athenaeum. They failed in the establishment, and the lease and property was afterwards bought by P. T. Barnum, of New York, and at the time of the fire was managed by Lysander Spooner.

² The fate of these ships was also unfortunate. The "S. S. Lewis" was wrecked near San Francisco, April 15, 1853, and the "Albatross" in the Gulf of Mexico, two days afterward.

a people whose rights and freedom of conscience the founder in early times upheld, and labored to secure even to the latest posterity.¹

The subject of the ownership of Smith's Island (or Windmill Island) created some attention this year. John Harding, who build the windmill there, secured a lease for ninety-nine years from the proprietaries. The time was about to expire. The property was extremely valuable. Various persons had acquired titles of some sort, and they proposed that the Legislature should validate and confirm them. The city of Philadelphia protested against the passage of that law. It was urged that the interests of the community might be prejudiced by such ownership. Its situation was such, and its importance to the interests of the port was so great, that the public good required that the title to this island should be granted only to the city of Philadelphia and the adjoining districts. The erection of wharves upon it might prove injurious to navigation; besides, it was not improbable that at some future day the interests of the port might require removal of the island altogether. These views were set forth by Councils in resolutions. The Legislature was asked not to pass the law, and the measure was not then perfected.

The death of Henry Clay at Washington on the 29th of June created great sensation throughout the country. No American statesman was better known. He had that magnetic disposition and frank manner which attracted thousands of persons to his fortunes with a strong affection. The remains arrived in the city on the 2d of July. They were received at the southwestern depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company, Broad and Prime Streets, by a large concourse of citizens. The pall-bearers, men of position and social distinction, accompanied the coffin to Independence Hall. The City Troop was the guard of honor. The remains arrived in the evening. The members of the Philadelphia Hose Company surrounded the hearse carrying lighted torches. Forty-six companies of the fire department and a large number of citizens followed. The number of torches used was over three thousand. The coffin was deposited in Independence Hall, under charge of the Light Artillery Corps Washington Grays. In the morning the hall was thrown open, and many persons passed through the apartment, which was heavily draped in black, and viewed the catafalque and arrangements.

¹ During his stay Mr. Penn received many social civilities from the citizens. In return he gave a *fête champêtre* at his own property in Philadelphia,—the mansion and grounds of "Solitude,"—on the west side of the Schuylkill, below Girard Avenue. It was attended by many prominent citizens, and was a successful affair. "Solitude" still stands, and, with the grounds adjoining, is occupied by the Zoological Society in West Fairmount Park. During his stay an amusing incident occurred. The "William Penn Hose Company" opened a correspondence with him and entreated him to undertake the personation of his great ancestor in the usual pageant of that company in the firemen's triennial procession which was about to come off, representing the treaty between William Penn and the Indians. Mr. Penn respectfully declined.

The Washington Grays yielded up their charge to a committee of the City Councils. In the hearse, upon the coffin, was a wreath of japonicas and many flowers. The cortege, of a civic character, accompanied the body to Walnut Street wharf, where Bloodgood's Hotel was hung with mourning and the passage-way to the steamboat heavily draped. In the procession was a committee of senators appointed by the Senate of the United States, delegations from Kentucky, New Jersey, and New York, city authorities, and others. The steamboat "Trenton," prepared for the occasion, was festooned with black from stem to stern, and on the deck a sombre canopy near the stern was the place of reception of the coffin. The flags of the shipping and port were at half-mast. The proceedings were solemn, and reminded many of the great difference between the circumstances attending the final transhipment of the remains and the warm enthusiasm which rendered the reception of the living Henry Clay in 1848 a wild, swelling, and continuous hurrah.

Daniel Webster died at Marshfield, Mass., October 24th. Next to Henry Clay he was admired by large numbers of citizens. The Councils of Philadelphia passed resolutions expressing to the authorities of the city of Boston their sympathy and regret upon the event which had deprived that city of an illustrious son. It was also determined that on the day of the funeral, at Marshfield, October 26th, the bells of the State-House, Christ Church, and St. Peter's Church should be tolled. Citizens were requested to close their stores and places of business. The exterior of Independence Hall and the City Hall were shrouded in mourning. The Independence Chamber was also draped, and the Council Chambers for six months. John Sergeant, a respected citizen who had been prominent in city affairs for many years, and had held important public offices, died November 23d. The Councils of the city, recognizing his activity and energy for the promotion of objects for the public good, passed resolutions of respect for his memory and resolved to attend his funeral. William M. Meredith was requested to prepare a eulogy upon the deceased, which he did. It was pronounced in the presence of a large number of citizens, at Musical Fund Hall, in July, 1853.

In the latter part of this year the western public squares were greatly improved in appearance. The wooden picket-fences which inclosed Penn, Logan, and Rittenhouse Squares were removed and handsome iron railings substituted.

A destructive fire, which broke out March 28th, proved the great value of stocks in mercantile establishments. It commenced Sunday morning, March 28th, in the basement and first story of the store of Lewis & Co., upon Strawberry Street, below Market. It extended through to Bank Street, and was supposed to be a fire-proof building. The doors and shutters were of iron, and resisted attempts by the firemen to

break them open in order to throw in water. The flames ascended to the third and fourth stories of the same building, occupied by Wyeth, Rogers & Co., and extended to an adjoining building, occupied by Stuart & Bros., also "fire-proof," and injured adjoining property, occupied by Gihon & Co., and others. The total loss was calculated at \$755,000: Lewis & Co., \$300,000; Stuart & Bros., \$280,000; Wyeth, Rogers & Co., \$75,000; Gihon & Co., \$100,000. Much of this destruction was caused by water, the articles injured being silks and fine lace goods.

The firemen's triennial parade this year was of unsurpassed splendor. The firemen were rough fellows, but they took great interest in making their hose-carriages and engines beautiful, and there was much rivalry between the companies as to which should present the most handsome appearance. The whole line of the procession glistened with the shine of metals, the glare of bright paintings on the apparatus, and the elegance of the banners of silk and velvet, with richly painted emblems and scenes upon them, with ribbons, flowers, and tinsel of silver and gold. There were two hundred marshals to conduct the parade with discipline and decorum. Five thousand and eighty-nine firemen were in line. The bands were numerous, and embraced together about six hundred musicians. The city could not furnish such a force of harmony, and many bands were brought from the interior of Pennsylvania and from other States. The procession occupied two hours in marching by any one point. The route of the parade was extremely long, extending from the extremity of Kensington to Southwark and Moyamensing, passing through the Northern Liberties, Kensington, and Spring Garden. Eighty-four companies participated. On the Fourth of July an effort was made to celebrate the day more successfully than in the previous year. The first division of volunteers paraded in the morning, and was reviewed by Governor Bigler. In the evening the unlucky ground designated for a display of fireworks in 1851 was again in use, and this time very successfully. There was no accident, the pieces were splendid, and at least one hundred thousand persons (it was estimated by the newspapers) were gratified by the exhibition.

In 1851 Councils had adopted resolutions in favor of the erection of a monument in Independence Square to commemorate the Declaration of Independence. In such a work it was thought the "old thirteen" Continental States only should participate. Delegates from those States were invited to assemble in Philadelphia, and Councils by resolution ceded sufficient ground in the square for the erection of the memorial. On the Fourth of July delegates from all the States designated, except Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina, met in Independence Hall. Governor William Bigler, of Pennsylvania, was elected president; Charles F. Adams, of Massachusetts, and A. Hull, of Georgia, vice-presidents;

and L. S. Foster, of Connecticut, and Albert G. Waterman, of Philadelphia, a member of Councils, secretaries. Mr. Waterman was the author of the original resolutions adopted by Councils, and was a warm advocate of the scheme. The convention resolved that the erection of some memorial of the patriotism of the fathers of the republic was necessary and proper, and that a monument ought to be erected. When nine of the original States acceded to the plan and made necessary appropriations, it was resolved that the work should be commenced. Committees were appointed to receive and solicit plans for the monument, and to make all necessary arrangements. They adjourned, hoping soon to be called together in furtherance of the objects of their appointment. Their patriotism was beyond that of the respective States. Some of the States formally indorsed the plan, and made the proper appropriations. Others delayed action. When the war of the Rebellion broke out, in 1861, there had not been an accession to the plan by a sufficient number of States to authorize the commencement of the work. The result of that great struggle was sufficient to prevent the Southern States, which had not taken action, from manifesting any interest in the subject thereafter.

In the beginning of January, Jacob Lehman, a boy, who had been employed in peddling small articles of jewelry, disappeared. Twenty-two days afterward some children, who were sliding upon the ice of the Delaware, below Port Richmond, had their attention attracted by something beneath the ice, which aroused their curiosity. An axe in the hands of a neighboring wood-cutter developed the mystery. The object seen was a bag, which being opened was found to contain a portion of a human body. Two other sacks, one containing a head and trunk, and the other portions of limbs, were afterward discovered in the same neighborhood. These were determined to be the remains of young Lehman, who had undoubtedly been murdered. Facts and theories were at fault, at first, as to the perpetrator. Finally suspicion came down to a belief that three Poles—Matthias Skupinski, Blaise Skupinski, and John Kaiser—might have committed the murder. They lived in Richmond, not far from the place where the remains were found. Upon investigation it was discovered that the boy Lehman, with his jewelry, had been seen going into the house of these foreigners, and could not be traced afterward. The men, about a week after the disappearance of Lehman, gave up the tenancy of the house, sold their furniture to a second-hand dealer, and went away. The empty house was searched, and marks of blood were found upon the cellar-steps, upon stairs leading to upper stories, and in closets. It was supposed that the deed had been committed in the house. A strong circumstantial fact was found in comparing the cord, with which the mouth of the sacks in which the remains were discovered were tied, with some which these

men had sold to the second-hand dealer. Descriptions of the appearance of the three men were published, and general attention was directed to the case by citizens and the police. After a few days, Matthias and Blaise Skupinski were found; they had removed to a distance from Port Richmond, and were residing in Front Street, below Federal, in Southwark. Upon their arrest they were identified by residents of Port Richmond, near their former habitation, as living in the house in which the murder was supposed to have been committed. Upon searching the house in Federal Street some jewelry was found buried in the cellar, and it was discovered that the men had given other articles of jewelry to women residing in the neighborhood for washing and other services. These trinkets were identified by the father of the boy Lehman as having been in his possession on the day he left the house for the last time. Kaiser had escaped, but the Skupinskies were tried and convicted. Matthias, the elder of the brothers, was executed August 6th. Blaise, the younger, was respited, partly in hope that Kaiser might be arrested and partly because of his age, it was supposed that he was forced into the position of an accessory. Both the Skupinskies, after their conviction, made statements or confessions, which contradicted each other. Their object seemed to be to throw the responsibility for the actual deed of murder upon Kaiser. In their account of themselves they admitted having been engaged in murders in other parts of the country. Nothing was shown to establish a belief that Blaise was less guilty than the others, and he was executed on the 3d of September.

In February the steamship "Benjamin Franklin" left Philadelphia as the pioneer of a line to California. The enterprise was not successful.

In the early part of this year meetings were held in the upper part of the city and in the Northern Liberties in favor of the building of a railroad from Philadelphia to Easton, and beyond. It was argued that much of the rich trade of Bucks and Northampton in produce and other articles, and of the trade in Lehigh coal, was for want of railroad connection with Philadelphia diverted to the city of New York. Under this stimulus application was made to the Legislature, which, on the 8th of April, passed an act to incorporate the Philadelphia, Easton and Water-Gap Railroad Company. The road was to begin at a point north of Vine Street in the county of Philadelphia, and thence by the most expedient and practicable route to or near the borough of Easton, or some other point in Northampton County, with right to extend to any point or place in Monroe or Pike Counties, and to connect with the Delaware, Lehigh, Schuylkill and Susquehanna Railroad, and with the Delaware and Cobb's Gap Railroad, and with any connection or part of the Erie Railroad of New York, or any railroad connected with it in Pennsylvania. The capital stock was thirty thousand shares, with

power to increase it to \$2,000,000. Measures were at once taken to obtain subscriptions. The corporations of the city and districts were warmly entreated to subscribe to the stock. They were willing, and the work was commenced with promise of success.¹ In the succeeding year the title of this corporation was changed to the North Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

A new district was added to the many already in existence in Philadelphia County by act of April 14, 1853. It embraced ground north of West Philadelphia, and began on the northern boundary of the latter at Sweet Brier Creek, on the west side of the Schuylkill. Running by the courses of the creek to the point where it crossed the centre of Westminster Avenue, the line was continued along the centre of the latter to the middle of the Haverford plank-road; along the same, northwest, to Fountain road; along the latter, by ground of John Miller and Jacob P. Jones, to a dividing-line between the latter and George Prentice; west to Merion road; north along the road to lands of Lewis Jones and William P. Walters; then to the Virginia road and by other lines not of private property to the Schuylkill River. The title was to be "the commissioners and inhabitants of the District of Belmont." There were to be nine commissioners, to be divided at the first election into classes for one, two, and three years. This district had scarcely got into working order before the consolidation law was passed, which put an end to its powers.

The township of Delaware was created by the Court of Quarter Sessions, about 1851, out of parts of Lower Dublin township. The Legislature validated that proceeding by act of May 3, 1852, which established the township as an election district, and ordered that special elections should be held at the Athenæum in the village of Holmesburg.

A company was incorporated April 20th, under the title of the Manayunk Gas Company, the object of which was to manufacture and sell gas, to be made from bituminous coal or other materials, in the village of Manayunk. Capital, one thousand shares at twenty-five dollars each. The Germantown Gas Company was authorized by special act to lay down gas-pipes throughout the township of Germantown and in and through School-house Lane, in the borough of Roxborough.

By act of April 9th, authority was given to incorporate a company to construct a bridge over the Schuylkill at Penrose Ferry, under title of the Penrose Ferry Bridge Company. The authority was to build a floating bridge, with a draw therein, for passage of vessels at or near where the public road crosses that river. Capital stock, four hundred shares at twenty-five dollars each. The draw was to be at least

¹ The city of Philadelphia subsequently subscribed \$500,000; the district of the Northern Liberties, \$500,000; the district of Spring Garden, \$150,000; and the district of Richmond, \$250,000; total, \$1,400,000.

fifty feet in width. This was the first attempt to build a bridge at the point. It had always been a ferry, crossed by scows and guided or pulled by ropes, whence the old name "The Rope Ferry." The bridge was finished in 1855.

On the 18th of April the Legislature declared "that the square of ground in the rear of the Philadelphia County prison, known as the parade-ground, should be kept open as a public square. The County Commissioners were directed to open streets bounding on the square fifty feet wide, according to the plan of the streets of Moyamensing. There was power also in the County Commissioners to sell some part of the ground and to purchase others adjoining, so as to place the public square within the boundaries of Eleventh and Thirteenth Streets, east and west, and Wharton and Reed Streets, north and south. The purpose of employing the inclosure for a parade-ground was not given up, and it was declared that it should be always available as a public square and a parade-ground.¹

A notable movement toward a change in the character of the public markets took place. The markets in city and district belonging to the respective municipal corporations were all in public streets; for instance, the middle of Market Street, Callowhill Street, Second Street, etc. Objections to their continuance began to be made. It was asserted that the market-houses or sheds were obstructions to the highways; that the interests of business required their removal, and that it would be better for venders of marketing, whether farmers or butchers, that they should be gathered in large and well-ventilated buildings specially constructed for their accommodation. These representations were urged in the name principally of business people. The time seemed ripe for some change in this matter. The first movement was made by authority of act of 2d of May, which incorporated "The Broad Street Market-House Company." The corporators were John Rice, John H. Diehl, John White, Joseph M. Feltwell, and Thomas Birch, Jr. The capital was one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in shares of five hundred dollars each. The company was given authority "to erect a suitable building or buildings and stalls in the city, to be used as a public market-house," for the sale and vending of meats, vegetables, and all other kinds of victuals and provisions whatever. The company purchased the buildings and lot of ground on the east side of Broad Street, below Race. The structure was known as the West Chester Railroad Depot. The market-house was used in after-years as an armory, and was occupied by the Gray Reserve Regiment; it was solid, and of

appropriate and handsome style of architecture. It was one great high room. The stalls were built upon the ground-floor. There was an open space to the arched ceiling above, forty or fifty feet. High windows east and west insured plenty of ventilation, and the place was sweet and clean. The building was opened June 4th with some expectation of success. The difficulty was that the fashion of going for marketing to Market Street was so deeply rooted in popular practice that a new place could not draw away the custom. There had been no diminution in the accommodations in High Street. As long as the market-houses remained there was no hope of making business elsewhere. The property afterward went into the possession of the city, and was known as the City Armory. In 1884 it is to be given up to the battalion of State Fencibles. Besides the Broad Street Market-House the same parties erected the Race Street Market-House, on the south side of Race Street, between Juniper Street and an alley, by which it was separated from the rear end of the Broad Street Market. The Race Street Market was expected to be in use by venders of vegetables and other matters. It also proved to be a failure, and was bought by the city of Philadelphia subsequently, and used during the war of the Rebellion as an arsenal for the storage of cannon and arms belonging to the city.

Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, passing through the city to New York upon the occasion of the opening of the Crystal Palace Exhibition in that city in July, was received with the usual courtesies. Attended by his Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, his Attorney-General, Gen. Caleb Cushing, and others, he was taken on board the steamboat "John Stevens" at Wilmington, and brought to the city with the customary ceremonies of firing salutes, display of flags, etc. There was a military procession of three brigades, a reception at Independence Hall by the mayor of the city, a dinner given by Councils at the Merchants' Hotel, and other civilities.

New railroad enterprises which sought the means of success in the public treasury came forward in this year. The building of a railroad between the town of Sunbury and the city of Erie, in Pennsylvania, had been frequently advocated as a measure of importance, which would bring to the city the trade of the great lakes. A company for the building of such a railroad was incorporated April 3, 1837. It had been frequently assisted by the passage of other favorable laws between that time and 1853. The arguments in favor of building the road, which could be connected with the State road to Columbia, or with the Pennsylvania Railroad when built, were quite convincing, but the subscriptions were slow. The success of the subscriptions to the Pennsylvania Railroad stock by the city and districts of Philadelphia stimulated a movement to obtain a similar favor for the Sunbury and Erie. The amount of private subscriptions to the latter in 1853, when the city was applied to for assistance, was

¹ A portion of the northwestern wall of the county prison extended into or to a portion of Eleventh Street, and blocked the highway. It would have been inconvenient to have deflected its course. When the public square now called Passyunk Square was laid out, the boundaries extended only between Twelfth and Thirteenth and Wharton and Reed Streets.

one million seven hundred and forty-five thousand dollars. An ordinance directing a subscription on behalf of the corporation was passed in this year, which directed that when an additional subscription of one million dollars was secured by the company the city would subscribe to the amount of one million dollars in addition, with the like subscription when another million dollars had been obtained. Only two weeks afterward Councils passed an ordinance suspending the subscription, and directing the mayor not to make it. The reason given was that the board of directors of the company had broken its pledges to the city. The officers of the railroad company, disappointed by this unexpected circumstance, boldly applied to the County Commissioners for subscriptions to the amount of two million dollars. Those officers assuming that they had power to comply, undertook to do so. City Councils passed resolutions of remonstrance, and appointed a committee to proceed to Harrisburg and present the protest to the members of the Legislature from Philadelphia, composing the county board. The latter had authority to sit in Harrisburg when the Legislature was in session. They refused to sanction the subscription. Months afterward the object was accomplished by the passage of an ordinance by the city authorizing a subscription to the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Company of nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The district of Richmond subscribed five hundred thousand dollars.

The Hempfield Railroad Company was more fortunate. That company was chartered for the purpose of building a railroad from Greensburg in Pennsylvania to Wheeling in Virginia. Greensburg was on the route of the Pennsylvania Railroad to Pittsburgh, and it was argued that by this communication the trade of the Ohio would be reached, and railroad connection established with the city of Cincinnati. The city made a subscription of five hundred thousand dollars, and Spring Garden one hundred thousand dollars. The investment was unlucky. The enterprise turned out disastrous, and the whole amount of money paid was lost.

The Northwestern Railroad Company, which was incorporated Feb. 9, 1853, was also an applicant for city and district subscriptions. The city of Philadelphia was induced to subscribe one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This was an abortive speculation also, and the amount paid was lost. The road was intended to commence at some point on the Alleghany Portage Railroad, at or west of Johnstown, by way of Butler to the Pennsylvania and Ohio State line, at some point on the western boundary of Lawrence County.

On December 8th of this year a measure of reform long needed was resolved upon. In popular language High Street was always called Market Street, Mulberry was known as Arch Street, Sassafras as Race Street, and Cedar as South Street. In deeds and in ordinances they were invariably designated by the

ancient name. After one hundred and seventy years of attempt to bring the legal titles into common use, Councils abandoned the contest and gave to those streets their popular names. West of Broad Street a reform was also effected. The streets running north and south were numbered from the Schuylkill, a method which had always been confusing to strangers. It was resolved to give them new names. Schuylkill Eighth became Fifteenth Street, and the others proceeded in regular order to the river Schuylkill. Schuylkill Seventh was changed to Sixteenth, Schuylkill Sixth to Seventeenth, Schuylkill Fifth to Eighteenth, Schuylkill Fourth to Nineteenth, Schuylkill Third to Twentieth, Schuylkill Second to Twenty-first, Schuylkill Front to Twenty-second, and Ashton Street to Twenty-third Street.

On the 12th of January a startling assassination took place in the most crowded part of the city and almost in the sight of persons on the sidewalk. Joseph Rink, who kept a small toy and variety shop on Chestnut Street below Ninth, was stabbed behind his counter and almost immediately killed. The perpetrator fled. He was pursued by some person who saw his hasty departure, but escaped. A dirk-knife covered with blood was found on the counter, and there was also found an old patched umbrella somewhat broken. The goods in the store were partially disarranged, as if there had been a struggle, but nothing was found which at that time could reveal the mystery.

In less than three months, March 10th, Mrs. Honora Shaw and Mrs. Ellen Lynch, two sisters, were found dead in the house in which they resided, 260 Federal Street, above Seventh. They had been alone in the house that night, the other occupants being absent. The bodies of the women were pierced with many wounds, most of which had evidently been done with a knife. But there were contused wounds, which must have been produced by blows from some blunt weapon. There was no difficulty in believing that this missile was a piece of leaden pipe battered and bent (having blood and hair upon it), which was found in the room. The police authorities took up the theory that the murder was perpetrated by some person who was acquainted with the house, and had probably been a visitor there. Arthur Spring, an Irishman, was said to have been a visitor to one of the women, Mrs. Lynch, and a few days before had learned of her reception of a quantity of money, about one hundred dollars, from her husband, who was a sergeant of the United States marines, and absent from the city. That robbery was the motive was also shown by the fact that a trunk in another room, which had held the money, was broken open apparently by the use of a dirk-knife, a portion of which was found on the floor. The lodgings of Spring, on Market Street near the permanent bridge, was searched. Some of his underclothing was covered with blood, and there was blood on his coat and

pantaloons. The principal witness against Spring was his son, Arthur Spring, Jr., whose testimony showed that the father had come home between ten and eleven o'clock on the night of the murder, and procured water, with which he attempted to wash out stains of blood which were upon his shirt. He was much excited and agitated. He gave to his son seventy dollars in gold. The youth was surprised, and asked whence it was obtained. The father told him the circumstances of the robbery and murder, and that he had set fire to the house in the hope that when the bodies were found it would be supposed that the women were suffocated. The next day he sent the boy down to Federal Street, the scene of the murder, to ascertain what was said among the persons likely to be gathered around in the neighborhood in reference to the deed. Spring was tried March 21st, and his effort was to throw the guilt upon his son. The latter was fortified with testimony to show that he had been in or about the tavern where himself and father boarded all the evening of the murder. This was proved so clearly that there could be no doubt upon the point. The jury rendered a verdict against Arthur Spring, the elder, of murder in the first degree. Scarcely had the finding been recorded before it was discovered that a person had served upon the jury who was not on the regular panel, and this under an assumed name. Charles McQuillen, who had been regularly summoned as a juror, did not care to attend. He handed the summons to Bernard Corr, a neighbor. Corr came to court, answered to the name of McQuillen, and had been impaneled and served on various juries for sixty days previous. The court took the case in hand. McQuillen was sent to prison for sixty days for contempt of court, and Corr was fined thirty dollars, which, under the law, was the greatest punishment that could be inflicted upon him. This trial had been upon a bill charging Spring with the murder of Honora Shaw. Another bill had been found charging him with the murder of Ellen Lynch, and on the 4th of April he was again tried and convicted of that crime. Up to this time and afterward he had insisted that his son was the murderer, but gradually his determination gave way, and he revealed the place in which some of the stolen money was hidden. A strange incident was connected with an investigation before the grand jury, in which it was proved that the old umbrella which was found in the shop of Joseph Rink on the day he was murdered had been the property of Arthur Spring. The fact was proved by a person who had mended the umbrella for Spring, with a curious arrangement of wire, which he identified; it was also shown that Spring had carried the umbrella with him on the day of the Rink murder, and he was identified as the man who had fled from Rink's store just before the murder was discovered by persons who saw him in his flight. The grand jury made a presentment to be

placed on record that Arthur Spring, a convicted felon, under sentence of death for the murder of Ellen Lynch and indicted for the murder of Honora Shaw, was the murderer of Joseph Rink. Subsequently Spring confessed that he had been in Rink's shop and that he was the owner of the umbrella, but he denied that he had anything to do with that murder. He was executed at Moyamensing prison on the 10th of June, 1853.

On Saturday, June 29th, Christopher Soohan, thirty-five years of age, was stabbed and killed at Swanson Street and Swanson Court, near his residence. John Capie and Carson Emmos were convicted of this murder. They had attacked Soohan, who was partially intoxicated, robbed him of a small sum of money, and wounded him so that he died. The trial took place on the 18th of February. The men were sentenced to be hanged, but on account of some doubt in the mind of the Governor they were never executed, and were subsequently pardoned. In 1859 Capie was killed by a man named Robert Thompson, with whom he had got into a quarrel. The latter was tried, convicted in the first degree in 1860, and sentenced to be hanged, but for some reason he never was sent to the gallows.

A meeting was held on the 9th of January in favor of the institution of a paid fire department. The numerous riots and disturbances, the murders and arsons which resulted from the rivalry of firemen, were declared to be sufficient reasons for the abolition of the volunteer system. It had been very useful and respectable in its day, but a large number of the companies were dominated by rough fellows, who were much more ready to fight than to extinguish fires. Good reasons were presented for the measure, but it was too soon. Eighteen years more were necessary to roll by, carrying with them annual record of misdemeanors, before the community was ready to take a step so far in advance of old customs.¹

The firemen generally protested against the measure, and their influence was very powerful.

On the 12th of February Concert Hall, a new building erected partially as a music hall and for balls, lectures, and other entertainments, was opened on Chestnut Street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth, on the north side, on the site of the former Gothic mansion and St. John's Catholic Orphans' Asylum. The lower portions of the building and the third story were occupied by the owner, George W. Watson, a carriage-builder, for purposes of his business. The opening entertainment was a grand concert, in which Madame Sontag and others participated. The exhibition-room was in the second story, and extended nearly from Chestnut Street to Clover

¹ The volunteer fire department was abolished by ordinance passed in 1870. The Board of Commissioners of the fire department met and organized Jan. 3, 1871. They were over two months in arranging the details of the new system, and on March 15th the paid fire department went into operation.

Street, in the rear. There was a stage at the north end, used by musicians, lecturers, and performers, and a small gallery at each end. The seats for the audience were mainly upon the floor. On the sides of the room, near the wall, they were placed on platforms.¹

In the month of November, Councils having passed an ordinance directing the demolition of the market-houses on Market Street, that work was performed between Front Street and Eighth, and in West Market Street, between Schuylkill Eighth and Schuylkill Sixth Streets.

The yellow fever made its appearance in 1853 under peculiar conditions, and its progress was marked by different circumstances than were usual upon the introduction of malignant epidemics. The bark "Mandarin," which had sailed from Cienfuegos, in Cuba, lost two of the crew on the voyage by yellow fever. At the Lazaretto the crew were found to be in good health. The ship was put through the usual processes of ventilation, cleansing, fumigation, and the destruction of the clothing of the deceased sailors. After three days the vessel came up the river and took a berth at South Street wharf. Three days afterward, July 16th, the position was changed to the first pier below Lombard Street, where the cargo was discharged. On the 20th the vessel dropped down to the first pier above Almond Street, and remained there until the 26th, when she was removed for purification by order of the Board of Health. While the bark was above South Street and Lombard Street wharf, no disease seemed to have been developed among the crew or the laborers on board the vessel engaged in removing the cargo. The first case of fever, traceable to the vessel, was that of Joseph Sharp, driver of a furniture-car which generally had its stand at South Street wharf. He was taken with the fever on the 19th of July, and died on the 26th. Capt. Robinson, of the British brig "Effort," which lay in a dock adjoining the "Mandarin" at Walnut Street wharf, died next. His death was followed by others who resided near the dock where the vessel lay or had been in that neighborhood. The great majority of cases which afterward occurred were confined to the district extending from a little north of Mead Alley, Southwark, as far north as Union Street, in the city, and west to Second Street. A few persons died at a distance from the infected section, but careful investigation showed that every one of them before being taken sick had been in the neighborhood of the wharf at which the "Mandarin" lay. One death took place in Lombard Street above Third, another on Tenth Street above South, and another on Christian Street above Eleventh. The epidemic prevailed from July 19th to October 12th, when the last death took place. There were one hundred and seventy cases and one hundred and twenty-eight deaths. The ratio of cases

to population was estimated at one in two thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and of deaths one in every three thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight in population. The most curious circumstance connected with this visitation was that the fever was not contagious through any infection that was communicated from any person that was sick.²

Dr. Wilson Jewell made a laborious investigation of the particulars of every case of yellow fever which had occurred, and traced the comings and goings, as far as possible, of all who were stricken with the illness. There was no instance of the fever being communicated to the families or nurses of the sick. Yet every one of the sufferers had been overtaken by a contagious disease.

The Belvidere Delaware Railroad, which, by connection with the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad, insured a recommunication with Eastern Pennsylvania, was formally opened on the 3d of February, 1854. It extended from Trenton to Phillipsburg, opposite Easton, a distance of fifty-four miles. There was a celebration of the event by the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company. Citizens of Pennsylvania and of New Jersey were carried to Easton in twelve passenger-cars. At that place there were artillery salutes, ringing of bells, and speeches, winding up with a very good dinner, which was followed by more speeches by Rodman M. Price, Governor of New Jersey; Charles Gilpin, mayor of Philadelphia; Judge James M. Porter, of Easton; Judge McCartney, Col. R. P. Thompson, of Salem, N. J.; H. D. Maxwell, of Easton; and John M. Kennedy, of Philadelphia. A fine ball in the evening terminated the rejoicings. The railroad was subsequently extended to the Delaware Water Gap.

On the 5th of May the boilers of the steam tow-boat "Pennsylvania," Capt. Joseph Scull, exploded, when the boat was in the Delaware River, nearly opposite Florence, N. J. There were sixteen empty canal-boats and barges in tow. The forward deck of the boat was occupied by horses of the canal-boat teams and some of the drivers. All persons who were on the boat were either badly scalded or blown overboard. Eight persons were killed and several more badly injured. The "Pennsylvania" was the first city ice-boat, and had become the property of the Philadelphia Steam Tow-Boat and Navigation Company, and was used for towing purposes.

The steamship "Quaker City," intended for the Philadelphia and Charleston line, was launched in May. After a short experience in that service the vessel was withdrawn.

The gallery of portraits of distinguished persons by Charles Wilson Peale and others, which had been for many years a valuable portion of the articles exhibited in connection with his museum, was sold at

¹ This room, after several years' service, was abandoned for that purpose June 10, 1879, and the space which had been occupied by the hall was used for business purposes.

² "Yellow or Malignant Bilious Fever in the Vicinity of South Street Wharf, Philadelphia, in 1853," by Wilson Jewell, M.D., president of the Board of Health.

auction, and brought \$11,672.06. The city of Philadelphia purchased the rarest of these pictures to be placed in Independence Hall.

An enterprise, which was almost entirely of Philadelphia origin, and which was controlled by Philadelphia capital, became sufficiently perfected for a useful purpose on the 1st of July. This was the Camden and Atlantic Railroad, a work authorized by charter received from the State of New Jersey. It was intended to open a new communication with the sea-coast, not so much for purposes of navigation and commerce as for the establishment of a watering-place, with hope of employment for freight purposes in the transportation of oysters, fish, and game from the bays and sounds on the east coast of New Jersey. From Camden the route of the railroad was southwest to the town of Absecon, in New Jersey, and thence to a narrow island, separated from the meadows and mainland by sounds and estuaries, which was called Absecon Beach. There were two houses upon it at the time when the bold project was resolved upon of establishing there upon the drifting sand a city. One of these buildings was a small inn or hotel, and the other the habitation of fishermen. The Camden and Atlantic Railroad was opened on the 1st of July by an excursion, in which six hundred persons participated. The United States Hotel at Atlantic City was partly finished, and the celebration took place there.¹ The experiment seemed hopeless. It was like building a railroad to nowhere. Yet the projectors persevered. They had connected their stock railroad interests with real estate purchases of the lands on the beach. These became valuable. The city, which was commenced in faith, was built by works, and in the course of a quarter of a century it became one of the most popular seashore towns in New Jersey.

By act of April 28th, it was ordered that a house of correction and employment for the city of Philadelphia should be established, with twelve managers, to be appointed in equal numbers by the judges of the Quarter Sessions, the judges of the District Court, and the mayor and aldermen of the city. The title of the corporation was "The Philadelphia House of Correction and Employment." The managers had authority to prepare plans and estimates for the proper buildings, to be erected on the farm-lands of the almshouse at Blockley or in any other situation that they might select, the ground not to exceed fifty acres in extent, and the expense not to be more than one hundred thousand dollars. All this was to be subject in

some degree to the control of Councils, which was to furnish the money. The project was not carried out. The managers and Councils disagreed in regard to the manner, and finally the plan was by neglect quietly allowed to die without effort in its behalf.

The Farmers', Drovers', and Butchers' Drove-yard Company was incorporated by act of April 7th. Corporators were Henry Imhoff, Jacob Frantz, Peter Brough, William T. Feilis, Charles P. Bower, Frederick Feithner, Henry K. Harnish, Peter Fisher, Edward Wartman, Ferdinand Geissler, Jacob Lentz, Henry Root, and Michael D. Wartman. They had authority to "provide a place for the sale and safe-keeping of cattle, sheep, swine, and other live stock." Capital, fifty thousand dollars; shares, fifty dollars each. This company purchased the grounds, afterward called the Western Drove-yards, on Belmont Avenue, extending nearly from the Lancaster road to the Pennsylvania Railroad. It was in use for such purposes for many years.

The Sixpenny Saving Fund of Philadelphia was incorporated by act of May 5th, with a large number of corporators. The object was to receive and take care of deposits by mariners, tradesmen, clerks, mechanics, laborers, minors, servants, and others. There was no restriction as to the amount that might be received. The title was presumed to convey an intimation that much smaller deposits would be accepted than were taken by the other saving funds. This society was established for some years at the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, but finally wound up its affairs, paid its depositors, and went out of business.

The Mount Moriah Cemetery Company was organized in this year as a private association. The parties who established it bought ground about three miles from Market Street bridge, on the bounds of Delaware County, upon the Darby plank-road. They laid out the inclosure in a proper manner, and had the stock in market in the month of June. Shares, price fifty dollars, payable in installments of five dollars per month, entitled the holder to four hundred square feet of ground. The officers were: President, Robert P. King; Managers, Hon. William D. Kelley, Dr. William Calvert, Edward Wiler, George H. Hart, Francis Blackburne, James F. Johnston, John McCarthy, and Thomas Hope Palmer; Treasurer, William Harbeson; Secretary, George Connell. The office was at No. 108 Walnut Street. The company was incorporated in a succeeding year.

There was trouble in this year in regard to propositions to put the police-force in uniform. The marshal's police was strongly opposed to this innovation. The silver star was not for them. They "did not want to be put in a livery." In the latter part of the year Mayor Conrad made a cautious movement for the establishment of a uniform for the police by commencing at the head, hoping to work down. His decree was that every policeman should wear upon

¹ The officers of the meeting of excursionists, at which speeches were made, were: President, Hon. Robert C. Grier, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; Vice-Presidents, Thomas Fleming, Abraham Browning, Henry C. Carey, Thomas P. Carpenter, Robert Morris, A. H. Simmons, J. P. Ten Eyck, John C. Montgomery, Edward Haines, John M. Odenheimer; Secretaries, James S. Wallace, William H. Crump, Col. Wynkoop, Thompson Westcott, John Davis Watson, Caspar Souder, Jr., J. England.

his round hat a cover for the top, extending below it a distance of about two inches. It was to be composed of patent leather, and, having a shining surface, the policeman could be readily recognized.

A new place of amusement was opened on the north side of Callowhill Street, between Fourth and Fifth. The building and ground of the Second Universalist Church were purchased for the purpose. The interior was torn out, the arrangements entirely changed, and on September 11th the place was opened as the City Museum, under the management of Ashton & Co. The first floor was appropriated for the display of curiosities in natural history and natural science, pictures, portraits, and other representations. The second floor was fitted up for dramatic performances. The stage was fifty-six feet deep and thirty-three feet wide at the north end of the building. The audience were accommodated in a parquet and one tier of boxes. The former was large, seventy feet in depth and fifty-seven feet wide. Altogether this was quite a handsome establishment; the theatre was neat and attractive.¹

On the 4th of December a new place of entertainment was opened at the southeast corner of Eleventh and Marble Streets, below Market. A building which had been for years occupied by the First Reformed Presbyterian Church at the corner of Eleventh and Marble Streets was sold, and altered for the purposes of a music hall, and opened December 4th as the Lyceum, by H. S. Cartee. It has been employed for such purposes ever since, and has been a popular and successful establishment.²

On the 15th of December the upper portion of the armory of the military company of National Guards, Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Sixth, was burned. The loss was three thousand dollars.

The movement in favor of the consolidation of the city and districts had increased during the intervening years from the time it was first agitated. One meeting at least in favor of consolidation took place every year. The question worked itself into local politics in a manner quite unpleasant to the feelings of partisans, whose great object was to be put in power, with authority to do as they pleased and dominate the measures which they advocated for their

own purposes, under the pretense that they were expressions of the popular will. The friends of consolidation having discovered in the early part of their campaign that many, if not all, the members of the Philadelphia delegation in the General Assembly were secretly, if not openly, opposed to the measure, resolved to take the best means of convincing them what the popular opinion was by edicts registered at the polls. A system of interrogation of candidates for the Legislature was resorted to. The persons nominated by the old parties generally made favorable responses, but when they got into their seats at Harrisburg they paid no attention to the matter. This had been a subject of observation at the session of 1853, and of indignation also. Measures were taken to make neglect on the manifestation of treachery to be more difficult thereafter. At the election in 1853 a better system in regard to nominations was established. Thorough and known friends of consolidation were nominated to the Legislature and some of them elected, so that there could be less fraud exercised than in former years.

Before the meeting of the General Assembly the committee on consolidation appointed by the town-meeting drafted a bill to be laid before the Legislature, fixing the details of the measure. The bill provided that the city of Philadelphia, as limited by the charter of 1789, should be enlarged by taking in all the territory comprised within the county of Philadelphia. The incorporated districts were abolished. Southwark, Northern Liberties, Kensington, Spring Garden, Moyamensing, Penn, Richmond, West Philadelphia, and Belmont ceased to have corporate existence. The boroughs of Frankford, Germantown, Manayunk, White Hall, Bridesburg, and Aramingo were deprived of their franchises. The townships of Passyunk, Blockley, Kingessing, Roxborough, Germantown, Bristol, Oxford, Lower Dublin, Moreland, Northern Liberties (unincorporated), Byberry, Delaware, and Penn were abolished, and all the franchises and property of those governments transferred to the city of Philadelphia. In order that this extraordinary change should be complete, it was directed that the board of police, the mayor and Councils of the city then in existence, the commissioners and officers of the districts, and the burgesses of the boroughs should be superseded when the act went into effect. Some of the executive officers were continued for their terms and some of them for longer periods. The treasurer of the city was continued beyond his term some time, in order to give opportunity for arranging financial affairs. The marshal of police was continued in separate and independent jurisdiction.³ Other provisions were adopted for temporary purposes, which,

¹ The City Museum Theatre was opened with an inaugural address by James Reece and Shakespeare's comedy "As You Like It," and the farce, "Sketches in India." John E. McDonough was manager of the theatrical department. John Robinson acting and general manager. The drop-curtain, representing a view of Fairmount, was inclosed within a frame, on which were painted portraits of American actors and actresses by Peter Grain. The professor of natural sciences having charge of the museum was Dr. Montroville W. Dickeson. This enterprise was moderately successful during the first season, but did not obtain a profitable popularity. The house was burned Nov. 25, 1868, having, in the mean while, gone through many changes of fortune. It was reconstructed afterward, and opened afterward for German performances under the title of the Concordia Theatre.

² This house was afterward known as Sanford's Opera House (manager, S. S. Sanford), and as the Eleventh Street Opera House, Carncross and Dixey managers, and for some years has been managed under the sole control of J. L. Carncross.

³ The term of Marshal John K. Murphy expired in 1857. Before that time it was agreed by many that, as the mayor was to be at the head of police, another head, in the person of the marshal, was unnecessary. It was therefore enacted that the office of marshal of police should be abolished after the expiration of the term of the present incumbent.

when their action had ceased, did not interfere with the perfect system. The new government was directed to be composed of a mayor, a marshal of police, city treasurer, a city controller (a new office), a receiver of taxes (another new office), and three city commissioners, who took the place of county commissioners, to be elected for specified terms, the Select and Common Council.

The enlarged territory thrown into the city, much of which had never been under any government other than township officers and county commissioners, was divided into twenty-four wards, twenty-three of which lay east of the Schuylkill. Beginning at League Island, the enumeration of the wards ran northward in tiers. The First Ward extended from the Delaware to the Schuylkill south of Wharton Street, Passyunk road, Little Washington Street, and below South Street, west of Broad. The Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Wards lay adjoining the First Ward on the Delaware front as far north as Vine Street. The Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Wards were on the east side of the Schuylkill. The Eleventh and Twelfth Wards (old Northern Liberties) extended as far north as Poplar Street. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth took in nearly the whole of Spring Garden. The Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Wards were originally portions of Kensington and Richmond. The Twentieth Ward took up the district of North Penn and ground belonging to the unincorporated Northern Liberties. The Twenty-first Ward was above the Twentieth, on the east side of the Schuylkill, and included the township of Roxborough and the borough of Manayunk. The Twenty-second Ward included the borough and township of Germantown and the township of Bristol. All the rest of the county east of the Schuylkill was the Twenty-third Ward, including Frankford, Holmesburg, Bridesburg, Aramingo, Byberry, Moreland, and Lower Dublin townships. The Twenty-fourth Ward was composed of Blockley and Kingsessing.

Each ward was to elect to Common Council three members, except the Seventeenth and Twenty-third, each of which might elect four. The Select Council was to be composed of one member for each ward. After the year 1855 it was directed that elections to Common Council should be in the ratio of one member for every twelve hundred taxable inhabitants, and one for any fraction over six hundred. The Select councilmen were to serve for two years, and the Common councilmen for one year. The provisions of laws in force in reference to the offices of sheriff, coroner, recorder of deeds, register of wills, clerks and prothonotaries of the courts, remained unchanged. The duty of electing officers of various departments in much larger number than had ever been done before was also authorized. The citizens of each ward were to elect for the ward one member of the Board of Health, increasing the numbers of those officers to twenty-

four for the whole city. Twelve directors of the public schools to serve for one, two, and three years were ordered to be chosen by all the wards except the Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-third, for which some special provisions were made. Each ward also selected two aldermen, two constables, and two assessors. The mayor was to be elected for two years, and to have the full power in the suppression of riots or disturbances that the sheriff had under any law or statute. The mayor had authority to sign or to veto ordinances passed by Councils. If objected to, an ordinance might be passed notwithstanding his veto by a vote of two-thirds. This important law was introduced at Harrisburg early in the session, and pressed with so much vigor that it was passed on the 2d of February, 1854.

The probability, which amounted almost to a certainty, that the bill would be got through the Legislature had a tendency in the districts to encourage a wild saturnalia of running in debt. It was probable that in a short time each district would cease to have existence. There were many schemes which were selfishly urged with the object of "making improvements" and pushing properties on the various districts which the consolidated city would have to pay for. The district of Southwark led off in the dance in January by purchasing on credit the Miller lot in Southwark, extending from Third to Fourth and from Washington to Federal Street, which was afterward called Jefferson Square. The Councils of the city held a special meeting on the 30th of January, the consolidation law being very nearly certain, at which money was voted for the purchase of six lots of ground for building market-houses thereon.¹

¹ They were situate as follows: Broad below Race Street, and Race east of Broad Street; northwest corner Race and Crown Streets; between Spruce and Pine and Twentieth and Twenty-first Streets; east side Sixteenth between Filbert and Jones Streets (afterwards the arsenal lot); northwest corner of Locust and Juniper Streets; west side of Sixth between Barclay Street and Middle Alley. Only two of these properties (at Broad and Race Streets) was ever put to the proposed use. They remained for many years idle, most of them producing no revenue. The following is a summary of the extra expenditures authorized by the districts with the full expectation that the new city would have to pay the piper. Within thirty days between the assembling of the Legislature and the passage of the consolidation act nearly four millions and a half of dollars were added to the city debt for objects which were not of pressing necessity, and which would not have been considered or favored if the public affairs had been expected to stand on the old foundation. The following comprises a list of some, but not all of them:

CITY.	Sunbury and Erie Railroad subscription.....	\$2,000,000
	Six lots for market-houses.....	650,000
	Estimated expense for building the same.....	250,000
SOUTHWARK.	The Miller lot, Fourth and Washington Streets, for a public square.....	85,000
	Grading and preparing the same, estimated.....	15,000
	Culvert in Reed Street.....	60,000
NORTHERN LIBERTIES.	Subscription to the North Penn. Rail- road Company.....	500,000
KENSINGTON.	For paving and culverts, estimated.....	150,000
RICHMOND.	Subscription to the Sunbury and Erie Railroad Company.....	500,000
	For building seven bridges, estimated.....	63,000
GERMANTOWN.	For a lot and town hall.....	100,000
	Paving.....	7,000
FRANKFORD.	Paving.....	7,000
	Purchase of the Shallcross property.....	7,000
WEST PHILADELPHIA.	Paving.....	18,000
	Loan for improvements.....	40,000

Total..... \$4,447,000

The passage of the bill was the cause of great rejoicing. The committee which had prepared it was of opinion that some celebration of the important event would be proper. Very complete arrangements were made. The Governor and Legislature and the chief officers of State were invited to visit the city of Philadelphia, to participate in the ceremonies. The Board of Trade had made arrangements for a steamboat excursion on the river Delaware, to show the officers and representatives of the commonwealth the extent of the city front on that stream. The steamboat "Robert F. Stockton," on the 11th of March, carried them down the river to Bow Creek, and returning, passed up the stream to Poquessing Creek, the northern boundary of the city. There were salutes, a banquet in the cabin, and speeches by Samuel V. Merrick, of the Board of Trade, Morton McMichael, Col. William C. Patterson, Thomas B. Florence, Governor William Bigler, Cook, of Westmoreland, E. B. Chase, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Roberts, of Fayette, Monaghan, of Chester, and Judge James Burnside, of the Supreme Court. The party landed at the navy-yard, inspected the new dry-dock and other works, and was finally landed at Walnut Street wharf. In the evening the Consolidation Ball took place at the Museum building, occupying both saloons. They were elegantly decorated with flags, evergreens, flowers, an extra profusion of gas-fixtures, and other effects. The supper took place in the lower saloon. The decorations of the table were more profuse than had ever been seen on a like occasion in the city. The number of persons who participated was estimated to be from three thousand to four thousand. On the next day, March 12th, the city of Philadelphia gave a banquet to the guests at Sansom Street Hall. Morton McMichael was president, and the Governor, United States and State senators, members of Congress, members of the State Legislature, judges of the Supreme Court, and others were guests.

Under the directions of the act of Assembly the first election for mayor, members of Councils, and other officers was to take place on the first Tuesday of June, 1854. Politics at this time were in a mixed condition. The Whig party was essentially dead, but shrewd people were operating with the skeleton of the defunct. Apparently there were only two nominees for the office of mayor,—Robert T. Conrad, Whig, and Richard Vaux, Democrat. Before the election there were rumors that a new force unknown in politics was about to come in action. A

Before these appropriations efforts were made to obtain others. In Penn District there was an attempt to get an appropriation of three hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars for the purchase of the Gratz estate, in the neighborhood of Master, Jefferson, and Oxford Streets, west of Broad, for the purposes of a public park. In West Philadelphia it was proposed to buy the Powelton estate, between Market Street and Bridge (Spring Garden) Street, for seventy-five thousand dollars, the ground to be appropriated for a public park. But the popular indignation had been so aroused by the other appropriations that these plans were not successful.

mysterious association secret in character, which bore among its members some high-sounding title, was nicknamed by persons who did not belong to it "the Know-Nothing organization," or "the Know-Nothing party."¹ Conrad had the support of the "Know-Nothings," and when the ballots came to be counted it was found that he had 29,507 votes, and Richard Vaux 21,011. Conrad was sworn into office on the first Monday of July, and the city of Philadelphia with enlarged boundaries had fairly entered upon the experiment of a new government. City Councils organized on the same day. There were twenty-four members of Select Council, and they elected John P. Verree, of the Eighteenth Ward, president, Edmund Wilcox clerk, and Joseph Wood, Jr., assistant clerk. The Common Council was composed of seventy-four members. John H. Diehl was elected president, and John M. Riley clerk, and C. W. Steele and John Q. Adams assistants. One of the first duties of Councils was to ascertain how the city stood financially.²

Something was received from the various districts. The departments of the city and districts handed over

¹ The name Know-Nothing was applied to this organization because the members were ordered to reply to any question in regard to the party or its purposes, "I don't know." In the same way Sam was a nickname for the same party, which was applied frequently to persons suspected of being members, of whom it was said they had "seen Sam."

² The full amount of the city debt was found to be by report of a committee in the latter part of the year to be \$17,108,343.79, as follows:

	Funded Debt of the City and Districts.	Railroad Subscriptions.	Total.
Late City of Philadelphia.....	\$2,441,300.00		\$2,441,300.00
County of Philadelphia.....	1,815,177.93		1,815,177.93
Southwark.....	492,200.00		492,200.00
Moyamensing.....	113,862.15		113,862.15
Northern Liberties.....	341,000.00	1,000,000.00	1,341,000.00
Kensington.....	726,563.22		726,563.22
Richmond.....	304,839.40	500,000.00	804,839.40
Penn District.....	271,902.92		271,902.92
Frankford.....	61,612.33		61,612.33
Belmont.....	26,900.00		26,900.00
West Philadelphia.....	376,110.80		376,110.80
Bridesburg.....	2,500.00		2,500.00
Spring Garden.....	1,697,371.00	750,000.00	1,947,371.00
Germantown.....	43,000.00		43,000.00
Blockley.....	2,000.00		2,000.00
Guardians of the Poor.....	642,904.04		642,904.04
Total.....	\$8,758,343.79	\$8,350,000.00	\$17,108,343.79

A heavy portion of this was for railroad subscriptions, as follows: Pennsylvania Railroad, \$5,000,000; North Pennsylvania Railroad, \$1,400,000; Hempfield Railroad, \$600,000; Sunbury and Erie Railroad, \$1,200,000; Northwestern Railroad, \$150,000; Schuylkill River Railroad, \$5000. Of these the Hempfield Railroad and Northwestern Railroad proved to be utter failures, and the whole subscription was lost. The Sunbury and Erie Railroad, although in better condition, and put into operation, has not, up to 1884, paid a dividend. The city also came into possession of the following stocks: West Philadelphia Canal stock and loan, amount \$10,000; Philadelphia Tow-Boat Company, \$7500; Schuylkill Permanent Bridge Company, balance, \$1536; Blockley and Merion Plank-road Company stock, amount \$10,000; Belmont Avenue Plank-road Company, \$10,000; Branchtown and Germantown Road, \$100; Moyamensing Gas Company, 500 shares, worthless; Arbon Land Company, 240 shares, worthless; Haverford Plank-road Company, 80 shares; Philadelphia and West Chester Turnpike Company, 80 shares; Delaware County Turnpike-road Company, 80 shares.

in the course of 1855, \$666,819.19.¹ The treasurers of the city and districts and county officers turned in \$422,399.49.² The city also came into possession of a large amount of real estate. Beside the State-House, court-houses, and public offices, and the tobacco warehouse, dwellings and stores, there were nine commissioners' halls and town halls, lock-ups, station-houses, almshouse and township poor-houses, county prison, several farms and properties used for township and district school-houses, the Lazaretto station and grounds, the city hospital, forty-nine sections of market-houses, the two market-houses at

¹ Amounts paid into the city treasury from heads of departments and officers of the late city and corporations other than city or district treasurers for debts due those corporations up to the time of the consolidation of the city and districts:

City treasurer.....	\$130,981.09	
Spring Garden.....	27,725.92	
Southwark.....	8,604.54	
Moyamensing.....	7,977.48	
Kensington.....	30,493.98	
Richmond.....	11,066.37	
Northern Liberties.....	2,600.66	
Penn. District.....	17,378.31	
Germanatown.....	11,261.34	
Frankford.....	2,149.43	
Manayunk.....	100.00	
Blockley township.....	520.98	
Belmont.....	42.00	
Lower Dublin.....	82.58	
Bristol township.....	87.31	
Aramingo.....	41.10	
Unincorporated Northern Liberties.....	1.06	
Moreland township.....	41.15	
Guardians of the Poor.....	6,605.35	
Board of Health.....	550.60	
County of Philadelphia.....	216,723.94	
West Philadelphia.....	1,402.84	\$476,338.53
State appropriation to public schools.....	30,430.05	
Poor taxes in settlement of duplicates.....	18,366.27	
Wharf rents, Northern Liberties.....	1,187.50	
Board of Health.....	10,700.00	
Collections by city solicitor for debts due late city and corporations.....	58,735.14	119,418.96
County taxes, 1853.....	97,692.27	
School taxes, 1853.....	20,485.82	
Corporation taxes, 1853.....	9,314.99	
Registered taxes.....	998.55	
Outstanding debts late District Kensington.....	2,600.07	71,061.70
Total.....		\$666,819.19

² The following were the receipts from the city and district treasurers:

Funds received from the treasurer of the city districts and corporations at the time of consolidation:

City balance in hands of mayor, aldermen, etc.....	\$102,370.98
City from other sources.....	2,420.28
Southwark.....	3,171.43
Northern Liberties.....	1,107.63
Kensington.....	4,281.14
Spring Garden.....	10,445.62
Moyamensing.....	2,696.55
Penn. District.....	10,328.25
Richmond.....	1,292.29
Germanatown.....	11,261.34
West Philadelphia.....	659.58
Unincorporated Northern Liberties.....	1.06
Frankford.....	1,685.50
Moreland.....	41.25
Bristol.....	87.31
Lower Dublin.....	82.58
Manayunk.....	100.00
Blockley.....	520.98
Board of Health.....	550.60
Guardians of the Poor.....	6,358.17
Aramingo.....	41.10
Total.....	\$159,513.64

Amount received from other sources but due late city and corporations prior to consolidation.....	35,471.80
Taxes, rents, etc., due the late city and corporations paid in 1854 after consolidation.....	227,414.05
Total.....	\$422,399.49

Broad and Race Streets, purchased in the early part of 1854, twelve public landings in the city, five in Northern Liberties, six in Kensington, eight in Southwark, three in Richmond, and fifteen public landings belonging to the city on the Schuylkill, Girard College, city gas-works, water-works of the city, Spring Garden, and Kensington, bridges over the Schuylkill River, the high school at the corner of Broad and Green Streets, the normal school in Sergeant Street below Tenth, and one hundred and fifty-seven school-houses and lots, ten public squares, a church building on Crown Street above Race, purchased for a market but never used, and a considerable number of lots of ground, stores, dwelling-houses, etc., the value of which could not conveniently be estimated.

The debts due to the city and districts other than taxes, etc., at the time of consolidation were one hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred and sixty dollars.³

Beside the mayor the following officers were chosen at the spring election of 1854: City Solicitor, Isaac Hazlehurst; City Controller, John N. Henderson; Receiver of Taxes, John M. Coleman; City Treasurer, John Lindsay, remained in office by act of Assembly. The new departments were organized as follows: Water Department, Chief Engineer, Frederick Graff; Department of Highways, Chief Commissioner, Thomas Birch; City Property, Commissioner, John Diehl; Girard Trust, Treasurer, Charles S. Smith; City Surveyors and Regulators, Principal, Spencer Bonsall; Inspectors of the Philadelphia County Prison, President, E. Y. Farquhar; Board of Health, President, Wilson Jewell, M.D.; Guardians of the Poor, President, Frederick M. Adams; Directors of Girard College, President, Samuel H. Perkins; Girard Trust, Treasurer, Charles S. Smith; Master Warden of the Port, Jared Ketcham; Harbor Master, William Rice; Controllers of the Public Schools, President, Thomas G. Hollingsworth. At this time the county officers were: Sheriff, Samuel Allen; Coroner, Joseph Delavan.

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM THE YEAR OF CONSOLIDATION, 1854, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The winter of 1854-55 was one of more than ordinary severity. In addition to the rigor of the season the scarcity of employment among the poor tended

³ They were as follows:

Moyamensing.....	\$14,950	Kensington.....	\$11,553
Southwark.....	3,350	Penn. District.....	6,303
Old City.....	100	Board of Health.....	778
West Philadelphia.....	62,200	City of Philadelphia.....	33,285
Spring Garden.....	6,780		
Richmond.....	16,780	Total.....	\$156,560

These were put in suit by the city solicitor. He estimated in 1855 that fifty per cent. would be recovered.

very much to the spread of suffering and destitution. Early in the year 1855 Mayor Conrad presided at a general meeting called for the purpose of relieving the distresses of the poorer classes. A proposition was also made in Councils to set aside an appropriation for them. The soup-houses and the various charitable organizations contributed not a little toward tiding over the misery of the winter. It was at this time that the thought occurred to many of the friends of public benevolence that their object would be much better promoted if all the societies which were devoted to charity could be consolidated into one general organization. In the spring Matthew Newkirk presided over a convention which was intended to further this design of a union, but the delegates could not agree upon a plan. There were too many interests to be overcome. Even charity may be selfish, and prefer to direct its own benevolence.

The lively interest with which the movements of the famous singers in Italian opera—Mario and Grisi—were regarded throughout the United States at this time was felt in Philadelphia at the beginning of the year among the fashionable circles of society. They appeared in several popular operas at the Walnut Street Theatre, the best seats in the house being sold for three dollars apiece. The fact that the city did not at this time possess a regular operatic stage on which it could welcome these world-renowned artists, went a long way toward suggesting the idea of an Academy of Music, which was afterward realized during this period, to be regarded with favor.

With the opening of the year preparations were made by the North Pennsylvania Railway Company to establish a line of passenger cars drawn by horses. On the 3d of January the company put them in operation on a route about a mile and a half in length, extending from Willow Street along Front to Germantown road, thence to Second Street, to Cadwalader, to Washington Avenue, to Cherry Street, and connecting at what was known as the "Cohocksink depot." The experiment seems to have given great satisfaction to those who were anxious to see the lumbering omnibus superseded by a new mode of local traveling, and the North Pennsylvania Company is credited, in a contemporary account of the innovation, with the honor of "being the first to introduce the light, convenient, and useful city passenger cars." These vehicles were fourteen feet long, seven feet wide, and six feet four inches in height, and were built to seat twenty-four persons.

The good-natured patriotism with which the project of a Washington monument at the national capital has always been regarded by the people of this city, was exemplified toward the close of January, when several marble blocks, prepared under the direction of Maj. Peter Fritz, were forwarded to Washington. Two of these stones were presented by the firemen of Philadelphia. On one of them was a representation of the Fairmount Water-Works, together

with figures of a hose-carriage, an engine, and a hook and a ladder; on another were the names of the companies that had contributed thirty dollars apiece to the monument fund. Another block, for which the actors and actresses had raised a subscription, was presented in the name of the "ladies and gentlemen of the dramatic profession in America."

The war which England and France were waging against Russia in the Crimea was watched with the deepest interest in Philadelphia. During the winter the suspicion became noised about that the agents of the English government were busy in shipping off from our ports recruits who had been enlisted in this country for the queen's armies. Citizens of Irish extraction were particularly anxious to ascertain whether there was any truth in these reports. Finally, however, sufficient information was collected to justify United States Marshal Wynkoop in boarding the steamer "Sanford" as it was proceeding down the Delaware on its way to New York. Thirteen men were captured on the 28th of March, and the alleged recruiting-officers were detained in custody. It was asserted that they had already forwarded sixty enlisted men, but their business seems to have been pretty effectually broken up by this movement of the Federal authorities.

On the last night of January what came near being a very serious calamity happened in Moyamensing prison. A great flow of coal-gas escaped from a defective heating apparatus, and found its way into many of the cells. When the officers of the institution became apprised of the trouble they discovered thirty of the prisoners in a state of unconsciousness. With the exception of one inmate, who was too much overcome to be restored, they were all resuscitated.

The spring political campaign this year was, as the conservative *Ledger* described it, a "queer affair." The Whig party was rapidly falling to pieces. Know-Nothingism had not yet spent its force. There was a general restlessness among both the politicians and the people. Thus, in some parts of the city, five or six different tickets were in the field. These were variously known under such cognomens as "Know-Nothing," "Anti-Know-Nothing," "Regular Whig," "Clay Whig," "Whigs and Americans," "People's Reformers," and "Citizens' Reformers." The subject of Know-Nothingism seems to have chiefly occupied the thoughts of the political leaders, the Whigs suffering from serious divisions in consequence of the attempt made to ally them with the fortunes of the Native Americans. At the election which was held on the 1st of May only two officers were voted for,—city treasurer and city commissioner,—both of which offices were captured by the Native Americans by small majorities.

The Mexican war was still fresh in the memory of the people, and the anniversary of the battle of Cerro Gordo, on the 18th of April, was not allowed to pass unnoticed. The Scott Legion had caused a hand-

some marble monument to be erected in Glenwood Cemetery, and its dedication was the occasion of a military parade, the gathering of an immense crowd, and an inspiring oration by Dr. Joel B. Sutherland.

During the month of May Governor Bigler met with a hearty reception in a tour which he made among the city's public institutions. At the Boys' Central High School, on Broad Street, the exercises were of a particularly interesting character. It was at this time that a department of phonographic instruction was maintained in that institution, and two of the pupils were detailed to report the Governor's speech. The next day it appeared at length in the daily journals. These young tyros in the reporter's art were James J. Murphy and Joseph N. Wilson, one since distinguished as the official reporter of the United States Senate, and the other afterwards popular among younger Philadelphians as a professor in the high school.

Mayor Conrad, on the 18th of May, sent to Councils his first message under the consolidation act. Written in the excellent style which he impressed upon official documents as well as upon ventures of a more decided literary cast, it was largely devoted to a discussion of the duties and responsibilities of his organization of the new police-force. He was inclined to be well satisfied with his work, although he complains that the nine hundred men who made up his force were insufficient for Philadelphia, with its sixty thousand houses, and especially when compared with New York's force of twelve hundred men with but thirty-seven thousand five hundred houses, occupying half as much area as Philadelphia. It was his habit, unlike some of his successors, to visit the station-houses in person and to call the rolls, in order that he might become familiar with the men by direct personal contact. He took great pride in the standard of qualifications which he required of a man who wished to become a policeman. These were that the officer must be between the ages of twenty-three and fifty; that he must be of "American birth,"—a rule which certainly was not long enforced, and which was doubtless the extreme of Know-Nothing doctrines,—that he must be able to read and write; that his character and habits must be pure; that he must be invariably temperate, steadfastly courageous, and always courteous. Although there was abundant need of the services of a large body of policemen,—for the city at this period was more turbulent than it now is in proportion to the population,—there were not a few complaints that it was too extravagant for the municipality to maintain, and that it could, without doing any harm, be reduced at least one-third in number. The volunteer firemen, who had more or less of an instinctive dislike to a policeman, were generally disposed to adopt this opinion.

Up to this time the old hand-engine was still the principal apparatus in the fire department. It was soon, however, to be replaced by the steam fire-engine.

The contemplated improvement, with which one or two other cities were already familiar, was not introduced without considerable opposition. The firemen themselves were not all disposed to welcome an invention which, in lessening the labor required for the extinguishment of a fire would, perhaps, lead to a reduction of the number of volunteers. Citizens who did not share this semi-professional interest in the introduction of the new engine were ready to recognize its superior merits. Accordingly, on the 12th of February, there was a great crowd assembled at Dock Street wharf to witness the trial of the "Miles Greenwood," an engine which had been built in Cincinnati for the city of Boston, and which had been permitted to remain here a few days for the purposes of experiment. It was claimed for it that it would throw a stream two hundred and forty feet horizontal, and one hundred and thirty feet perpendicular through a one-and-three-quarter-inch nozzle, and although the result of the test did not come fully up to this promise, the apparatus was looked upon generally with admiration and surprise. Another Cincinnati engine, the "Young America," was exhibited on the 1st of June, in front of the Presbyterian Church, on Arch Street above Tenth, and so successful were its operations that Council's Committee on Trusts and Fire Department recommended the introduction of such engines into Philadelphia. Nevertheless, it was nearly three years later, or on the 20th of January, 1858, that the first of these engines was permanently established in the city by a volunteer organization, the Philadelphia Hose Company. Within a year subsequent they had become numerous enough to cease being spoken of as wonders.

The Wagner Free Institute of Science, corner Seventeenth Street and Montgomery Avenue, was opened by Governor Pollock on the 21st of May. On an humbler scale than that of the great institution which Peter Cooper founded in New York, it has done a similarly useful work in this community under the benevolent direction and patronage of William Wagner.

The celebrated campaign which Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, had successfully waged against the Native American party in that State, was the occasion of a great Democratic rejoicing in Independence Square on the 31st of May, at which telegraphic congratulations were exchanged with the Tammany Hall brethren in New York, and at which Col. Thomas B. Florence, William H. Witte, John Robbins, and John Cadwalader were the principal orators. During the following week the Native American party held a national council in this city, the deliberations of which were conducted in secret, and which finally broke up in a vain effort to reconcile differences of opinion between the Northern and the Southern delegates on the subject of slavery. While the council was in session the local leaders of the party invited the delegates and guests to the number of five hundred to a banquet in Sansom Street Hall. Among

the decorations the most conspicuous was a representation of "The Death of Shiffler." Mayor Conrad presided at this festive gathering, and was assisted by Benjamin H. Brewster. The presence of this gentleman at the banquet called out, a few days later, a public correspondence between him on the one side and Lewis C. Cassidy and some other friends of Mr. Brewster on the other. His course was somewhat sharply referred to by them as "a surprise." On the 18th of the same month the Americans held another great rally in Independence Square, and listened to a speech by ex-Governor Neil S. Brown, of Tennessee.

On the 17th of July the steamboat "John Stevens" caught fire at night, near White Hill, and was totally destroyed. Five colored cooks perished in the flames. On the night of the 4th of August the steamer "General McDonald" collided, near Fort Mifflin, with the schooner "Peace," and eight persons were drowned. These disasters were soon afterward supplemented by a calamity which was productive of intense excitement. On the morning of the 29th of August a train, bound for New York on the Camden and Amboy Railroad, had proceeded about a mile above Burlington, when the engineer, catching sight of a train approaching him on the same track, reversed the movement of his engine. The rear car backed into a wagon driven by Dr. Henikin, which was crossing the track, and the train was hurled off the rails by the collision. Twenty-three passengers were killed, and twice as many more were wounded. The victims comprised many merchants and other men of local prominence, among them being the Baron de St. Andre, the French consul at this port, and the Rev. John McConnell, of Delaware. The bitter feeling which this catastrophe awakened against the railroad company did not subside for several weeks. It was largely instrumental in showing the necessity of double tracks on railroads. The directors of the road expressed themselves in favor of having it fenced in, and issued an order that no train should henceforth exceed a speed of thirty miles an hour.

The first section of the North Pennsylvania Railroad, from Philadelphia to Gwynedd, a distance of nineteen miles, was formally opened by an excursion in which business men and councilmen participated on the 2d of July.

Such had been the rapid progress of the railroad system that, on the 16th of July, the announcement was printed in one of the daily papers that "the last mail-stage running from Philadelphia has made its final trip."

Toward the close of the summer of 1855 the newly-formed Republican party began to take root in Philadelphia. There was a meeting on the 21st of August of what was known as the "Democratic League," together with those "in favor of organizing a Republican party." William B. Thomas, who was the principal leader of the movement, offered the resolutions, which denounced slavery in warm terms, and

which called for a meeting on the 30th of the same month to form a Republican association.

The dedication of the Masonic Hall, on Chestnut above Seventh, was an event which was attended with imposing ceremonies on the 27th of September. More than four thousand members of the Masonic order paraded in honor of the occasion, and for several days the new hall was a subject of general talk. Many thousands of people availed themselves of the opportunity, which was accorded them for a few days before the dedication, of visiting the edifice.

At the election on the 9th of October the Democratic party was treated to a genuine surprise in the election of pretty much its entire ticket in Philadelphia. The Native American, the Temperance, and the Abolitionist elements were arrayed against it. The combination was thought to be a strong one, and the Democrats expected defeat. But the alliance which the Americans had made with the temperance men turned out to be more a source of weakness than of strength. The Democratic local ticket, composed of George Magee for sheriff, Charles W. Carrigan for register of wills, and John Sherry for prothonotary of the Orphans' Court, was elected by an average majority of 1500. One of the first effects of this Democratic triumph was seen a short time afterward in a meeting at the Falstaff Hotel, which was called to promote the interests of a Philadelphia Democrat, George M. Dallas, as a candidate for President of the United States.

Connected to some extent with the issues presented at this election was the question of the enforcement of the new Sunday liquor law, which had gone into effect on the 1st of April, much to the dissatisfaction of proprietors of taverns, oyster-houses, and other places of refreshment and entertainment. The result of Mayor Conrad's attempt to enforce this law was an agitation which lasted for some time, and which was accompanied by much bitterness of feeling. Indeed, the feature by which Mayor Conrad's administration is chiefly distinguished is the pertinacity with which he insisted on the observance to the letter of all laws that had for their object the suspension of labor and of entertainment on Sunday. The Sunday newspapers in particular were subjected to not a little opposition at his hands. The liquor interest during the summer of 1855 tried to create an opinion in favor of the repeal of the new law, and in September a prohibitory liquor law convention was held for the opposite purpose of sustaining it. All the candidates whom the friends of this movement favored were beaten at the polls. In November, however, the mayor created much excitement by committing for trial a number of saloon-keepers for violating the Sunday laws, he having directed his officers to enter the saloons and drink liquor in order that they might not lack evidence. These proceedings were upheld at public meetings of clergymen and religious citizens, while, on the other hand, they caused the mayor

to be subjected to much caricature, ridicule, and denunciation.

The French actress, Rachel, who had come over to this country at the height of her fame, played in Corneille's "Les Horaces" at the Walnut Street Theatre, on the 19th of November, to an audience which failed to fill the house at three dollars a head. Exposed to a draught, she is represented to have contracted the sickness here which resulted in her death. At any rate, this was her only appearance in Philadelphia, her three sisters being the attractions on the other nights of the engagement.

At the meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, on the 11th of December, in Sanson Street Hall, William Lloyd Garrison, who, with C. C. Burleigh, E. M. Davis, and Lucretia Mott, was among the speakers, denounced Philadelphia for its lukewarmness in the Passmore Williamson case, and said that the result would have been different had the affair taken place in Boston. "A young man," William S. Pierce (afterwards Judge Pierce), replied to Garrison, and defended the Republican party from the agitator's attack upon it. The resolutions of the society were especially emphatic in their denunciation of Judge John K. Kane for his course in the Williamson trouble.

The remembrance of the terrible winter of 1856 is still vivid in the minds of Philadelphians who witnessed its severities. They have a most lively recollection of the experiences which were brought about by the freezing of the Delaware River. Before the middle of January that stream was frozen solid from bank to bank, as far down, at least, as the "Horseshoe Channel." Great multitudes of people by day and night amused themselves in sleighing, skating, promenading, flirting, or trafficking on its icy surface. Numerous booths, bars, and tents were erected by enterprising vendors, and gamblers with their cards and dice, cleared away a space in the snow for their seductive tables. On the 26th of January not less than twenty thousand people were estimated to be participating in the diversions of winter sport. Suddenly, opposite the upper wharves of the city, a horse and sleigh with its occupants were seen to disappear partially in an air-hole. The drowned bodies were recovered, those of the widow of Col. Peter Albright, of the Northern Liberties, and her daughter. This melancholy occurrence did much to check the popularity of the fun on the ice-bound river.

Such was the loss, not to speak of the embarrassment, to which commerce was subjected by this embargo, that on the 7th of February a meeting of business men was held at the Board of Trade rooms, in order to devise means of keeping the river open. Professor Hare was in favor of blowing up the ice with gunpowder. William S. Pierce was inclined to think that the permanent remedy for the evil would be to utilize League Island for the heavy shipping operations of the port, inasmuch as it was situated at a

point where the river was comparatively free from ice, and that by means of railroads it could be brought within fifteen minutes' ride of Broad and Market Streets. Finally, it was agreed to try the gunpowder experiment on the 20th of February. It was tested opposite the Point House Hotel, under the direction of Professors Rogers and Frazer, and was a failure. In the mean time the city ice-boat struggled in vain to keep open a channel for navigation, and it was not until the beginning of March that the ice broke up sufficiently to enable the ships that had been unable to reach the city to make some movement up the stream.

But this blockade was not without a most calamitous sequel. On Saturday night, the 15th of March, the ferry-boat "New Jersey," belonging to the Philadelphia and Camden Steamboat Company, left its slip at Walnut Street wharf for Camden. Capt. Corson headed the boat for the canal directly opposite, but found that he could not enter it on account of the vast masses of ice. He then turned the boat to the north, with the intention of crossing the bar at the upper end of Smith's Island. When the "New Jersey" had reached this point, fire was discovered near her smokestack. The one hundred passengers became frantic with fear as they saw the flames spread with inconceivable rapidity. The captain, again changing his course, did his best to reach Arch Street wharf. When within hardly more than thirty feet of the shore the pilot-house fell in, and the boat became utterly unmanageable in the ice. The flames drove the passengers overboard, and the firemen and citizens who lined the wharves were serviceable in rescuing many of the unfortunates. Thirty dead bodies were found, and there were, perhaps, many more who perished, but who were never afterward seen. It was some time before the public mind recovered from the shock of this disaster. On investigation, it was discovered that the boat was scantily equipped with the appliances which the law required, and that her boilers, the fireplace, and the brick-work surrounding them had been in a defective condition.

Hardly had the sensation which the burning of the "New Jersey" caused subsided than it was partially revived, on the 29th of May, by the explosion of the boiler of the steamer "Union" of the Ericsson Line, near New Castle, and the killing of four men.

The victory at the October election of 1855 had greatly elated the Democrats. The approach of a Presidential election, together with the prospect of wresting the mayoralty from the hands of the Native Americans in the spring election of 1856, imparted to them a strong degree of confidence. The first signs of the waning of Know-Nothing influence were clearly perceptible, while the downcast Whigs were almost in the last stage of disintegration. The Republicans were still a little band of hopeful enthusiasts, who derived a large share of their inspiration from William B. Thomas.

The Americans, however, had the benefit of what stimulus could be gained from a Presidential convention and the presence among them of their national leaders. The opening session of this body, which had been preceded for several days by the meeting of the American National Council, was held on the 22d of February. It was characterized by not a little discord and confusion as to matters of policy. Millard Fillmore, of New York; "Sam" Houston, of Texas; Garret Davis, of Kentucky; Kenneth Raynor, of North Carolina; John Bell, of Tennessee; R. F. Stockton, of New Jersey; Erastus Brooks, of New York; and John M. Clayton, of Delaware, had been named for the Presidential nomination; but Fillmore's friends carried the convention with little difficulty, and to his name joined that of Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President. The local members of the American party received the nominations with approval, and on the 12th of March ratified them at Concert Hall, in a meeting which was presided over by John M. Scott, and which was addressed by William D. Baker, Charles Gibbons, Henry M. Fuller, and Henry D. Moore.

The Fillmore and Donelson men had a large variety of candidates for mayor to select from, among them being named E. Joy Morris, John P. Verree, O. P. Cornman, W. B. Mann, John Welsh, William Welsh, Isaac Hazlehurst, Charles D. Freeman, George F. Gordon, James C. Hand, Henry D. Moore, and Peter Fritz. Mr. Hand, who was first nominated, declined, and made way for Henry D. Moore. With him were associated on the ticket F. Carroll Brewster, for city solicitor, and S. Snyder Leidy, for city controller. The Whig convention named John Thompson for mayor, William S. Price for city solicitor, and Benjamin Huckel for controller, but not without the opposition of those old-line Whigs who were drifting over to the Democratic party. It was on this occasion that Josiah Randall declared that "if the contest shall be between the Know-Nothings and the Democrats, I will vote with the Democrats," and William B. Reed, the coolest and ablest of the Whig leaders, also gave out intimations to the same effect. Not long afterward, however, the Whig ticket was entirely withdrawn through the influence of Reed, accompanied by the declaration, which was in the nature of a final dissolution, that "every individual member was left free to pursue his own course" in the coming election.

The Democrats unanimously nominated Richard Vaux for mayor, and placed on the ticket William A. Porter for city solicitor, and Stephen Taylor for controller. They were all followers of the rising star of James Buchanan. That statesman, then in the zenith of his popularity, was on his way home from the court of St. James, with the avowed purpose of prosecuting his Presidential fortunes. The Philadelphia Democrats had sent an instructed Buchanan delegation to the State convention after having com-

plimented their townsman, Mr. Dallas, and the State convention, in its turn, had named a solid Buchanan delegation to the national convention. As soon as it was known that Mr. Buchanan had arrived in the United States, preparations were made to give him a reception in Philadelphia. A few weeks before Edward Everett, whose lecture on Washington had been delivered at Musical Fund Hall, had been permitted to hold a public reception in Independence Hall. Mr. Buchanan's friends were anxious that he should have the same privilege and honor, but the political opposition was dominant in Common Council, and it tartly refused the request. The reception was therefore held at the Exchange, the address of welcome being delivered by William Welsh. On the same evening there was a banquet at the Merchants' Hotel, and among those who replied to toasts were William B. Reed, John W. Forney, Morton McMichael, and George M. Wharton, the head of the table being occupied by Josiah Randall.

The campaign for mayor between Mr. Vaux and Mr. Moore was hotly contested. The Democratic canvass in particular was managed with great vigor. One of the flaming pronouncements of Mr. Vaux's followers bore this inscription: "No increase of taxes! No excursions of Councils! No Free Dinners! No Free Rum at expense of Councils! No Free Cigars! No Free Hack Hire! But a frugal and economical administration of municipal affairs!" The Democratic leaders who were most conspicuous¹ in the campaign were Lewis C. Cassidy, James R. Ludlow, Brinton Coxe, Daniel Dougherty, S. S. Remak, John C. Bickel, and G. W. Biddle. They succeeded, at the election on the 6th of May, in carrying through their ticket by an average majority of 4000.²

Before the close of the winter of 1855-56 the police and fire-alarm telegraph system, which was constructed by Messrs. Phillips & Robinson, was completed. The politicians who assembled at Fifth and Chestnut Streets while the Vaux convention was in session in an up-town hall, a mile and a half away, were surprised and delighted at being informed so promptly, through its agency, of what was going on. On the 19th of April the new system went into formal operation. The first important use of it was made early on the morning of the 1st of May, when a fire broke out in the rag and paper warehouse of Jessup & Moore, on North Street, between Fifth and Sixth and Market and Arch Streets, and which destroyed forty-four buildings in that locality, and caused a loss of upwards of half a million dollars.³ A fireman

¹ Much antipathy was expressed against William McMullen and the "Moyamensing Killers."

² There was also a Republican ticket which had a scattered vote. It was composed of W. B. Thomas for mayor, W. S. Pierce for city solicitor (now Judge Pierce), and Lewis S. Heins for controller.

³ "The only really fire-proof building we have seen erected in Philadelphia," said the *Ledger*, a day or two subsequent, "is one at Eighth and Cherry, built for Cornelius & Baker, which has nothing combustible about it."

was crushed to death by falling walls, and another was stabbed and killed in a fight. On the 11th of April the Artisan's Building, on Ranstead Place, near Fourth and Chestnut Streets, together with much other property, aggregating three hundred thousand dollars in value, had been burned down, and these two large fires, coming so closely together, suggested very forcibly the need of the new steam fire-engine in Philadelphia.

On the 11th of April a terrific hurricane, which did not last more than ten or fifteen minutes, passed over the city, unroofed one hundred and fifty buildings, and in other ways created considerable havoc.

Peter Mattocks, a mulatto, who had been convicted of the murder of Elizabeth Gilbert, was hanged on the 23d of May at Moyamensing prison by Sheriff George Magee in the presence of a crowd which numbered at least a thousand men, all of whom had been admitted nominally as deputies to the sheriff.

The assault which Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, committed on Charles Sumner in the United States Senate chamber, excited much indignation, which first vented itself in this city on the 6th of June at large and exceedingly enthusiastic meetings in the District Court room, where John B. Myers, Judge Wm. D. Kelley, Charles Gilpin, Morton McMichael, and Rev. W. H. Furness, denounced the slave-power. On the same night there were illuminations in honor of the nomination of James Buchanan for President. The Keystone Club had gone to Cincinnati to help accomplish this event. Marshaled by W. B. Rankin and with George A. Coffey and Dr. George Nebinger as their spokesmen, they called on the "Sage of Wheatland" on their way home from the convention and exchanged congratulations.

The Democratic enthusiasm¹ over the success of Pennsylvania's "favorite son" in the national convention, at Cincinnati, vented itself at a great ratification meeting in Independence Square, at which Mayor Vaux presided, and to which additional interest was lent by the presence of Buchanan's most conspicuous rivals, General Lewis Cass and Stephen A. Douglas.

But the leaders of the young Republican party were not inactive in their preparations for the Presidential struggle. On the 16th of June their State convention met in Philadelphia with Henry C. Carey as temporary chairman. John Allison, of Beaver County, was made permanent president, and Allen McKeen and Russell Errett, secretaries. An attempt, made by David Taggart, to have the delegates at large instructed for Fremont and McLean, was, after much debate, relinquished. On the following day the national convention to nominate a President assembled in Musical Fund Hall. Edward D. Morgan, of New York, called the delegates to order, and on his motion

Robert Emmet, of the same State, was chosen temporary chairman. A permanent organization was effected by the choice of Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, for chairman. On the following day John C. Fremont was nominated for President of the United States, receiving three hundred and fifty-nine votes to one hundred and ninety-six for Judge John McLean, two for Charles Sumner, and one for William H. Seward. There was a strong opposition to Fremont among the Pennsylvania men, and twenty-three of them held out against him to the last.² William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, was nominated for Vice-President, his principal opponent being Abraham Lincoln, who, although hardly known outside of his own State, obtained one hundred and ten votes.³

At the end of Reed Street was a long wharf, extending into the Delaware, which had been built by Merrick & Sons. It was frequently used by the residents in that part of the city as a promenade. On the evening of the 1st of July it was full of men and women, who were refreshing themselves after the heat of the day. Without any warning, the yielding alluvial deposit on which it was built gave way, and a mass of people were precipitated into the water, and ten of them drowned.

One of the most appalling railroad disasters that up to this time had ever happened in the United States took place on the North Pennsylvania Railroad on the 17th of July. Early on the morning of that day an excursion train containing six hundred of the children and young people of the St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church, of Kensington, left the Cohocksink depot. On reaching Camp Hill, near Fort Washington, about thirteen miles from the city, the engineer descried the down train from Gwynedd approaching, and before he could do anything to lessen the speed of thirty miles an hour, at which his train was moving, the two collided. Five of the excursion cars were instantly broken to pieces. The fire from the locomotive communicated to the wreck, and many of the passengers perished in the flames. Among the victims who were burned to death was the Rev. Father Sheridan. Upwards of fifty dead bodies were drawn out of the *débris*, and at least one hundred of the excursionists were wounded. A coroner's jury ascertained that the accident was due to the "gross negligence" of the conductor of the excursion train.

Politics, which were quiet and apathetic after the Presidential conventions, began to revive toward the

² The delegates from Philadelphia to this first national convention of the Republican party were B. D. Pettingill, C. D. Cleveland, John F. Gilpin, William S. Pierce, Henry C. Carey, Joseph J. Gillingham, Thomas S. Cavender, Mahlon H. Dickinson, George H. Earle, W. B. Thomas, and Passmore Williamson.

³ Judge Spaulding, when Lincoln was named, asked, "Can he fight?" To which Mr. Archer, of Illinois, replied, "Yes, sir; he is a son of Kentucky, and a tall man whatever way you put it." The delegate who nominated Lincoln said, "He is a good fellow, a firm friend to freedom, and an old-line Whig."

¹ At this time so great was the mob of office-seekers on the new mayor (Vaux) that on one day the south side of Chestnut, in the vicinity of his office, was "almost impassable" for them.

end of August, and for the next ten weeks seemed to absorb everybody's energies. Probably never before had so many meetings and parades taken place in a political campaign in Philadelphia. The Fillmore and Donelson men were bent on making a vigorous canvass, but the Democrats, under the bold, dashing, and aggressive leadership of John W. Forney, who was chairman of their State committee, used all the resources at their command with skillful effect. He, as well as his paper (*The Pennsylvanian*), was tireless in advancing the interests of Buchanan, not only in the city but throughout the State. In the city the leader who played the most conspicuous part in looking after the local fortunes of the party was Lewis C. Cassidy, then described by his admirers as "the young giant of Democracy." He was nominated for district attorney, defeating in the convention William Badger and James R. Ludlow. His opponent was William B. Mann, who was put up for the office by the Fillmore and Donelson party, and who was characterized by the opposition as the "Republican-Fusion-Abolitionist-Know-Nothing" candidate. A tendency to a coalition between the followers of Fillmore and those of Fremont early manifested itself in Pennsylvania, and finally resulted in a fusion electoral ticket. They were also united in Philadelphia in all the Congressional tickets, except the Fourth, where William D. Kelley, as a regular Republican, made a gallant but unsuccessful fight for the seat which he was afterward destined to occupy for nearly a quarter of a century. There was a small group of Democrats, under the leadership of John M. Read, who detached themselves from their party because of their opposition to the pro-slavery features of the Buchanan platform, and who maintained an organization called "The Democratic Fremont Club." All through the campaign the greatest bitterness was manifested on the slavery question, and the exchange of epithets between the Democrats and the Fremont party was particularly vindictive. The Republican canvass was conducted with much vigor, notwithstanding the fact that its leaders had neither the facilities nor the resources possessed by the older organizations.¹ Practically, however, the conflict was waged between the Democrats on the one side and the Fusionists (Americans and Republicans and some Whigs) on the other.

An imposing political display was made by the Democrats on the 17th of September, in celebration of the sixty-ninth anniversary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Independence Square was packed with a multitude, which gathered around two

stands presided over by George M. Wharton. John W. Forney offered the resolutions, and the principal orators were Howell Cobb and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, and John Floyd, of Virginia. In the torchlight parade there were ten thousand men in line, conspicuous among whom were the visiting guests of the Keystone Club, the "Blue Hen's Chickens" of Delaware and the Union Club of New York. Mr. Buchanan, who was in town, was called upon by these clubs under the charge of the Keystone's president, Lewis C. Cassidy.

There were many other notable meetings during this heated period of political strife. Chief among the Republican orators were N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts; Jacob Collamer, of Vermont; Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois; and Anson Burlingame. A speaker whom the Democrats used with much effect at National Hall was James B. Clay, son of the great Kentuckian.

The election in October was exceedingly close, and in the State was for several days undetermined. The Democratic majority in Philadelphia was about 3000, and finally settled down to that figure for the State. Lewis C. Cassidy, for district attorney, was returned elected by a majority of little more than five hundred. The Congressional delegation was solidly Democratic, consisting of Thomas B. Florence, John A. Marshall, James Landy, Henry M. Phillips, and Owen Jones. The result of this election made it clear to observing politicians that the drift for Buchanan was too strong to be successfully resisted in November. When the Presidential vote for the city was counted it was found that the Buchanan electors had 38,222, and that the total Fusion vote for both Fillmore and Fremont was 31,976.

During the autumn of this year the corner-stone of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane was laid by Mayor Vaux (October 1st). The corner-stone of National Guards Hall on Race Street (September 17th) was laid by Peter McCall in the presence of a fine body of the military, and Handel and Haydn Hall, at Eighth and Spring Garden Streets, then known as Harrison Hall (Joseph Harrison, Jr., was the owner), was opened (November 18th) by Morton McMichael as orator, followed by a concert, in which the eminent pianist, Gottschalk, was the chief participant. On the 20th of October a number of citizens who had purchased the forty-five acres of the old Hunting Park course on the York road, originally known as Allen's Race-course, formally presented the property to the city as a public park.

The United States Agricultural Exhibition, on Powelton Avenue, West Philadelphia, was opened on the 7th of October, and on one day it was estimated that between eighty thousand and one hundred thousand persons visited it. Two days after the opening there was a picturesque parade of butchers, which was the finest display of its kind since the celebrated procession of 1821.

¹ The first Republican City Committee was composed as follows: George W. Martin, John Ashton, Jr., Joseph E. Lyndall, R. P. Gillingham, Edward B. McDowell, W. J. H. Verdette, Thomas Balch, J. L. Gosser, John M. Pomeroy, Randall Parsons, John H. Bullock, Joseph W. Gaskell, Nathaniel Randolph, George Gillingham, Charles Wright, William F. Edson, N. F. Campion, O. N. Thatcher, J. L. Littlefield, Theo. S. Williams, James Verree, and C. C. Pierson.

On the 19th of December the ice, which had become thick in the Delaware River, damaged the receiving-ship "Union," lying in front of the navy-yard, so badly that she sunk, but not before the ninety apprentices, seamen, and marines on board of her were safely transferred to the "Preble."

Toward the close of the year 1856 experiments were made with a new form of street-sweeping machinery, consisting of rapidly-revolving brooms. The apparatus was the invention of the firm of Smith, Sickel¹ & Co., who were in business as contractors for the city. These machines could keep fifteen carts busy, and the success of the experiment started the hope, which then was as fervent as it has ever since been, and still is, that the intolerably filthy highways, which vexed sorely the souls of the citizens, would at last be kept clean.

The Democracy of the city were thrown into intense excitement and indignation on the 13th of January, 1857, by dispatches from Harrisburg announcing that Messrs. Maneer and Lebo, of York County, and Wagenseller, of Schuylkill, Democratic members of the Legislature, had not only refused to support the caucus nominee of their party for United States senator, John W. Forney, but had given their votes to the opposition candidate, Simon Cameron. Forney was one of the favorites of the Philadelphia Democracy at this time, and they were moved to the warmest feelings of resentment by the base treachery which had removed from his grasp the cherished object of his ambition. Meetings were held by various clubs and associations, denouncing the traitors in unmeasured terms. The Keystone Club in particular, under the influence of scathing speeches by Stephen S. Remak and Capt. E. W. Power, hotly denounced them. The names of Maneer, Lebo, and Wagenseller remained for many years synonymous with corruption. At Harrisburg the hotels long refused to receive them, and in this city old politicians have not yet forgotten to regard them with contempt. The result of this unforeseen defeat of Col. Forney was to lose the Senate house an accomplished publicist, and to give Philadelphia, in the career which opened before him a few months later, its most eminent journalist.

The night of the 18th of January, 1857, has long been a memorable one to the firemen who were called upon to brave its severity. It was on a Sunday, and the snow had been falling in large drifts, which it was almost impossible to wade through. The winds were howling a perfect gale, and the mercury in the thermometers was on the verge of touching zero. Several alarms of fire were struck. The volunteers responded with undaunted energy. The principal alarm came from the Tabernacle Methodist Church, at Eleventh and Oxford Streets, which was then far up

town. When the men after tremendous labor had cleared their way through the snow, they found nearly all the plugs frozen. The church and some adjoining dwellings were destroyed, and the firemen thought themselves fortunate in not perishing in the intense cold. The next morning the snow-banks at places were as high as a man's head, and it was more than a week afterwards before the railroads were sufficiently cleared of the drifts that trains could be run on schedule time.²

The newly-built Academy of Music was to have been thrown open to the public on the night of the 20th, but so great were the piles of snow in the streets that the event was postponed, and did not take place until the 26th. The occasion was signalized by a ball and concert. About four weeks later a Maennerchor ball, the first of a long series of these festive events at that house, was given. On the following night, the 25th of February, a brilliant audience assembled to witness the first operatic performance on the Academy stage. The opera was Verdi's "Trovatore," then almost new to Philadelphia ears. Gazzaniga was the Leonora, and Brignoli the Manrico of the occasion. The company was Maretzek's, and had just come from Havana.³ The opening was most successful. The series of performances which followed by the same troupe, and which embraced the range of all the popular operas of the period, like "Lucresia Borgia" and "Norma," was pronounced to be the most "brilliant and lucrative season ever known."

The news of the death of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, in Havana, was received in Philadelphia with general sorrow. On the 27th of February, Mayor Vaux presided at a meeting which was called to make preparations for receiving the body of the great explorer. The feasibility of erecting a monument to his memory was, as is usual at such meetings, a subject of discussion. A list of pall-bearers was prepared, consisting of Horace Binney, Commodore Read, ex-Governor Pollock, George Peabody, Commodore Stewart, Maj. C. J. Biddle, Dr. Dunglison, Chief Justice Lewis, Judge Grier, Bishop Potter, Rev. H. G. Boardman, William B. Reed, John A. Brown, Henry Grinnell, Maj. Hagner, and Professor A. D. Bache.⁴ On the 11th of March the remains of Dr. Kane arrived at the Baltimore depot. A committee of citizens, members of Councils, and a military escort, consisting of the Washington Grays and the First City Troop, conveyed the body to Independence Hall. The next day it lay in state, and was viewed by many thousands of people. The funeral procession, which, in the mean time, was forming on the streets, was a notable

¹ This was Gen. H. G. Sickel, for some years the president of the Board of Health.

² The body of a person lost in the snow on the streets was found several days afterwards.

³ E. A. Marshall was the lessee, and Peter Richings the stage-manager. The price of the best seats was one dollar.

⁴ Messrs. Hagner, Grinnell, and Bache did not bear the pall in the funeral, and their places were taken by Dr. Dillard, Samuel Grant, and Professor H. L. Hodge.

one. It consisted of the military, which preceded the hearse, Kane's comrades in his Arctic expedition, members of Councils, committees from Baltimore and New York, clergymen, officers of the State government, Society of Sons of St. George, Albion Society, St. Andrew's Society, Scotch Thistle Society, naval officers in uniform, distinguished visitors, judges and officers of the various courts, the American Philosoph-



E. B. Kane

ical Society, United States civil officers, members of the bar, Corn Exchange, the Fire Department, Odd-Fellows, American Protestant Association, order of Druids, Young Men's American Club, faculty and officers of Girard College, Princeton College, and the Central High School, medical faculties and students, and various other organizations. The vast cortege moved to the Second Presbyterian Church, on Seventh Street, below Arch, where the funeral sermon was delivered by Rev. C. W. Shields. The body of the great Philadelphian was laid to rest in Laurel Hill.

In January, 1857, a new plan of numbering the houses, the ordinance for which had been signed by Mayor Vaux on the 16th of September, in the preceding year, and which was chiefly the work of Councilman Mascher, went into operation. It was slow work in inducing the citizens to comply with the reform, but before the beginning of 1858 the new system had been pretty generally introduced.

The spring election of 1857 caused hardly a ripple of excitement. The opposition to the Democrats entertained little or no hope of beating them. William V. McGrath was elected city treasurer, and James Logan city commissioner, over the Native American and the Republican candidates without much difficulty. On the night of the election ex-President Pierce, who was stopping at the La Pierre House, was serenaded by the jubilant Democrats.

The question of the suppression of polygamy was, at this time, one of national interest, and bloodshed in Utah between the United States troops and the

followers of Brigham Young was imminent. The Mormons were still objects of great curiosity in the East, and the ship "Westmoreland," which arrived at this port on the 31st of May with five hundred and fifty-two converts to the faith, was described as carrying "extraordinary freight." These people, who were mostly Norwegians, had been recruited by Matthias Cowley, and were shipped to the West on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, by the "General Mormon Emigration Agent for United States Shipping Ports," one A. F. Cannon, whose name has since become distinguished in the polygamous annals of Utah. Not long afterward the ship "Tuscarora" brought over five hundred and thirty-seven more Mormon proselytes, whom the industrious agents of Brigham Young had gathered together in England, Scotland, Wales, Denmark, and Sweden.

About this time Mayor Vaux established what was known as "The Fire Police," a department of the municipal service which was ordered to consist of a chief, an assistant, "who is an experienced builder," and such officers as may be deemed necessary. High Constable Blackburn was the first chief in a position which afterward was known as fire marshal.

The Melodeon building, which occupied a site on Chestnut Street above Sixth, was burned down on the 3d of June, after a performance by a band of negro minstrels known as Myers & Landis' Virginia Serenaders. It had been built in 1854, on the walls of the old Bolivar House, and it turned out to be an unfortunate speculation. David Matthews, a member of the America Hose Company, was killed by falling walls at this fire.

An event in which almost the entire German population of the city were participants was the musical jubilee, which began at the Academy on the 14th of June by an oratorio performance, and which, with a ball, a parade, a concert, a picnic at Lemon Hill, and a banquet, was kept up for four days, bringing together many singing societies from the Eastern and the Middle States.

In recognition of the service which William B. Reed had performed in turning over many of the old-line Whigs to the support of Mr. Buchanan in 1856, he was appointed minister to China. His mission was looked upon as a most important one, and he was well fitted for it by the tact, dexterity, and coolness of his diplomatic qualities. On the 23d of June a large company of his Philadelphia friends invited him to a public dinner at the La Pierre House. Joseph R. Chandler presided, and the guest, who was a master of pure English, delivered a graceful speech on the importance of his mission in opening a pathway to American commerce in the East. A few days later Mr. Reed sailed for China from Norfolk in the United States ship "Minnesota," which had been elaborately fitted up for his accommodation.

During the spring and summer of 1857 a large number of churches were either about to be opened

or in process of construction. Among these were the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity, Walnut and Nineteenth Streets (corner-stone laid May 25th), First Southwark, Presbyterian, German below Third (corner-stone laid April 2, 1857), Protestant Episcopal Church of the Evangelist, Catharine and Seventh, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Broad and Fitzwater (corner-stone laid May 10, 1856), Front Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Front above Maiden (corner-stone laid July 10, 1857), Zion Protestant Episcopal Church, Eighth and Columbia Avenue (corner-stone laid May 20, 1856), St. Clement's Protestant Episcopal Church, Twentieth and Cherry (corner-stone laid May 10, 1856), Olivet Baptist Church, Sixth and Federal (corner-stone laid August 20, 1857), Scott Methodist Episcopal Church, Eighth and Dickinson (corner-stone laid July 7, 1857, by Bishop Scott), and Emanuel Protestant Episcopal Church, Holmesburg (corner-stone laid September 21st, by Bishop Potter).

The Odd-Fellows of Philadelphia on the 1st of June dedicated a statue of Franklin in their cemetery, celebrating the occasion by a large parade; on the 4th of August, in the same cemetery, the firemen of the city, after a fine procession, dedicated a monument, and listened to an oration by Charles M. Neal; a month later the colored Odd-Fellows, on the 3d of September, made an imposing display in honor of the laying of the corner-stone of their hall on Lombard Street below Seventh.

The financial panic of 1857 was precipitated upon Philadelphia by the closing of the doors of the Bank of Pennsylvania on the 25th of September. Within an hour the Girard and the Commercial declared a suspension of specie payments. Business men were thrown into a fever of excitement, and the managers of some banking institutions called for detachments of police to protect them from the clamorous importunities of creditors. The alarm caused by these events spread quickly through all classes of society. Many of the leading business men insisted that the State Legislature should give relief to them by legalizing the suspension of specie payments. On the 8th of October they held a mass-meeting in Independence Square, at which Charles Macalester presided, urging the General Assembly to do something that would relieve the "suffering community" in its monetary distress. There were other citizens who did not favor such a measure, and they held a mass-meeting in the same square, at which George M. Wharton, John Cadwalader, Charles Brown, and Joshua T. Owen protested against a legalization of the suspension of specie payments. The Legislature, however, did pass such a measure a short time afterward.

In the mean time there was a great depression in almost every branch of trade and industry. Before the middle of October there was a general suspension of labor in mills and factories. The streets were soon full of unemployed men. Demands were made on

the city authorities for assistance. Demagogues in Councils were in favor of ordering a virtual issue of paper money by the municipality. On the afternoon of the 12th of November, while Councils were discussing the question, ten thousand workmen assembled in Independence Square in order to stimulate their representatives in the State-House to an appreciation of their troubles. The effect of their appearance was the passage of ordinances by Councils appropriating money for extending wharves, building culverts, and repairing other public works. Only a short time before this they had adopted resolutions calling on the departments to cut down expenses, to practice the most rigid economy, and otherwise to comport themselves with the "hard times." But Mayor Vaux refused to give them his approval, and, in a special message, took the ground that in such an emergency it was the duty of the city to spend its money freely, and thus relieve the general embarrassment.

There were many meetings of tradesmen, workmen, and philanthropists during this period, all having some bearing on the prevailing distress; one or two of them muttered "bread or fight;" some endeavored to reduce the price of provisions, some formed plans for sending unemployed women to the West, and others made preparations for what it was thought would be a winter of unexampled suffering. In November, George J. Henkels set the example of distributing bread to the needy, and it was followed by many other citizens. It is sufficient to say, however, that while the suffering among the working classes was widespread, it was by no means so severe as had been anticipated, in consequence largely of the charity of the opulent, but principally because the winter that succeeded was unusually and unexpectedly mild.

The financial uproar in September quite overwhelmed the autumn political campaign. William F. Packer had been nominated by the Democrats for Governor, David Wilmot by the Republicans, and Isaac Hazlehurst, of this city, by the Americans. The campaign did not awaken much interest. Its most remarkable feature was the appearance of the author of the "Wilmot Proviso" on the local stump in his efforts to organize the Republicans. The election resulted, as had been generally anticipated, in a clean sweep for the Democrats. In the city the vote for Governor was Packer, 27,749; Hazlehurst, 14,455; and Wilmot, 10,001. It was at this time that James R. Ludlow, then a popular Democratic orator, was elected to the judicial bench, on which he has so long sat. He beat, by a majority of upwards of five thousand, ex-Mayor Conrad, the candidate of the Americans and Republicans.

The firemen's parade, on the 5th of October, was an event for which not less than one hundred thousand dollars had been spent in preparation. For months the companies had been looking forward to it with in-

tense interest. On the day of the procession the city was in holiday attire. There were visitors in the line from New York, Harrisburg, Washington, Baltimore, and many other cities. The chief marshal was John F. Gibson, and upwards of one hundred organizations made up the long and brilliant column.

On the 2d of November there was a fine display made by the American Union Mechanics under the marshalship of H. C. Cobb. The dedication of their new hall at Fourth and George Streets, where Col. H. H. K. Elliott delivered the oration, was the occasion of this celebration. Two weeks later there was a fine parade of the militia at the dedication of the National Guards Hall by John W. Forney.

All through the year 1857 there was a lively agitation over the introduction of passenger railways into Philadelphia. In December, 1855, a meeting had been held in Frankford looking to the establishment of a railway that would connect that suburb with the city proper. During the first two or three months of the following year petitions were freely circulated asking the Legislature to authorize the construction of such a road between Frankford and Southwark. In a short time the elements of opposition to the project began to be stirred up. They manifested themselves in a vigorous fashion at a public meeting on the 26th of March, 1856, in which Dr. W. Jewell, J. Altamont Phillips, and others, were the principal movers, declaring that Fifth and Sixth Streets were too narrow for a railway, and intimating that the enterprise was the offspring of that most unpopular of corporations, the Camden and Amboy Railroad. During the next twelve months the feasibility of the undertaking furnished a very decided conflict of opinion in the press, in pamphlets, and before Legislative committees. Finally, in May, 1857, the General Assembly granted to the "Philadelphia and Delaware River Railroad Company" the right to build a railway on Fifth and Sixth Streets from Frankford to Southwark, and at the same time conferred similar authority on the projectors of the West Philadelphia Railway Company. The Frankford and Southwark corporation¹ was not slow in making use of their franchises, and by the opening of the year 1858 their tracks were laid. On the 8th of January the first car passed over the route, but in consequence of a difficulty with the owners of omnibuses, whose vehicles the company were compelled to buy, the line could not be opened to the public until the 20th of January. The route extended from Chatham Street, at the northern terminus, to Morris Street at the southern terminus, a distance of seven and six-tenths miles, for traveling over which the passenger was charged five cents.² The undertaking was an immediate success. The receipts were nearly six hundred

dollars a day, and before the winter was over there was a perfect swarm of new railway enterprises.

The strong opposition to railways was slow in subsiding. That the streets were too narrow, that they would be spoiled both as to their looks and purposes of trade, and that powerful monopolies would be engendered, was the burden of the argument against them. Much of this prejudice was, doubtless, due to the unsightly and annoying freight railroad which ran along Market and Third Streets, and which business men had been trying to have removed. At any rate, the capitalists, who, stimulated by the success of the Fifth and Sixth Streets Railway, immediately began to form plans for similar railways on Spruce and Pine Streets, Ridge Avenue, Second and Third, and other thoroughfares, found that the resistance of the conservative element had not entirely disappeared, and were obliged still to combat the arguments that were made against them at numerous public meetings in the spring of 1858, as well as in the columns of some of the influential newspapers.

The attempt of President Buchanan's administration to impose what was known as the "Lecompton Constitution" upon the people of Kansas in the proslavery interest, had been received with considerable disfavor by many of his warmest supporters in Philadelphia. Their distrust, which had been expressed very pointedly in the columns of Forney's *Press*, was also conveyed to the mind of the Executive in the form of speeches at a meeting in National Hall, over which John W. Forney presided, and which embraced those Democrats who had voted for Buchanan in 1856, but who were "inexorably opposed to all attempts to force the Lecompton Constitution on the people of Kansas." The resolutions declared faith in the national administration as regards all other matters than this, requested the Philadelphia congressmen to resist the fraud, and commended the stand of the Douglas men. From this time on the famous break between Forney and Buchanan grew wider, and this meeting was the first step which finally led many Philadelphia Democrats over to the Republican party.

The operations of a company which had been formed to raise some of the one hundred and six vessels that had been sunk in the harbor before Sebastopol, in the war between Russia and the allied powers, attracted some attention at this time. It was known as the "Philadelphia Marine Exploring Company,"³ and in April of the previous year had taken out to Europe one hundred and fifty men for this work.

The May election in 1858 resulted in the complete discomfiture of the local Democracy. The administration of Mayor Vaux had been conducted on strict party principles. In many respects it was vigorous,

¹ Martin Thomas was the first president of the company.

² A few weeks after the road was opened J. A. Wear emphatically protested through the press against his being compelled, along with other colored people, to stand on the front platform of the cars.

³ The principal parties to this enterprise were John Tucker and Dr. Morris S. Wickersham.

efficient, and satisfactory, but complaint against the character of its police force was limited not entirely to its political opponents. This was described in very cautious and conservative quarters as a "terrible load" to carry. The *Ledger*, which had made many complaints of its inefficiency during the previous two years, was in favor of making the discharge of the bad policemen the issue in the election for mayor. The result of this dissatisfaction was the formation of a People's ticket in a convention at Spring Garden Hall.¹ Alexander Henry was nominated for mayor, and the Americans and the Republicans were, with but little difficulty, induced to unite in his support. The combination defeated Mayor Vaux by more than four thousand majority, and elected the remainder of their ticket² by about one thousand majority less.

Mayor Vaux, on leaving office, took pains to impress his policemen with a sense of his confidence in them. In a long address he declared that they had done their duty well, and that the prejudices which had been raised against them were the results of political calumny. No sooner had his successor taken his place than there was a clamorous demand by his supporters for places on the police force. During the first month of Mayor Henry's administration there were days when his office was so crowded with these importunate that it was almost impossible to force a passage through them to his presence.

A new political movement which originated in Washington and was intended to be national in its scope created some interest during the summer. It was inaugurated in Philadelphia, on the 15th of June, at a meeting in National Hall, over which Henry C. Carey presided. The call stated that its purpose was "to unite all the opposing elements to the Democratic party in a national organization." This was to be done by agitating the tariff question in favor of a restoration of the protective system and to put an end to what was declared to be the free-trade policy of the Buchanan administration. Simon Cameron and E. Joy Morris, in particular, were commended for their course in Washington. Addresses were made by several statesmen of national reputation,—Jacob Collamer, of Vermont; Solomon Foote, Humphrey Marshall, and Richard W. Thompson; and Mr. Carey was empowered to appoint a committee of seventy-six. The movement attracted some attention, but was soon lost in the more absorbing agitation of the anti-slavery issue.

The news that the first Atlantic cable had been put in operation by a message from Queen Victoria to President Buchanan, occasioned much rejoicing in

the latter part of August, 1858, guns being fired and flags displayed. On the 1st of September a general celebration took place. The day was virtually a holiday. In the morning there were two processions, one made up of the local military, and the other of civic societies. They both marched to Independence Square, where a great crowd was listening to Judge William D. Kelley's oration. Chief Justice Lewis, who presided, stated that they had assembled to commemorate "the greatest event the world ever witnessed." At Jayne's Hall the Young Men's Christian Association held a special celebration, in which George H. Stuart, Rev. Byron Sunderland, Dr. Leyburn, and John Chambers were the principal participants. In the evening the firemen paraded with their torches, dwellings and public buildings were illuminated, there were numerous transparencies and emblematic devices displayed from the windows, and at Broad and Spring Garden Streets many thousands of people were congregated to witness Professor Jackson's fire-works. There were not a few people who were opposed to these public demonstrations,³ and when it was soon afterward discovered that the cable could not be regularly operated, they were somewhat sarcastic at the tumultuous rejoicing of the more enthusiastic.

On the 6th of September the services of Baron von Steuben, of Revolutionary fame, were commemorated at Lemon Hill by a picnic, which more than ten thousand people attended. There was also a parade. The career of the German patriot was eulogized by Col. J. Ross Snowden and Dr. Godfrey Vellner, the editor of the *German Democrat*.

The bitter fight which Stephen A. Douglas was waging against the Buchanan administration, and in which John W. Forney's energies were enlisted on behalf of the Illinois statesman, had its effect in Philadelphia in the autumn campaign of 1858. Col. Thomas B. Florence, who represented the first district in Congress, who professed the warmest interest in the poor and laboring classes, and who was widely known under the cognomen of "the Widow's Friend," had sustained Buchanan's course on the Kansas question. This, together with some offense given by his distribution of navy-yard "patronage," had arrayed against him a formidable opposition within his own party. A split convention put Dr. George W. Nebinger, a popular Southwark Democrat, in nomination against him. The Douglas Democrats, headed by Forney, Daniel Dougherty, George W. Thorn, and Dr. Kamerly, supported Nebinger with great vigor. The Democratic ticket in the remaining Congressional districts and in the city was not openly opposed by this element, but it doubtless suffered from the opposition which was ostensibly concentrated on

¹ The citizens who were mentioned on this occasion as candidates for the majority were Alexander Henry, Henry D. Moore, Peter Fritz, H. T. King, John S. Watmough, Morton McMichael, Charles Gilpin, James C. Hand, E. D. Wagner, O. H. P. Parker, Jacob Dock, W. D. Lewis, John G. Thompson, and M. Russell Thayer.

² It consisted of Henry T. King for city solicitor, George W. Hufty for controller, A. J. Flomerfelt for receiver of taxes, and E. R. Williams for city commissioner.

³ Col. Page, at a public meeting of the firemen, warmly dissented from the proposition to parade, and succeeded in persuading a large number of companies not to take part in the celebration.

Florence. The Native Americans and the Republicans made substantially pretty much the same coalition, under the name of the People's party, that had been so successful in the May election. With William H. Kern at their head for sheriff, they carried the city by more than 5000 majority. The rebuke to Buchanan's administration on the Kansas question was emphatic. Of the Democratic Congressional candidates—Martin, Landy, Phillips, and Florence—all were beaten except Florence, who managed to secure a plurality of about 300 over Col. John W. Ryan,¹ Nebraska having taken away about 2500 Democratic votes from the regular candidate.²

Although the depression that followed the '57 panic had served to make the year 1858 a dull one generally in Philadelphia, this stagnation was not visible in railway circles. Fourteen charters for the construction of such roads had been obtained from the Legislature, and before the year was over workmen were busy in tearing up many of the streets and laying rails. The West Philadelphia road, on Market Street, was the second to go into operation, and was closely followed by the Tenth and Eleventh, on the 29th of July. At this time the Spruce and Pine, Second and Third, Green and Coates, and Race and Vine were in course of construction, and the Chestnut and Walnut Street Company was still engaged in beating down a bitter opposition. The fourth road to go into operation this year was the Spruce and Pine, on the 3d of November. An unsuccessful agitation for the running of the cars on Sunday served to create some asperities at this period.

In November, Councils ordered the removal of the old market-sheds which occupied the middle of Market Street and had given it its name, and during the winter and spring of 1859 the ordinance was complied with. But this improvement was not effected without resistance. A "Market Protection League" was formed to save the sheds from demolition, but the great majority of the butchers and stall-owners, chiefly under the influence of Philip Lowry, were inclined to acquiesce with the popular demand for clearing the streets of obstructions. They were partly induced to take this submissive position by the stipulation which they made with the city, that the "shiners," who occupied the curbstones and sidewalks, should be broken up. In return for this favor the occupants of stalls in the sheds in the upper portion of Market Street expressed their willingness to build a new market-house at Sixteenth Street. They formed the Western Market Company, and had gone to work with their plans so promptly that, on the 16th of November, Mayor Henry laid the corner-stone of this building.

The launching of the United States sloop-of-war

"Lancaster," on the 20th of October, brought an immense crowd to the navy-yard. The vessel had been named in compliment to President Buchanan's county, and his popular niece, Miss Harriet Lane, broke over the bow the bottle of wine with which the ship was christened.

No man who has performed the duties of a professional teacher has occupied a higher place in the estimation of this community than John S. Hart. For nineteen years he had been the principal of the Central High School, and three thousand nine hundred pupils had been under his careful charge. His retirement from that institution, on the 3d of December, 1858, was therefore felt to be a genuine public loss. On this occasion he was presented by his pupils with a silver set. Some of the boys who took part in the exercises were afterward widely distinguished. George Alfred Townsend, who in a few years became the most brilliant and original of newspaper correspondents, delivered the valedictory poem, and the presentation speech was made by Joel Cook, Jr., now an editor of the *Public Ledger*.

It has been frequently remarked that a period of stringency and distress in business is apt to be followed by religious excitement. This was to some extent the case in Philadelphia during the year 1858. There was general economy in all classes of society. There was no disposition to engage in new movements or enterprises. The second season of opera at the Academy had been a dire failure. It was, therefore, not difficult to start the religious revivals which were frequent during the early part of the year. They even went so far as to lead the reformatory meetings of pious men and women in the houses of the fire companies,—a class of the community which had been more than ordinarily turbulent this year, and which Mayor Henry and Fire-Marshal Blackburn had been trying to reduce to an orderly condition. But religious circles themselves were to be stirred up before the year was out by a man who, at this time, acquired great notoriety for his professions of atheism. This was Joseph Barker. He appeared in Philadelphia in November, speaking on Sunday mornings at the Assembly Building, Tenth and Chestnut Streets, and at Ninth and Arch Streets, and in the evenings at Franklin Hall, Sixth below Arch Street. For some time he was the talk of the town in the animated controversies which he carried on with the Rev. John Chambers and other defenders of Christianity. The Young Men's Christian Association was also a centre of considerable activity during this period. Its anniversary in December was celebrated with much fervor, and Mr. John Wanamaker, then an unknown young man, figured in the committee on celebration.

The Douglas Democrats were greatly elated by a visit from their leader on the 3d of January, 1859. As the "Little Giant" landed at Walnut Street wharf a display of fire-works in his honor was made on Smith's Island. The committee on reception then

¹ Ryan tried to contest Florence's seat on the ground of fraud, but was unsuccessful.

² The successful Congressional candidates of the People's party were E. Joy Morris, William Millward, and John P. Verree.

escorted him to the St. Lawrence Hotel, where he was serenaded, and where he delivered a speech. The principal local leaders of the Douglas movement who took part in this reception were John W. Forney, Daniel Dougherty, and David Webster. On the following day Mr. Douglas, whose appearance had created quite an excitement in the city, held a public reception in Independence Hall.

The terrible ravages which the yellow fever visitation of 1855 made in the South had impelled a large number of Philadelphia men and women to go to the relief of the sufferers. Many of them never returned from their errand of mercy and humanity. But the memory of the noble deeds which they had performed at Norfolk and Portsmouth did not die with them. In 1858 it was determined to reclaim their bodies, and give them a burial which would be worthy of them. A vault was constructed at Laurel Hill, and a monument, commemorating their sacrifices and untimely ending, was erected over it. The remains of fifteen of the men and women who, as physicians or as nurses, had been stricken down by the deadly pestilence, were interred in this vault¹ on the 18th of January. Impressive services were held in St. Stephen's Church, at which Dr. Ducahet, Dr. Durborough, and Dr. Smith (of Troy) officiated. A slave, known as "Bob" Butt, who had had with his own hands buried eleven hundred and fifty-nine bodies while the plague was raging, attracted general attention, and for a time was quite a hero.

The slavery agitation flamed up into popular excitement in the spring of this year, when an attempt was made by residents of Virginia to reclaim Daniel Dangerfield, a colored man, who, it was alleged, was a runaway slave. The abolitionists in Philadelphia were determined to exhaust every available means of preventing Dangerfield's return. At the hearing, on the 4th of April, before United States Commissioner Longstreth, they were represented by George H. Earle, William S. Pierce, and Edward Hopper. The Virginia complainants had retained Benjamin Harris Brewster, who was made the object of many disagreeable expressions and threats. The case was adjourned until the following day, when the commissioner's office and the street outside were filled with a dense crowd. Inside were Lucretia Mott and many of the most vehement abolitionists. There they remained for fourteen hours. All night long the lawyers examined the witnesses, and, just as the sun was rising on the morning of the 6th, Mr. Pierce concluded his appeal. After Mr. Brewster had finished his speech, the commissioner ordered a recess, in order to make up his decision. When it was announced in the after-

noon that he had discharged the prisoner, because his identity had not been conclusively established, Dangerfield was placed in a carriage, and driven through the streets by a crowd of anti-slavery men.²

The opposition to the continuance of the market-sheds on Market Street had the effect of causing a number of plans to be formed for the erection of regular market-houses like that of the Western Company. In January there was a meeting of stall-owners in the old sheds, who established the plans for the construction of the Eastern Market on Fifth Street. A few weeks afterward work was begun on the Franklin Market, at Tenth and Marble Streets, now occupied by the Mercantile Library, and on the 12th of March the Kater Market on South Street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth, was opened. The City Market, at Broad and Race, was again put in operation. Much of the material of the old sheds was used for building the South Eleventh Street Market,³ and in no long time the city was adjusted in its new relation to the farmers and butchers, whom it had dispersed.⁴

The session of the Legislature of 1859 was noteworthy for the efforts made to secure legislation on behalf of new railway enterprises in Philadelphia. The charges were freely bruited about the city that much corruption had been practiced in order to obtain the passage of certain laws. On the 23d of February there was a meeting at the county court-house, presided over by John W. Stokes, in which strong resolutions were passed denouncing the demoralization and degradation that had been caused in public life by "the excessive speculative mania over railways." Edward G. Webb brought some very serious charges against the Legislature, and John M. Kennedy thought the fares should be reduced to three cents. Judge Kelley, who was not entirely in sympathy with the purposes of the meeting, thought that the "indiscriminate charges of fraud and corruption were too vague," and he was in favor of attaining cheap fares by fostering competition among more companies. A short time after this movement, Joseph Harrison, Jr., addressed a communication to the Legislature, in which he took the ground that the right to occupy the streets was a valuable one, which should be disposed of to the highest bidders, and that a yearly rent of a thousand dollars a mile should be charged. The speculative interest which the new railways had excited among the people was attested in April by a rush, which was made in Dock Street, to subscribe to the stock of the Chestnut and Walnut Street Com-

¹ The following were the Philadelphia men who died at Portsmouth and Norfolk: Robert H. Graham, Thomas W. Handy, John O'Brien, E. Perry Miller, Dr. Courtland Cole, Mrs. Olive Whittier, Singleton Mercer, J. Jackson Thompson, Dr. Thomas Craycraft, Edmund R. Barrett, Frederick Mullett, Henry Spriggman, Dr. Hermann Kierson, Miss Lucy Johnson, and James Hennessey.

² Mr. George F. Gordon, a member of Common Council, offered a resolution inquiring why Mayor Henry had permitted his police to assist in an effort "to consign a free man to slavery."

³ John H. Taggart, now the editor of the *Sunday Times*, was active at public meetings for the establishment of this market.

⁴ Many of the farmers, through the exertions of Ellis Branson and Samuel W. Hess at public meetings, were induced to locate themselves on Callowhill Street, from Broad Street westward.

pany. This craze was repeated with more violent symptoms on the 9th of May, when the books of subscription to the stock of the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Street Railway Company were opened at Washington Hall to a crowd of men who had been in waiting all night, and who fought one another like lunatics in their efforts to reach the counters.

On the 26th of April there was an imposing parade of Odd-Fellows in honor of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of that order in the United States. The participants took advantage of the occasion to dedicate an Odd-Fellows' Hall at Ridge Avenue and Twenty-third Street, James B. Nicholson delivering the oration.

The municipal election of 1859 was one of the quietest ever held in Philadelphia. The combination known as the "People's party" was again renewed, and on a light vote it elected Benjamin H. Brown city treasurer, and Charles M. Neal city commissioner, by a majority of more than 2000 votes.

The arrival of William B. Reed on the 11th of May, after having completed his diplomatic mission in China, would have been commemorated by a public dinner had it not been that Mr. Reed declined the proffered honor, wishing, instead, to meet his fellow-citizens at a general reception. This was accorded him on the 31st of May, at the Board of Trade rooms, a formal welcome being given him by Mayor Henry. Mr. Reed delivered an elaborate address in explanation of the details of the treaty which he had negotiated with the Chinese government.

All through the year 1859 the subject of running the street-cars on Sunday was discussed with much feeling in the press and the pulpit, and finally was carried into the courts. There was an emphatic demand from a considerable number of the people that they should be accommodated on Sundays in the new cars. The opponents of Sunday travel, who had a powerful following, resisted this demand with great zeal and activity. That the sentiment in favor of it was not confined entirely to the non-religious classes of the community was shown in the petitions which some of the Lutherans of Frankford sent to the Legislature during the winter, praying for a modification of the Sunday laws that would enable them to travel in the cars on Sunday. The agitation became so persistent that, on the 10th of July, the Green and Coates Street Railway Company, together with the Girard College (Ridge Avenue) line, determined to bring the matter to an issue. The running of cars on that day by the former company gave great offense to the congregation of the Green Street Methodist Church, of which Rev. George Duffield was pastor. They lodged a complaint with the mayor, and in the mean time a meeting was held at Spring Garden Hall on the 13th of July, to protest against the alleged desecration of the Sabbath. It was presided over by J. H. Shillingford, and in the course of the speech-making William S. Pierce intimated that some "Saturday night

the Green and Coates Railway Company might find a square of their road torn up, as was done years ago with another railroad company by the women of Kensington." This remark elicited much attention and criticism at the time, and was sharply commented upon, even by the Rev. John Chambers, one of the most earnest champions of the Sunday laws. A few nights afterward another meeting was held in the same hall, at which resolutions were passed to the effect that the running of the cars on Sunday would disturb the worship of God, would impair the morals of the public, would cause much additional labor, would create a great demand for intoxicating liquors, would tempt the laboring classes to squander their money, and would expose the suburbs of the city to plunderers. The supporters of this and of other meetings with a like object called upon Mayor Henry, and obtained his promise that in case of a repetition of the running of cars on Sunday, the 17th, he would interfere with his police. Accordingly, on that day a detachment of policemen, under the command of Chief Ruggles, was detailed to watch the movements of the employes of the Green and Coates Street Company. Amid the somewhat excitable disapprobation of a crowd which did not relish the interference, the officers stopped a car that had been started out, and arrested the driver, one William H. Jeandelle. This arrest was productive of a very lively agitation: Judge Oswald Thompson, of the Common Pleas, decided, in *habeas corpus* proceedings, that the prisoner should be held for a breach of the peace. On the night of the same day that he made this decision, the 23d of July, five thousand citizens assembled in Independence Square to protest against it, and appointed a committee of ninety-six to agitate for the repeal of the Sunday law. A week afterward there was another demonstration by the same element, at the same place, at which John M. Butler presided, and at which speeches were made by Josiah Bond, C. H. DeWolf, J. Solis Cohen, William B. Sipes, Dr. L. M. Coates, John O'Byrne, and Dr. C. E. Kamey. In the autumn, when the Jeandelle case came up before Judge Ludlow, he discharged the prisoner on the ground that the charge, which was committing a breach of the peace, and not a violation of the Sunday laws, had not been made out. But the railway companies were not ready to face any more opposition for the present, and the Green and Coates Street Company decided, by a unanimous vote of its stockholders, not to run cars on Sunday.¹

The merchants of the city were disposed to be enthusiastic over a project which was formulated this year for establishing a line of steamships between

¹ The newspapers and the clergy were exceedingly animated in carrying on this exciting controversy. Two sermons, one delivered by the Rev. I. D. Williamson and the other by Rev. William Cathcart, of the Second Baptist Church, dissenting from the view that religion needed to be enforced by the civil law, and that such prosecution was persecution, attracted particular attention.

Philadelphia and Liverpool, and which in September had come sufficiently to a head to warrant the election of a board of directors, consisting of George H. Stuart, M. W. Baldwin, J. Edgar Thomson, Charles Macalester, and S. Morris Waln, and which was known under the title of the "Philadelphia and Crescent Navigation Company." About the same time the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which was desirous of locating a terminus on the Delaware front, had under consideration two plans,—one for crossing the Schuylkill at Gray's Ferry, and running through the region known as the "Neck" to Greenwich Point, and the other for crossing the Schuylkill on a line with the newly-opened Powelton Avenue, and then reaching the Delaware through a tunnel, which was to be constructed under Callowhill Street, at a cost of a million dollars. This scheme was proposed by S. K. Hoxie, was urged by him with great vigor, and had many advocates. The company, however, chose the other plan.

The chief political event in the fall election was the struggle between Horn R. Kneass, the Democratic candidate, and William B. Mann, the People's candidate, to obtain the district-attorneyship. Beyond this the campaign was devoid of interest. Mr. Mann, together with the remainder of the People's ticket, was successful by a majority of 3000 votes.

The centennial anniversary of the birth of Schiller was celebrated on the 9th and 10th of November. On the evening of the former day there was a torchlight parade by the German population, together with a display of fire-works and the illumination of dwellings. A jubilee took place at the Academy of Music on the following day, when an oration in German was delivered by Gustavus Remak, and one in English by Rev. William H. Furness.

The John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry was the beginning of a popular excitement which may be said not to have entirely quieted down until after the close of the civil war. The most bitter public feeling, exceeding the vehemence of any of the previous agitations of the slavery question, was called forth by this event. On the 28th of October, Joshua R. Giddings, the venerable abolitionist, explained at National Hall what relation he had sustained toward Brown, but as yet no serious signs of a bad public temper had been manifested. When, however, the leader of the famous insurrection was hanged, on the 2d of December, the abolitionists living in Philadelphia were in a perfect fever-heat of indignation. In the morning they held a meeting in National Hall, at which James Mott presided, and in which Lucretia Mott, Theodore Tilton, Mary Grew, and Robert Purvis were the chief participants. When it came the turn of Mr. Purvis to speak, he was unable to proceed for some time on account of the storm of hisses and groans which greeted him from the pro-Southern element that had also responded to the call. When he was able to be heard, he made the remarkable as-

sertion that "John Brown would be looked upon as the Jesus Christ of the nineteenth century." It was only with the protection given by a force of policemen under the command of Chief Ruggles that the meeting was able to adjourn without violence.

Two days afterward the body of Brown arrived in the city at the Broad and Prime [Washington Avenue] Streets Depot. Mayor Henry was determined that it should not remain here if he could possibly secure some other disposition of it. To the requests of the abolitionists at the depot, and of a deputation of colored men from a "sympathy prayer meeting" that had been held at the Shiloh Baptist Church, Mr. Henry replied that the peace of the city was more important than their arguments. When the train arrived with the remains of Brown, it was found necessary to practice a trick on the clamorous crowd in the streets. A box, decked out as if it were a coffin, was solemnly carried out by six men, and soon afterward the real body was quietly and safely conveyed to the New York Ferry at Walnut Street wharf.

These demonstrations by the sympathizers with Brown aroused the passions of the lawless, and caused no little concern to the mercantile interest. The abolitionists met with little consideration from the great majority of the people. The feeling of the community at this time was essentially a conservative one. Even the reticent and dispassionate *Ledger* was moved to denounce the "band of fanatics" and "incendiaries" for what was called their treasonable proceedings. Business men, who were largely interested in the Southern trade, were particularly anxious to impress upon the South a sense of their hostility to the John Brown movement. A general meeting, called without distinction as to parties, for the purpose of "preserving the Union," and said to be one of the largest meetings ever held in the city, took place at Jayne's Hall, December 7th. Joseph R. Ingersoll was made chairman. The resolutions assured "our brethren of the South that there exists a determined spirit to assert and maintain the Constitution of the Union, and the rights of the States under it." The addresses, delivered by William B. Reed, Richard Vaux, Charles Ingersoll, Robert Tyler, James Page, Isaac Hazlehurst, Benjamin Harris Brewster, Henry T. King, and John C. Bullitt (the last-named speaking from the balcony of the hall), were in a similar vein. In the following week the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Assembly Building, and the speeches delivered by Theodore Tilton and Oliver Johnson, of New York, and Mary Grew, served only to intensify the prevailing excitement.

A telegram from Governor Wise, of Virginia, to the Southern young men at the Philadelphia medical colleges, requesting them to withdraw from those institutions, and assuring them that if they should come to Richmond and other cities in the South to finish their education, they would receive the heartiest welcome,

helped to create fresh anxiety and alarm. A large number of the medical students immediately accepted the invitation. Just at this time all the vigilance of Mayor Henry and his officers was needed to prevent a riotous outbreak. George William Curtis, of New York, had been announced to deliver an address at National Hall on the 15th of December, his subject being the "Present Aspect of the Slavery Question." There was a desire on the part of the extreme anti-abolition element to prevent Mr. Curtis from speaking at all. In order to effect this purpose, a meeting was held on the street in front of National Hall, and warm speeches on behalf of the Union were made by John D. Miles and John S. Painter. Fearing that the two meetings would come into violent collision with each other, the mayor had ordered fifty policemen to protect Mr. Curtis. The orator was introduced by Judge Kelley, and it was only amid great confusion and many interruptions, with some stone throwing, that he was able to finish his address.

Among the other events of interest that took place during the year 1859 was the opening of the Girard College (Ridge Avenue) Railway on the 14th of March; the repetition in the spring by Edward Everett of his famous lecture on Washington at the Academy of Music; the meeting on September 7th of the national convention on prison discipline; the convention of the American Vegetarian Society on the 22d of September; the continuation of Joseph Barker's addresses; the launching of the United States war sloop "Pawnee" on the 10th of October; the celebrated cricket match between the All England eleven and an American twenty-two, in which the Englishmen were the winners by six wickets; the beginning of work in October on the Reading Railroad Depot at Broad and Callowhill; the opening, on the 27th of October, of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane; and the opening of the Eastern Market on the 26th of November.

The year 1860 might be concisely described as a period of politics. From almost the beginning of January to the close of December the slavery question, together with its bearings on the Presidential election, was a subject of continuous agitation. As early as 1859 the Central Republican Club had, in preparation for the campaign of 1860, opened its rooms at Seventh and Chestnut Streets, with addresses by George A. Coffey and George Inman Riche. Early in the year the class of politicians who had been Fillmore men in 1856 began to make preparations for the Presidential struggle by founding a new political organization. On the 14th of January, under the guise of a dinner to Bailie Peyton, of Tennessee, the movement was started in Philadelphia. The parquet of the Academy of Music was floored over, and upward of seven hundred citizens occupied seats at the tables. The parquet circle and the balcony were filled with spectators. The principal speakers were John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, Horace Maynard, of Ten-

nessee, Thomas W. Gilmer, of North Carolina, and Morton McMichael. This was the first manifestation in this city of the national movement for a Constitutional Union party, which culminated in the nomination of Bell and Everett. The spring election was looked forward to with intense interest. The campaign began as early as February, when Andrew G. Curtin, the nominee for Governor, who had been selected by the convention of the People's party, was indorsed at a meeting of the Central Republican Club, Judge Kelley and A. K. McClure being the speakers. A short time after this there was a great Democratic ratification of the nomination of Henry D. Foster. The meeting was held in National Hall, and among the speakers were Henry M. Phillips, Hendrick B. Wright, and John Cessna. The contest between John Robbins and Mayor Henry for the office of mayor, drew out every available stump speaker from both parties. The Democrats made the most desperate efforts to recover the mayoralty. Party lines were rigidly drawn, for it was generally recognized that the result would have an important effect on the Presidential election. When the votes were counted, in May, it was found that the People's party had re-elected Mayor Henry by a majority of 882 votes.

The fact that the national convention of the Democracy held its prolonged sessions at Charleston during the most important part of this campaign deprived the Democrats of the services of some of their leaders. The Pennsylvania delegation, with the Philadelphians under the leadership of Lewis C. Cassidy, had embarked for that city on the 18th of April in the steamship "Keystone State." A crowd of several thousand people cheering for Stephen A. Douglas saw the vessel off. On this occasion five hundred bottles of domestic liquors, as well as a proportionate supply of beer and wines, were put on board for the comfort of the political tourists.

When John Bell was nominated for President by the Constitutional Union party he was stopping in the city, at the La Pierre House, where his admirers congregated together on the night of May 11th, and honored him with a serenade. The nomination of Abraham Lincoln by the National Republican convention at Chicago was received with general satisfaction by the members of that party. On the 26th of May Independence Square was crowded with them at a meeting called to ratify the nominations. The addresses of Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, John Sherman, of Ohio, Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, William Dunn, of Indiana, C. F. Train, of Massachusetts, John B. Myers and Robert P. King, of the city, were received with great enthusiasm. Forming in procession, the crowd then marched up to the Continental Hotel, which had been recently opened, and serenaded Mr. Sherman and Mr. Grow.

The hotel was then as great an object of interest to the populace as any of the distinguished speakers.

It was considered at the time by good judges to be the most magnificent hotel in the country. During the previous year its construction, under the supervision of architect John McArthur, Jr., had been watched with much interest. The earliest public meeting in advocacy of such a hotel had been held in March, 1857, at the Board of Trade rooms, under the direction of Caleb Cope, at which time \$200,000 had been subscribed, but nothing had been done in the way of selecting a site. After considerable controversy, a stock company that was formed to build the hotel decided to purchase the lot at the southeast corner of Ninth and Chestnut Streets for \$355,000, and in August of the same year work was begun by tearing down the ruins of the old Museum building which had occupied the site. With the exception of an interruption in the winter of 1858, caused by the panicky times, the work went steadily on until the completion of the edifice in February, 1860. On the 13th of that month it was opened to the stockholders for inspection, and soon afterward for the accommodation of guests, having been rented to Paran Stevens for twelve years, at \$40,000 a year.

The experiment of running steam-cars on a passenger railway was made in March, on the Fifth and Sixth Streets Railway running to Frankford. It was calculated that one of these cars could be run for a dollar a day, and they were subsequently introduced on that road. About the same time the subject of salting the tracks of the railways after snow-storms first began to excite some adverse comment. It was calculated that during this winter thirty thousand bushels of salt had been scattered over the tracks of the various companies.

The dangerous excitement that had attended the Dangerfield slave case was partially revived on the 27th of March, when Judge Cadwalader remanded Moses Horner, a fugitive slave, to the custody of his Southern owners. When Horner was placed in a carriage to be taken to prison, the vehicle was surrounded by a howling mob, largely composed of colored men, who attempted to rescue him, and who came into a lively collision with the police. Benjamin Harris Brewster represented the complainants in this case. A night or two afterward his admirers serenaded him, in appreciation of his course. In the speech which he made on that occasion, Mr. Brewster declared that "the institution of domestic servitude is a great political necessity,—politically right, socially right, and morally right."

The Arcade, which for many years had been one of the best known of Philadelphia buildings, was demolished in April, and on its site were erected large and commodious buildings by Dr. Jayne. John McArthur, Jr., was the architect of these structures, which since have been used for commercial purposes.

During the spring of this year Philadelphia was the rendezvous of a large number of Mormon recruits, preparatory to their departure for Utah. They

had even established a "conference" among themselves. On the 7th of May about three hundred and fifty of them, joined with as many more from New York, took their departure for the West, thoroughly armed and equipped. Most of those who had been stopping in Philadelphia were English men and women, but fifty of them were natives of this city.

The dedication of a monument in Roxborough on the 28th of May, was the occasion of an interesting and somewhat lively demonstration in that section of the city. This shaft was erected in remembrance of the brave Virginia soldiers who were slaughtered at Wood's barn in 1777. The oration was delivered by Horatio Gates Jones, and there was a military display under the command of Maj. Charles Thomson Jones. While the ceremonies were in progress there was a disagreement between Maj. Jones and Brig-Gen. Miles as to the places they should occupy at the head of the column. It resulted in the withdrawal of Miles and his soldiers, a proceeding which drew upon him much unfavorable comment.

The arrival of the famous Japanese embassy of 1860 had been awaited for some weeks with an intense feeling of curiosity. On the 9th of June there was an immense mass of humanity at the Broad and Prime Streets Depot to catch a glimpse of the ambassadors. The hospitality of the city was extended to them by Mayor Henry, and by the time the military parade was ready to start it seemed as if the whole population had poured out into the streets to see the princes of Nippon. It was estimated that, with the numerous visitors who came to the city from the country, the multitude numbered half a million people. The Japanese were taken to the Continental Hotel, and during all the next day the streets outside were crowded with people, eager to catch sight of the strange faces of these Asiatic dignitaries. On Monday, the 11th, they were escorted to factories, stores, and public institutions, on the 12th they attended a special *matinée* performance, consisting of farce, pantomime, and opera, at the Academy of Music; on another day they witnessed a balloon ascension in the First Ward, and much of the remainder of their stay was occupied at the Mint, in comparing and testing our coins with those of Japan. The hospitality of the citizens was practically unbounded; indeed, during that week, there prevailed a "Japanese fever." So strong was it that five days after their arrival Councils could not get a quorum together. The presents received by the Japanese and the articles which they purchased while in the city were valued at one hundred thousand dollars. For some time the reigning sensation of that summer was the popular, nimble-witted "Japanese Tommy" and his American lady-loves. When the ambassadors left this country they donated twenty thousand dollars to the policemen who in the various cities had taken care of them, and more than three thousand dollars of this amount was subsequently distributed among the policemen of Philadelphia.

The question of erecting public buildings on Penn Square was agitated with great earnestness during the greater part of this year. A commission which had been called into being by an act of Assembly, had decided that the site for them should be at that point. The controversy was vigorous, and at times bitter, the opponents of the commission declaring that Broad and Market Streets was a location too far west, and that Independence Square should have been chosen. With the coming on of the civil war this movement received a check, and was not revived until ten years afterward.

The visit which Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth's "Chicago Zouaves" made in the last week of July, had no small effect in arousing a military spirit among the young men of the city, and the melancholy ending of Ellsworth's career a year later at Alexandria, together with the renown which his men achieved in the early days of the Rebellion, caused this visit to be remembered subsequently with much more than ordinary interest.

The mammoth vessel, the "Great Eastern," which was anchored off Cape May toward the end of July, was visited on the 31st of that month by a large excursion-party from Philadelphia on board the steamer "John A. Warner." The excursion was ill managed, so much so that an indignation meeting was held in the city several days afterward.

John C. Heenan, the prize-fighter, who was then an object of much admiration from a considerable number of Americans in consequence of his recent pugilistic contest in England with Sayers, arrived in the city on the 15th of August. A popular reception was accorded him at Camac's woods, and in the evening his admirers assembled to the number of several thousand in and around the Girard House and complimented him with a serenade.

The visit of the Prince of Wales on the 9th of October was not attended with any of those demonstrations of popular excitement that had characterized a few months before the arrival of the Japanese princes. In company with Mayor Henry he was quietly driven in a carriage to the Continental Hotel. The October election took place on this day, and the royal visitor was much interested in its results. On the following day he made an inspection of our public institutions, attended the races at Point Breeze, and in the evening was welcomed at the Academy of Music in a private box by a brilliant audience. On this occasion one act of the opera of "La Traviata" was performed, with Pauline Colson as *Violetta*, and the whole of the opera of "Martha," with young Adelina Patti as *Henrietta*.

The Presidential campaign of 1860 followed closely upon the spring election. It was accompanied also by a canvass for the Governorship of Pennsylvania. After the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas for the

Presidency, and that of John C. Breckinridge for the same office, the split in the ranks of the local Democracy over national questions became wider. It did not extend, however, to State and local issues. They were substantially united in their support of Henry D. Foster for Governor. The larger proportion of the Bell and Everett men was also in his favor. The People's party, which by this time had really become the Republican party, although still not generally known in Philadelphia by that title, supported Lincoln for President, and Curtin for Governor, with all the enthusiasm of which they were capable. They had what they had never possessed before,—a well-disciplined organization, under the guidance of Alexander K. McClure as chairman of the State Committee. In the city they made themselves particularly active and conspicuous in clubs and associations, known under such names as the "Wide Awakes," "Lincoln Defenders," "Republican Invincibles," and "Rail Splitters." The Constitutional Union leaders also aroused a fair share of enthusiasm for their candidates by organizing such bodies as the "Bell Ringers" and the "Minute-men of '56." The followers of Douglas were at all times exceedingly demonstrative, and the Breckinridge men were not far behind them in this respect. The amount of money spent on public meetings and parades had not, up to this time, been exceeded in political campaigns. It would be impossible, so numerous were these gatherings, to give an account in a brief space of the most interesting and significant of them. In the main they were all conducted with as much decorum as could be expected in a period of so much contention and rivalry, and with but little of the violence that had been anticipated at the opening of the year.

The election in October resulted in the success of the People's or Republican ticket, headed by Alfred C. Harmer for recorder of deeds, by an average majority of 2000. The Republicans elected three out of their four Congressional candidates, but in the city Curtin, their candidate for Governor, was 2000 behind Foster. He was elected, however, by his majorities in the interior of the State, and the Republicans were wildly jubilant over the assurance thus given them of the coming triumph of Mr. Lincoln. The Democrats immediately lost heart. The remainder of the Presidential campaign was without excitement, and even before the election, newspapers which had not supported him began to speak of the "Lincoln administration." When the votes were counted up, on the 6th of November, it was found that, while the Bell ticket had received 7131, and the Breckinridge and the Douglas tickets together 30,053, the Lincoln ticket had obtained 39,223, or a majority of more than 2000 over all, and the first of the long line of distinctively Republican victories in Philadelphia had been achieved.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CIVIL WAR.¹

ON the 6th of November, 1860, the long political struggle between the North and the South on the slavery question, which began in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and which was intensified by the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, ended with the election to the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln and the triumph of the Republican party. The accession of the anti-slavery party to political power filled the South with dismay and created the greatest excitement throughout the country. Hardly had the result been ascertained before some of the extreme Southern States began military preparations, and set on foot measures to carry into effect their oft-repeated threats of secession and combination in resistance to alleged Northern encroachments. Meetings were held in every city, town, and village of the South, and these were addressed in vehement language by members of Congress and other prominent speakers. Resistance to the authority of the new administration and the duty of the Southern States to secede from the Union were the chief topics of their impassioned appeals to the people. On the 20th of December the State convention of South Carolina, after a brief debate, passed the ordinance of secession by a unanimous vote, and on the following day a declaration of the causes which had led to this action was also adopted.

The announcement of the passage of the ordinance of secession excited general enthusiasm in all the more Southern slave States, but in other slave States, particularly the border States, it served to intensify the painful feeling with which their people had watched the progress of events in South Carolina. That the action of the latter State had been hasty and ill-judged a majority even of the people of the South admitted, and this fact gave additional poignancy to the general sorrow with which this first disunion movement was regarded. By the passage of the South Carolina ordinance of secession an impetus was given to the prevailing excitement in the South, and the measures of the cotton States, looking in the same direction, were greatly accelerated. Mississippi followed the example of South Carolina on the 9th of January, 1861; Alabama and Florida, January 11th;

Georgia, January 20th; Louisiana, January 26th; Texas, February 1st; Virginia, April 17th; Tennessee, May 6th; Arkansas, May 18th; North Carolina, May 21st; and Kentucky, November 20th.

The progress of these events caused intense excitement in Philadelphia, where the people were pronounced and decided in their support of the Union. The geographical position of the State of Pennsylvania, added to its overshadowing political importance, made the duties of the Governor peculiarly responsible and perplexing. Separated from the slave States by an imaginary line, and looked to from both the North and the South to exhaust its great moral and political power to avert the threatened conflict, every expression from its government was awaited with profound interest. It was under these grave circumstances that Andrew G. Curtin took the gubernatorial chair. The conflict which was then raging throughout the country obliterated old and sacred landmarks in political teaching, but in his inaugural address of January, 1861, Governor Curtin proclaimed the duties of patriotism, and sounded the sentiments of the North upon the relations of the States to each other. In that address he said, "No one who knows the history of Pennsylvania, and understands the opinions and feelings of her people, can justly charge us with hostility to our brethren of other States. We regard them as friends and fellow-countrymen, in whose welfare we feel a kindred interest, and we recognize in their broadest extent all our constitutional obligations to them."

Upon the right of a State to secede from the Union, he said, "No part of the people, no State, nor combination of States, can voluntarily secede from the Union, nor absolve themselves from their obligations to it. To permit a State to withdraw at pleasure from the Union without the consent of the rest, is to confess that our government is a failure. Pennsylvania can never acquiesce in such a conspiracy, nor assent to a doctrine which involves the destruction of the government. If the government is to exist all the requirements of the Constitution must be obeyed; and it must have power adequate to the enforcement of the supreme law of the land in every State. It is the first duty of the national authorities to stay the progress of anarchy and enforce the laws, and Pennsylvania, with a united people, will give them an honest, faithful, and active support. The people mean to preserve the integrity of the National Union at every hazard."

Again on the 30th of April, when the Legislature met in extraordinary session in obedience to his proclamation, he said, "The time is past for temporizing or forbearing with the rebellion, the most causeless in history. . . . The insurrection must now be met by force of arms, and a quarter of a million of Pennsylvania's sons will answer the call to arms, if need be, to wrest us from a reign of anarchy and plunder, and secure for themselves and their children, for

¹ In the limited space at our command it is impossible to treat that portion of the history of the city of Philadelphia between the election of President Lincoln, on Nov. 6, 1860, and 1866, except in the briefest possible manner. During the period of the great civil war, almost every day bristled with prominent local events, and every week gave birth to numberless incidents of local or general interest. The magnitude of the subject and the multiplicity of the details required in a connected narrative of one of the most interesting and stirring epochs in the history of the city demand a far more extended and elaborate treatment than can be given within our present limits, and we have therefore been forced, reluctantly, to content ourselves with simply a chronological presentation of the most prominent events in Philadelphia history from Nov. 6, 1860, to January, 1866.

ages to come, the perpetuity of this government and its beneficent institutions."

Finally the Legislature of the State passed the following resolutions, early in the session of 1861, upon the subject of secession, then being actively pushed in the Southern States, which were a fair index to the temper of the people, and which gave no uncertain sound as to the course which Pennsylvania would pursue in the impending crisis:

"*Resolved*, That if the people of any State in this Union are not in full enjoyment of all the benefits to be secured by them by the said Constitution, if their rights under it are disregarded, their tranquillity disturbed, their prosperity retarded, or their liberties imperiled by the people of any other State, full and adequate redress can and ought to be provided for such grievances through the action of Congress and other proper departments of the national government. That we adopt the sentiment and language of President Andrew Jackson, expressed in his message to Congress on the 15th of January, 1833, 'that the right of a people of a single State to absolve themselves at will and without the consent of the other States from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties and happiness of millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged, and that such authority is utterly repugnant, both to the principles upon which the general government is constituted, and the objects which it was expressly formed to attain.' That the Constitution of the United States of America contains all the powers necessary to the maintenance of its authority, and it is the solemn and most imperative duty of the government to adopt and carry into effect whatever measures are necessary to that end; and the faith and power of Pennsylvania are hereby pledged to the support of such measures in any manner, and to any extent that may be required of her by the constituted authorities of the United States. That all plots, conspiracies, and warlike demonstrations against the United States, in any section of the country, are treasonable in character, and whatever power of the government is necessary to their suppression should be supplied to that purpose without hesitation or delay."

The authorities of Pennsylvania understood the magnitude of the impending conflict, and resolved to prepare for it according to their appreciation of the public danger. With a long line of southern border exposed to the sudden incursions of the Confederates, and the Union army at first composed of only three months' men, and likely even with these to be outnumbered in the field, they determined not to rely upon the mistaken conceptions of the Federal authorities for the protection of the State. Immediate steps were taken to organize troops, subject to the call of the Federal government, if needed, and to be at all times in readiness for active service. And when the nation stood appalled after the disasters at Bull Run, and Washington was exposed to the attacks of the

Confederates, Pennsylvania was the first to forward a thoroughly organized and equipped military force to strengthen and reinspire the Union army in defense of the capital. The reputation of [1860] the State for promptness in furnishing troops when called for by the government was maintained throughout the war. Pennsylvania, during this crisis, was an empire in itself, and its vast wealth and resources were constantly tempting to devastate it. She, however, never asked that the armies in the field should be diminished to defend her territory or maintain the State's authority; but, on the contrary, she cheerfully supplied every demand for troops as fast as called for, and in addition always displayed a willingness to raise forces for her local protection. The Legislature gave an attentive ear to the government appeals for aid in defense of the Union, and voted liberally millions of money in support of the cause. Besides all this, Pennsylvania was ceaseless in her devotion to the interests and wants of those whom the State had given for the national defense. She sent kind agents to the field, who visited the soldiers in their camps and provided for their wants. Whenever were sickness, or wounds, or death, there was the official agent of the State to perform every duty to the living and the last rites to the dead. The bodies of the deceased were brought back to sleep with their kindred, and their names enrolled in the lists of the martyred patriots.

The election of Mr. Lincoln excited comparatively little interest in Philadelphia. The result had been accepted beforehand as a foregone conclusion. "We never saw an election," said a Philadelphia paper of November 7th, "for even ward officers, that excited so little interest. . . . After nightfall persons began to assemble about the newspaper- and telegraph-offices to get some news from New York. But there was even here nothing like the interest usually evinced in a Presidential election." About nine o'clock at night a procession of men and boys made its appearance on Chestnut Street, with a transparency at its head bearing the inscription, "Lincoln on his way to the White House." The illustrations of this text were, however, so equivocal as to make it uncertain what party the men belonged to, and, finally, when the procession reached Fifth and Chestnut Streets, a disturbance occurred, which caused the interference of the police and the arrest of the more active participants. During the evening processions were formed by the Lincoln clubs belonging to the different wards, each having transparencies with the majority given in the ward represented by it.

—At a meeting of the Democratic Association of the Twenty-second Ward, held at their hall in Germantown on the 8th of November, Harry Ingersoll, late Democratic nominee from the Fifth Congressional District, presiding, and Franklin Jones, secretary, resolutions were adopted regretting the result of the election, but declaring it to be the duty of all

Democrats to acquiesce in the will of the majority constitutionally expressed. At the same time it was resolved "to extend to that portion of our 1860] fellow-countrymen of the South, who think differently, the assurance of a cordial and respectful fellow-feeling, under the invasion of their constitutional rights and domestic peace and dignity to which they have been so long subjected by the controlling voice of the party which has now prevailed in the choice of a Chief Magistrate." The South was also urged to reflect well before proceeding to extreme measures, and was appealed to not to desert "the weaker party at the North, struck down in their defense." The sentiments expressed by Mr. Lincoln in his speeches were denounced as being "subversive of our mixed federal and national system," and it was declared that they (the members of the meeting) were "not yet able to spare a single star or a single stripe from the glorious flag of the Union." Among those who advocated the resolutions were J. G. Gibson, A. S. Tourison, Albertis King, George W. Wolf, William Best, H. Harkins, and Harry Ingersoll.

—On the 22d of November the banks of Philadelphia determined to suspend specie payments. The measure was precipitated upon them, and the other banks of the Union, by the political agitation which had destroyed confidence between the North and South, suspended trade, and produced widespread monetary embarrassments. The suspension, though it came suddenly upon the community, was generally regarded as unavoidable, and was acquiesced in as a probably temporary inconvenience, which a favorable turn in the aspect of political affairs might render of only short duration. The large manufacturing interests of Philadelphia, on the other hand, did not feel the effects of the crisis until some time after the election. The *Public Ledger* of November 27th said, "The present financial and political derangement of affairs does not seem to affect the large manufacturing interests of Philadelphia to any great extent. At least most of those we visited yesterday have their usual number of men employed, and are receiving orders and remittances from the South. . . . Some of the large manufacturers of furniture, which is sold to dealers in the South, have been somewhat affected, but as yet only a few men have been discharged. . . . The manufacturers of carriages, which are sold at wholesale to the South, feel the effects of the pressure considerably, but not to such an extent as yet as will be likely to lead to a general discharge of hands, for there are still orders arriving."

—Thursday, November 29th, was observed as Thanksgiving Day in Philadelphia with the usual services in the churches. Among the sermons preached on this occasion was a discourse by Rev. E. W. Hutter, on "The Blessings of the Union," delivered in St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, New Street below Fourth. Rev. W. T. Brantley preached at the First

Baptist Church, corner of Broad and Arch Streets, on the causes of the political troubles with which the country was afflicted. In the afternoon there was a parade of military organizations.

—At a meeting of manufacturers and business men of Philadelphia and vicinity, held at the Manufacturers' Exchange on the 1st of December, W. Blakely, of Delaware County, presiding, it was decided, in view of the business depression, to recommend to manufacturers of cotton and woolen goods that they should run their mills at half time until increased sales or reduced stocks justified full-time production once more. A resolution was also adopted to the effect that the longer selling of domestic dry-goods on eight and ten months' credit was impolitic.

—In the Select Council, on the 6th of December, Mr. Drayton offered the following:

"WHEREAS, There is great reason to fear that there is serious peril of the dissolution of the Union of these States, under whose protection we have grown to be a great and prosperous nation, and it is fitting that the citizens of Philadelphia,—that city in which the great principles of the Union were first embodied and promulgated,—should in some suitable way express their love for the Union and their devotion to its perpetuation, and to the strengthening of those bonds which unite us, whether of the North or the South, the East or the West, as one great and united people; therefore,

"Resolved, By the Select and Common Councils of the city of Philadelphia, that the mayor of the city be, and he is hereby requested by his proclamation, to invite our fellow-citizens who love the Union to assemble at the old State-House, at twelve noon of a day to be appointed for the purpose, there to express their attachment to the Constitution of the United States, and their love for the Union which it creates and protects.

"Resolved, That a joint special committee, consisting of six members from each chamber of Councils, to which shall be added the presidents, be appointed to co-operate with the mayor in such arrangements as may be proper in their judgment by way of preparation for such meeting."

The resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote. In Common Council, after a prolonged discussion, the resolutions, as they came from Select Council, were passed by a vote of fifty-three to sixteen.

—It having been announced that George William Curtis would deliver an abolition lecture before the People's Literary Institute on the 13th of December, intimations were given out that if the lecturer attempted to speak there would be a disturbance, and it was said a mob had been organized to break up the assemblage. In consequence of these reports, Mayor Henry addressed a letter to J. W. White, chairman of the lecture committee of the institute, stating that the appearance of Mr. Curtis as a lecturer would be extremely unwise, and that if he possessed the lawful power he would not permit it. The lessee of Concert Hall, in which the lecture was to have been delivered, notified Mr. White that he had been informed officially that a riot was anticipated, and that, under the circumstances, he could not permit the hall to be used for the purpose indicated. The lecture was accordingly postponed.

—In accordance with the resolutions of the City Councils, Mayor Henry issued a proclamation calling a meeting of citizens in Independence Square, "to counsel together to avert the danger which threatens

our country." At the request of members of the bar who desired to participate, the courts adjourned over the day of meeting, and the navy-yard was closed by order of Commodore Stewart. The meeting was held on Thursday, December 13th, in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators, estimated to number fifty thousand persons. Charles B. Trego called the meeting to order, and nominated as chairman Alexander Henry, mayor of Philadelphia, who was received with cheers. William H. Drayton then read the following list of vice-presidents and secretaries:

Vice-Presidents, Samuel Breck, Charles Macalester, C. W. Poultney, William J. Duane, John B. Myers, John M. Irwin, Edward Coles, Matthew Baird, Joseph Lea, Charles J. Ingersoll, John B. Austin, A. J. Boswell, David S. Brown, L. J. Leberman, Thomas Barnett, Robert Morris, Benjamin Gerhard, Pierce Butler, T. T. Tasker, Sr., John Thomson, Robert Kelton, Anthony J. Drexel, Charles S. Cox, John T. Smith, M. Robinson, V. L. Bradford, G. W. Toland, Gen. Robert Patterson, S. M. Felton, Robert Ewing, D. Rodney King, Peter A. Keyser, Josiah Randall, Edward S. Whelen, William Martin, Robert Steen, C. B. Moore, W. A. Blanchard, Dr. C. D. Meigs, E. G. Dutilh, Abraham Hart, J. E. Thomson, Elijah Dallett, Thomas H. Powers, John Robbins, Jr., Jasper Harding, George D. Rosengarten, Charles H. Fisher, John L. Goddard, Samuel V. Merrick, J. Eisenbrey, Jr., Stephen Colwell, Eli K. Price, J. H. Campbell, Charles N. Bancker, Dr. William Wetherill, Arthur G. Coffin, Archibald Campbell, Peter Sieger, Frederick Brown, Benjamin Rush, T. H. Dupuy, Capt. James West, Richard C. Dale, Barton H. Jenks, F. A. Packard, H. C. Harrison, Col. Joseph S. Riley, John O. James, Frederick Fraley, S. T. Altemus, Isaac Lea, James V. Watson, J. V. McLean, Thomas Robins, A. S. Roberts, William R. Leje, John S. Hart, John McCausland, David Jayne, Dr. W. Shippen, John Baird, T. E. Harper, James Dundas, J. E. Caldwell, Henry Rowland, H. Catherwood, George H. Stuart, Edward Dingee, Henry C. Carey, George Thompson, Dr. John Neill, George H. Martin, John Rice, Benjamin Rowland, Edward H. Trotter, William Struthers, Henry Bunn, James C. Hand, S. W. DeCoursey, George Bartoletti, Andrew C. Craig, William F. Hughes, John P. Levy, Isaac P. Morris, Edwin H. Fidler, Joseph Patterson, Peter McCall, G. B. Presbury, William Sellers, David P. Brown, J. E. P. Stevens, S. A. Mercer, G. H. Kirkham, Col. James Page, J. Phillips Montgomery, O. Campbell, Eli W. Bailey, J. B. Colahan, J. B. Lippincott, Hugh L. Hodge, P. Williamson, A. L. Bonafant, T. T. Tasker, Jr., C. J. Wolbert, John Childs, John Welsh, J. C. Mitchell, E. P. Middleton, Isaac Jeans, David Samuel, C. H. Rogers, Gen. W. Duncan, Jules Huel, Robert Wood, Caleb Cope, Moses Thomas, F. B. Warner, Dr. James Bond, Frederick Fairthorne, William Cramp, Nathan Roland, J. Hansworth, Richard Price, St. George Tucker Campbell, George Trott, H. R. Coggeshall, J. Wainwright, Asa Whitney, J. Rodman Paul, A. G. Waterman, Joseph B. Mitchell, Thomas Smith, M. S. Shapleigh, John Grigg, Joseph A. Clay, Alexander Brown, Lemuel Coffin, Dr. S. Thomas, Charles Harmer, D. Solomon, Edward Hoopes, Arad Barrows, D. B. Cummins, Thomas Rowland, Benjamin Lehman, J. C. Cresson, William Divine, S. S. Bishop, Col. John G. Watmough, David Faust, P. V. Savery, D. C. Enos, John Passmore, Dr. J. Pancoast, James Dunlap, Francis Cooper, Isaac Koons, Samuel Moore, W. R. Thompson, William B. Bement, Albert Benton, Francis King, Henry Croskey, James R. Campbell, Benjamin F. Huddy, Joseph Bipa, A. G. Cattell, William B. Taylor, Daniel Smith, Jr., Commodore Charles Stewart, Benjamin Etting, William D. Lewis, George K. Zeigler, B. H. Brewster, Gen. Cadwalader, William C. Ludwig, F. J. Dreer, Charles Megarge, William Welsh, F. G. Smith, Charles J. Biddle, Edward C. Dale, James S. Smith, Henry Simons, W. L. Springs, Thomas S. Newlin, S. Morris Wain, John Jordan, Jr., B. H. Band. The secretaries were Conrad S. Grove, Joseph F. Tobias, J. F. Johnston, Charles Wheeler, S. W. Arnold, E. C. Mitchell, Chapman Biddle, J. Bonnell, A. J. Holman, Coleman Fisher, C. A. Yeager, W. Sargent, M.D., G. W. Hacker, John M. Collins, T. A. Barlow, Benjamin Patton, Dr. John Gegan, W. D. Cozzens, T. C. Wood, J. Murray Rush, C. Pierce, W. D. Lewis, Jr., J. E. Montgomery, B. W. Richards, Benjamin S. Riley, R. P. Kane, H. Samuel, James D. Keyser, J. D. Sergeant, E. A. Hendry, L. N. Brognard, M. J. Micheson, G. Townsend, Gen. W. M. Roilly, C. W. Littell, E. S. Amer, William Sergeant, W. Clifford, J. C. Fryer, J. Ballenger.

Right Rev. Dr. Potter, Protestant Episcopal bishop of Pennsylvania, at the invitation of Mayor Henry, delivered a prayer, in which he petitioned that "a double portion of the wisdom and patriotism of the fathers" might "descend and rest upon their sons, that from this place there may go forth an influence which will be felt throughout the republic,—an influence which will tend to the healing of the waters of strife and discord, and to the bringing back to our distracted land the reign of unity and concord." Mayor Henry then delivered an address, in which he stated that the people of Philadelphia were now called upon to avow their unbroken attachment to the Union and their steadfast determination that no honest effort should be left untried to preserve its integrity. John B. Myers read a series of resolutions proclaiming the attachment of the people of Philadelphia to the Union, pledging that every statute in force in Pennsylvania, if there were any such, invading the constitutional rights of a sister State, should be repealed, recognizing the obligations of the act of Congress of 1850, commonly known as the fugitive slave law, pointing "with pride and satisfaction" to the recent punishment and conviction in Philadelphia of those who had broken the provisions of the fugitive slave law, by aiding in the attempted rescue of a slave, as proof that Philadelphia was faithful in her obedience to the law; recommending to the Legislature of Pennsylvania the passage of a law giving compensation in case of the rescue of a slave by the county in which such rescue occurred; acknowledging and submitting "obediently and cheerfully" to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States as to the recognition of slaves as property and the rights of slave-owners in the Territories; declaring that "all denunciations of slavery as existing in the United States, and of our fellow-citizens who maintain that institution and who hold slaves under it, are inconsistent with that spirit of brotherhood and kindness which ought to animate all who live under and profess to support the Constitution of the American Union;" cordially approving the suggestion that a convention of delegates from the several States be held for the purpose of suggesting remedies for the dangers that menaced the Union, and appealing to those Southern States which were considering the question of seceding from the Union to forbear and not destroy "so great and so fair an inheritance." Speeches indorsing the resolutions were made by Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, Judge Woodward, Charles E. Lex, Theodore Cuyler, and Isaac Hazlehurst, after which S. Benton offered a resolution, which was adopted, that the presiding officer appoint a committee of three citizens to prepare a report of the proceedings and provide for its widest possible circulation throughout the Union.

The demonstrations in behalf of union and peace were not confined to the mass-meeting. Nearly all the wholesale stores and many of the retail stores on

Second, Third, Market, Chestnut, and Eighth Streets were closed and decorated with flags. The Continental Hotel displayed three large American flags. The balcony was draped with the national colors, and along the front of the building was exhibited the motto "Concession before Secession." A number of private dwellings were decorated with bunting, and attached to the horses and cars of the street railway lines were small streamers of red, white, and blue. On the 15th it was announced that Mayor Henry had been deputed to transmit the resolutions adopted by the meeting and reports of the speeches to the authorities of South Carolina.

—On the 14th of December a meeting of the Twenty-second Ward Democratic Association was held in Germantown, which also included "friends of the Union irrespective of party." Benjamin Rush presided. George W. Wolf offered a series of resolutions, which were adopted, approving the measures recommended by the Union meeting in Independence Square, and cordially responding "to all the inspiring proceedings and patriotic resolutions of the great Union demonstration." A resolution offered by C. W. Littell was also adopted, commending Governor Hicks, of Maryland, for "his declination to convene the Legislature of his State for the purpose of adopting measures preparatory to her secession from the Union." A. King having been called to the chair, the president, Benjamin Rush, offered a series of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, declaring that the meeting could give "no countenance to the extraordinary doctrine lately set up, that this great Union possesses no power to maintain its integrity," and that it contemplated with infinite pain the projected secession of South Carolina, hoping, however, that she would not put it out of her power to retrace her steps. Addresses on behalf of the Union and conciliation, and in favor of securing the just and equal rights of all the States, were delivered by Mr. Rush, John S. Littell, Henry Flanders, Emmanuel Rey, and Samuel Johnson.

—December 18th it was announced that Mayor Henry had selected S. Benton, J. B. Lippincott, and J. S. Newlin as a committee to attend to the distribution of the pamphlet containing a report of the proceedings of the Union mass-meeting.

1861.—Desiring to obtain a parade-ground for the troops under his command, Gen. Patterson, who was then major-general First Division Pennsylvania Volunteers, made application early in the fall of 1860 to the City Councils for permission to use the arsenal lot. The Councils referred him to City Solicitor Charles E. Lex, and a number of letters passed between Gen. Patterson and Mr. Lex, which were published in the newspapers of Jan. 2, 1861. The lot in question had been conveyed by the city of Philadelphia to the State of Pennsylvania as the site for an arsenal, but had been rented by the adjutant-general

to the Western Market Company. It was alleged that the adjutant-general had acted without authority and in violation of the agreement between the city and State. Gen. Patterson applied to City Solicitor Lex to know what steps could be taken to recover possession, and Mr. Lex replied that the only remedy he could suggest was the placing of a fence around the square by the military, and if the market company attempted to tear it down, the bringing of an action of trespass against them to test the right of the adjutant-general to make the lease complained of. Mr. Lex's advice did not satisfy Gen. Patterson, who, in a rather caustic letter, said, "I cannot bring myself to believe that when Councils referred my communication to the City Solicitor, they intended that officer to tell the military to put up a fence around the arsenal yard, to employ men to watch for the person who tore the fence down, and whose butcher, huckster, or fish wagons were put on the arsenal yard or lot, and that then when this was ascertained, that the military or the major-general was to employ counsel, commence an action for trespass against the offenders, waste his time and dance attendance at courts in a controversy with persons who never had a transaction with him, and who, when he got a verdict, would probably not be able to pay the costs, and all this to test the right of the adjutant-general to make the lease complained of." He added that if it was Mr. Lex's opinion that the Councils intended, in referring his complaint to him (Lex), "that the military should incur the expense and trouble of protecting the public interests and property," he would thank him to say so. On the 26th of December, after the lapse of some weeks without action on the part of the City Solicitor, Gen. Patterson again wrote to the City Councils, stating that, having been disappointed in the hope that the City Solicitor would take measures to protect the interests of the city and have the fence removed by the market company replaced, as the lot was required for storing certain articles and for the use of the men under artillery instruction, he would make application to those bodies for the necessary action to have the lot fenced in.¹

—On the 3d of January, Capt. C. M. Berry, of the Minute-men of '76, fired three salutes of thirty-three guns in honor of Maj. Anderson, the commander at Fort Sumter, S. C.,—one at two o'clock at the corner of Broad and Spring Garden Streets, one at three o'clock at Broad and Prime Streets, and one at Reed Street wharf. After the firing three cheers were given by the spectators for Maj. Anderson. A salute of thirty-three guns was also fired by the Shiffler Hose Company in front of their house.

—On the evening of the same day a meeting was

¹ In printing this correspondence the *Press* remarked that "should hostilities grow out of our present unhappy divisions the counsels of Gen. Patterson will be sought by men of all parties," on account of "his large experience in military matters, his undoubted patriotism, his services in the Mexican war, and his devotion to his own State."

held at the Board of Trade rooms, mainly representative of the mercantile interests of the city, at which reports were received from the district committees charged with the work of procuring signatures to a memorial to the State Legislature praying for the repeal of certain sections of the statutes relating to the return of fugitive slaves, and also "asking for the repeal of any former legislation which might be deemed unfriendly to our Southern brethren." During the meeting it was stated by Marcellus Mundy that the memorialists were likely to be misunderstood, as from the memorial it might be made to appear that they desired the repeal of the law against kidnapping. They desired no such repeal, and Mr. Mundy suggested that the sections of the law which were desired to be repealed should be printed and sent to the Legislature along with the memorial.

—On the 4th of January a meeting composed of about one hundred and fifty leading citizens of Philadelphia was held at the Board of Trade rooms, Chestnut Street above Fifth, in pursuance of a call signed by C. G. Childs, Henry C. Carey, M. McMichael, Edward G. Webb, Charles Gilpin, Ellis Lewis, C. C. Lathrop, Lewis C. Cassidy, William D. Lewis, William H. Kern, and Daniel Dougherty. In the call it was stated that the object of the meeting was to consider "what measures should be adopted by the citizens of Philadelphia in the present condition of our national affairs to aid the constituted authorities of the State and general government in the enforcement of the laws, to remove all just ground of complaint against the Northern States, and to secure the perpetuity of the Union." On motion of Sheriff William H. Kern, C. G. Childs was called to the chair, and Lewis C. Cassidy, who had acted as secretary of a previous meeting, was, at the suggestion of Charles Gilpin, appointed secretary. In taking the chair Mr. Childs said that a few days before some half-dozen or more gentlemen had met at that place "to talk over matters, and ascertain, if possible, the best course to be pursued, and it was agreed that each should make inquiries among his circle of friends and acquaintances, in order that when they again met, by comparison they might ascertain what the sentiments of the people of Philadelphia were." The speaker expressed the hope that they would be able to present a united front, and that the measures adopted by the meeting would be in accordance with those patriotic feelings which ought to govern a State in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted and promulgated." In conclusion he said, "Let our action here to-day show that we are determined to uphold and strengthen the administration of the government, and to put down disunion and everything that looks like a separation of this glorious confederacy." Hon. Ellis Lewis, who had signed the call for the meeting, followed Mr. Childs, with the request that his name be stricken from the call, as he found that his views did not agree with those of some of the other gentle-

men, and he feared that, if urged, they might disturb the harmony of the meeting. The president replied that an effort had been made to bring together gentlemen of all political parties [1861] in order that a free interchange of opinion might be had, and he hoped Judge Lewis would remain and give the benefit of his counsel. C. C. Lathrop also urged Judge Lewis not to withdraw, and Daniel Dougherty called attention to the fact that as the motion of Chief Justice Lewis to have his name stricken from the call had not been seconded, it was not before the meeting, and he hoped he expressed the unanimous wish that he would remain and take part in the deliberation. If not considered discourteous he would offer a series of resolutions, with the request that they be referred to a committee, with the exception of one, on which he desired immediate action. This resolution was as follows:

"Resolved 4, That we heartily approve the conduct of Maj. Anderson, the gallant commander of the United States Fort Sumter, in Charleston Bay, and we thus express the unanimous feeling of our great State; and that we call upon the Federal authorities to furnish him such reinforcements as will convince him and the enemies of the republic that the laws are to be enforced at all hazards, and that resistance to these laws is treason, and will be punished as such."

The reading of the resolution was greeted with great applause, which was followed by cheers, when Judge Lewis said, "Mr. President, allow me the pleasure of seconding that resolution." Mr. Dougherty then read the other resolutions, which declared, first, "that there exists no right of peaceable secession, that secession is rebellion, and that the laws of the United States must be enforced by the proper authorities;" second, "that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that the Union, like the Constitution, was intended to be perpetual, because it asserts no power of self-destruction, and provides for its alteration by a certain explicit mode;" third, "that we will cheerfully sustain the Federal government in all honorable efforts to maintain the Constitution and enforce the laws, but that any refusal to do so ought to be punished by the impeachment of all the guilty parties;" fourth, "that in view of the threatening aspect of public affairs, it is advisable that the military establishment of Pennsylvania should be put upon a new footing by the augmentation of the present regiments, and by such State legislation as will encourage all citizens to enroll themselves at once, either by increasing the present militia force or by an appropriation out of the public treasury;" fifth, that "we heartily indorse the sentiments of the message of Governor Packer, as well as the speeches of Robert M. Palmer, Speaker of the Senate, and Elisha W. Davis, Speaker of the House, as to the propriety of Pennsylvania repealing any law that may be improperly construed to give offense to the rights of the people of any sister State;" and, sixth, that "we call upon the senators and representatives of Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States, without

reference to party ties, to join in any honorable adjustment that will restore the ties of brotherhood that until recently have united all the people of the republic." Charles Gilpin moved that these resolutions be referred to a committee; but, before the motion was put, Judge Lewis offered another set of resolutions, to the effect that, as the people of the Southern States had "contributed their blood and treasure in the acquisition of the Territories equally with those of the other States," the principle which recognizes the rights of all the States to the same "is founded on the clearest equity, and ought to be supported by every good citizen, unless a satisfactory division line can be settled by an amendment to the Constitution;" that "it is equally clear that every constitutional right in the Territories, as elsewhere, ought to be protected by appropriate legislation;" that "every State is bound by the Constitution of the United States to aid in delivering up fugitive slaves to their owners, and all legislation which refuses such and throws obstructions in the way is unconstitutional, and ought to be repealed and substituted in accordance with the Federal duties of the respective States;" that "no State has a constitutional right to resist the laws of the Federal government by force, whether in the form of partial nullification or secession, and that such armed resistance is treason and rebellion, and should be put down by the naval and military power of the nation;" that "if the Northern States should be unwilling to recognize their constitutional duties toward the Southern States, it would be right to acknowledge the independence of the Southern States, instead of waging an unlawful war against them." Mr. Gilpin moved that all the resolutions be referred to a committee, and pending action in the matter addresses were made by William B. Mann, Hon. Charles Brown, and John W. Forney. Mr. Mann urged that the meeting take such action as would make plain the intention of the people of Philadelphia, after full justice had been done the people of the South, that "at all hazards and every sacrifice these people are to be preserved one people under the Constitution." Mr. Brown's speech was strongly pro-Southern in tone. He opposed coercion, and declared that if the people of the North could not do the people of the South justice and satisfy them that it was to their interest to remain in the Union, it was their duty to part from them in peace. If the Northern conquered the Southern States, he added, they "might hold them as conquered provinces, but they could not afterward be held as equals." Mr. Brown's remarks created great excitement and confusion, and toward the close were frequently interrupted. Mr. Forney claimed that the resolutions offered by Mr. Dougherty contemplated no attack upon the South, but simply meant that when the laws created in pursuance of the Federal Constitution had been resisted the power of the

government came in force. "We do not propose," he added, "to go to South Carolina, or to any seceding State, for the purpose of compelling such State to come back into the Union. If she chooses to remain outside and deprive herself of the benefits of the government and does not interfere with it and destroy us, that is her loss. But when she attempts to set herself up in defiance of the law and to ruin Philadelphia and New York, to laugh at the authority of the President and to defy this great government, which has made us the proudest people at God's footstool, then the instinct of self-preservation comes in, and we will maintain the Constitution and enforce the laws. That is all." Mr. Forney said further that the people of the South were brothers, not savages, and he therefore proposed that every peaceable remedy should be exhausted, party platforms set aside, individual records cast to the winds, and that all should "unite in asking them to come back to us." On the other hand, if, after all possible concessions had been made, they continued to attack the laws, and showed their purpose to be the destruction of the government, he for one was ready "to go in such a cause, and to die in the last ditch in defense of my country." The question was then taken to refer all the resolutions to a committee to be appointed by the president, and it was agreed to. Mr. Ford offered a resolution that "Maj.-Gen. Patterson be requested to call a meeting of the officers of his division at the earliest practicable period, for the purpose of taking such measures as they may deem necessary to increase the force and make its efficiency equal to any emergency." This resolution was also referred to the committee, but leave was given Marcellus Mundy to address the meeting in connection with the resolution. Mr. Mundy declared his devotion and the devotion of the Bell-Everett party, which he represented, to the Union, but deprecated any hostile collision between the two sections. Mr. Gibbons said that, as a Republican, he regretted the last resolution had been introduced, as the military arm of the government, if required for any purpose whatever, would be called upon by those in authority, and not by a miscellaneous assembly such as the one he was addressing. Mr. Ford then said that as his resolution had created more discussion than he anticipated, he would withdraw it. This announcement was greeted with cheers. Mr. Gibbons, continuing, said he was "sure there was no man in the room, or in this city, or in this commonwealth who contemplated so serious and frightful a resort as making war upon the fifteen Southern States. . . . At the same time he hoped that they would all be prepared, should the dread hour ever come, to stand by the constituted authorities in the maintenance of the laws and the preservation of the Union." J. Murray Rush called attention to the fact that the meeting had forgotten in the midst of its patriotic deliberations to pay a tribute to the gallant conduct of Governor Hicks, of Maryland, who, placed in a delicate and trying posi-

tion as the executive of a border slave State, had shown himself to be calm, manly, and intelligent in the present crisis. Mr. Rush therefore proposed the following:

"Resolved, That we have observed with admiration, and approve to the fullest extent the bold and patriotic course of the enlightened Governor of Maryland, Thomas H. Hicks; that it entitles him to the cordial support of every lover of the Union, and if persevered in will give him an enviable name on the page of American history."

The resolution was adopted, and the meeting adjourned. A few minutes later, while the gentlemen who had composed the meeting were still conversing, a telegraphic dispatch conveying the news that Maj. Anderson was besieged at Fort Sumter by the forces of the disunionists was received and read. Great feeling was occasioned by this intelligence, and a call for a public meeting to be held at Independence Square was immediately prepared and signed by those present. "Whatever differences may have taken place," said a newspaper at the time, "in reference to other matters, there was but one sentiment on this subject,—that was, admiration for Anderson and hostility to all his foes. Among those who signed the call were Democrats, Republicans, and Americans." In the same journal it was announced that a subscription had been set on foot to purchase a sword of honor to be presented to Maj. Anderson in acknowledgment of his patriotic conduct at Charleston." Pending the appointment of a committee for the purpose, Joseph Curtis of the Orleans House, Chestnut Street, received subscriptions.

—In accordance with the recommendation of the President of the United States, Friday, January 4th, was observed as a fast day in Philadelphia. In many churches special services were held. Sermons were preached at St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, by the rector, Rev. Dr. Ducachet; at the Arch Street Presbyterian Church, by Rev. Dr. Wadsworth; at St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, by Rev. E. W. Hutter; at the Third Baptist Church, by Rev. Reuben Jeffrey; at the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, by Rev. T. W. Cracraft; at the Moravian Church, corner of Franklin and Wood Streets, by Rev. A. A. Reinke; at the Presbyterian Church, corner of Broad and Sansom Streets, by Rev. John Chambers, and at a number of other churches, at all of which, with one or two exceptions, the dangers threatening the country were alluded to. At Reed Street wharf the Shiffer Hose Company fired a salute of thirty-three guns in honor of the State of Delaware, which had rejected the proposals of the secessionist commissioner, Mr. Dickinson, and the citizens of Manayunk fired a similar salute in honor of Maj. Anderson. Some stores and all the public offices were closed. "The anticipations of a war with the secessionists are so fully realized in many minds," said a Philadelphia newspaper of January 5th, "that we are informed of grand propositions on the part of certain boat-builders and ship captains in

this city to inaugurate privateering expeditions so soon as hostilities shall commence. It was reliably rumored yesterday afternoon that most of the coasting vessels now leaving this city are [1861 armed with cannon and ammunition."

—On the evening of Saturday, January 5th, a meeting, in accordance with the call, to sustain Maj. Anderson, was held at National Hall, on Market Street, below Thirteenth. A number of patriotic inscriptions were displayed on the walls; among them, in front of the gallery, the memorable words of Henry Clay, "So long as it pleases God to give me a voice to express my sentiments, or an arm, weak and enfeebled as it may be by age, that voice and that arm will be on the side of my country, for the support of the general authorities and the maintenance of the powers of the Union." Along the front of the platform were displayed the American flag and Webster's sentiment, "The Union, now and forever; one and inseparable." In the rear of the platform, extending across the room, were the following: "'Frown indignantly on the first dawning of an attempt to alienate one portion of the Union from another,'—Washington;" and "'The Union must and shall be preserved,'—Jackson." A band of music, stationed in the gallery, played a number of popular airs, and just before the organization of the meeting the following sentiments were proposed by different persons in the assemblage and greeted with enthusiasm: "The Star-Spangled Banner," three cheers and a "tiger;" "The Union," nine cheers; "Major Anderson," nine cheers; "General Scott," six cheers; "James Buchanan," three cheers; "Senator Crittenden," three cheers; "Governor Hicks, of Maryland," six cheers; "The State of Delaware," three cheers. "After this demonstration," says a contemporary account, "the band was called upon for 'Yankee Doodle,' and the scene which took place as it was played baffles description." Lewis C. Cassidy called the meeting to order, and announced that those present had been invited, without regard to party proclivities, "to meet for the purpose of taking into consideration the situation of that patriot soldier of Charleston, Maj. Anderson." At Mr. Cassidy's suggestion William D. Lewis was chosen to preside. In taking the chair Mr. Lewis said the meeting was one of the most important that had been held in Philadelphia since the Declaration of Independence, and that it had been called "for the purpose of declaring our determination to support the Federal authorities in any measures they may take to support Maj. Anderson, that gallant man who at present represents our government in the harbor of Charleston, and all other measures calculated to prevent the entire overthrow of all law and order." Mr. Lewis denounced the late Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, and the late Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, as "perjurers and traitors," and said he trusted that "for once this great city, with one voice and one heart, will send forth its hearty greetings to

the brave defenders of their flag, and sustain the government in every act which it may deem necessary to take to support those noble soldiers who **1861]** are now, in point of fact, the impersonation of the Union itself." John W. Forney then came forward and read the list of officers, being frequently interrupted by applause as he uttered the name of some popular favorite, the name of Commodore Stewart, or "Old Ironsides," as he was generally called, eliciting three cheers:

President, William D. Lewis; Vice-Presidents, Commodore Charles Stewart, Morton McMichael, Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, John W. Forney, John M. Read, Richard Vaux, William Strong, Charles Gilpin, Joseph R. Ingersoll, William D. Kelley, Evans Rogers, Daniel Dougherty, W. M. Meredith, John Grigg, J. Murray Rush, John B. Myers, Edward Coles, Lewis C. Cassidy, Edward C. Knight, Marcellus Mundy, George W. Nebinger, William B. Mann, George M. Stroud, William Duane, Joseph Allison, Robert Hare Powell, Samuel E. Stokes, J. I. Clark Hare, Peter C. Elmaker, Oswald Thompson, William Sergeant, Henry C. Carey, William A. Porter, James Landy, Frederick Stoever, Charles Gibbons, John Hazeltine, John C. Knox, William H. Kern, William A. Balcock, Thomas Smith, Alexander J. Derbyshire, William B. Thomas, Jacob W. Goff, Henry Horn, John B. Austin, John Dallett, Algernon S. Roberts, George K. Zeigler, Robert P. King, William Winter, Edward G. Webb, James Varree, John Campbell (Seventh Ward), C. B. Brego, Thomas Webster, Jr., Thompson Westcott, Gibson Peacock, Isaac Hazlehurst, Henry Bumm, R. M. Foust, Cephas G. Childs, Andrew C. Craig, Edward Gratz, C. C. Lathrop, Evan Randolph, Peter Lyle, E. J. Hincken, Dr. C. Her-ring, David M. Lyle, Samuel Field, G. P. McLean, John M. Butler, William S. Smith, William E. Lehman, A. G. Buckner, Thomas Potter, Charles M. Neal, William F. Hughes, George Wunder, William Elliott, Ludlam Matthews, Hiram Miller, John Porter, James Traquair, William McMullen, George A. Coffey, William Bradford, John H. Bringham, Edward King, Lindley Smith, E. T. Carter, William Sellers, Aubrey H. Smith, William Dwight, Jr., S. V. Merrick, James V. Watson, John K. Laughlin, Nathan Roland, Charles McDonough, Thomas J. Potts, J. McCahen, George Ercy, William McGlenssey (Third Ward), George Megee, J. E. Addicks, James Magee, E. W. Clark, Albert D. Boileau, Benjamin Gerhard, Francis Wolganuth, Henry J. Williams, George R. Berrell, Samuel Bispham, Charles A. Rubicam, William O. Kline, William Laughlin, A. L. Crawford, Samuel C. Perkins, John Devlin, John Kline, John K. Gamble, Andrew Noble, Henry Crilly, Charles R. Able, Capt. Becker, Alexander T. Dickson, Peter Fassel, Joseph Enue, Theodore Bucknor, George W. Thorn, James D. Whetham, William McCandless, Thomas Bosly, John O. James, John Cloud, William Malone, William F. Small, Francis Warner, Lieut. Spear, Charles F. Miller, Samuel G. Ruggles, Adam Warthman, Joseph McGearry, William M. Haughey, Porter Ringwalt, Adam B. Walter, Horn R. Kneass, Aaron V. Gibbs, Frank Patterson, P. Barry Hayes, Charles M. Prevost, Dr. David Jayne, George Northrop, Andrew M. Jones, William V. Wicht, Edward Buckley, Patrick McDonough, A. A. Gregg, G. Freytag, Charles Lorenz, John McArthur, Martin Shultz, Edward Wartman, Henry Courad, John Alexander, Richard Garsed, John F. Hight, Joseph S. Lovering, John W. Jones, Eugene Ahern, Godfrey Metzger, John B. Colahan, Lorin Blodgett, Wm. Richardson, Wm. C. Ludwig, Geo. D. Wetherill, Wm. C. Kent, Jas. Dundas, John Thompson, Jos. H. Brady, Thos. Biddle, Jacob B. Valentine, Geo. Rush Smith, Dr. Andrew Nebinger, S. J. Christian, Dr. C. E. Kernerly, Chris. J. Hoffman, Levi T. Rutter, Thomas Birch, James Gordon, James Devereaux, Dr. John J. Sinnickson, John McCandless, Benjamin Allen, George Boldin, Samuel S. Kelley, S. C. Morton, William C. Stotesbury, Charles E. Lox, A. R. McHenry, Andrew C. Barclay, A. I. Flomerfelt, John D. Taylor, William Moran, Thomas F. Parry, William D. Baker, J. G. Watnough, Marshall Spregell, Gen. George Cadwalader, Henry D. Moore, John S. Keyser, E. A. Sonder, Franklin A. Conly, Thomas H. Moore, C. S. Sadler, Joseph S. Riley, Sr., Joseph W. Byers, John W. Ryan, Henry Davis, Jesse Godley, Jonathan Palmer, J. K. Murphy, William S. Grant, Peter Fritz, Edwin Smith, Philip S. White, Henry D. Landis, H. Montgomery Bond, John Ashton, Jr., Joshua T. Owen, John Thompson, George H. Hart, A. C. Harmer, James W. Paul, Leonard Myers, A. J. Pleasanton, Benjamin Rush, C. J. Biddle, George W. Swearingen, John P. Kilgore, Wade Morris, Martin J. Croll, William P. Hacker, Secretaries, Dr. Eliab Ward, Samuel E. Slaymaker, John Davis Watson, James Freeborn, George T.

Thorne, James Metcalf, George Imman Riché, William Strunk, John Goforth, Cyrus B. Newlin, Frank Johnson, Samuel Hart, James B. Sheridan, Ernest C. Wallace, Michael Dunn, Charles C. Wilson, William J. Gillingham, Joseph Herr, John J. Franklin, Henry Neill, Benjamin Huckle, Conrad Groves, Howard Ellis, Theodore T. Derringer, John L. Ringwalt, John O'Byrne, James Bateman, James D. Campbell, Dr. Francis R. Shunk, Joseph Loughhead, Alfred P. Scull, Henry C. Baird, Hartman Baugh, Henry Y. Smith, A. M. Walkinshaw, John H. Diehl, E. G. Waterhouse, C. H. T. Collis, E. G. Simpson, William D. Frisumth, J. Barclay Harding, Thomas B. Stotesbury, Pierce Archer, Jr., Jeremiah Nichols, Charles B. Miller, A. F. Hugh, Moses A. Dropeia, Thompson Reynolds, James P. Perot, William Shinn, Thomas Hart, John B. Adams, James W. Sagers, Joseph P. Loughhead, E. N. Hollowell, Caleb H. Needles, John Getty, William S. Stewart, Theodore Beck, Henry Schellinger, Robert Burton, Richard G. Devereaux, Philip F. Kelley, Henry Lapsley, E. P. Kershaw, John C. Keffer, William R. Bray, Clement Tingley, Jr., N. B. Le Brun, George Burton, William C. McCammon, William F. Corbit, George M. Conarree, C. Willing Littell, Thomas M. Hall, Robert Coulton Davis, R. M. Batturs, Stephen Taylor, James Harper, Henry W. Napheys, Andrew McDole, Robert B. Cabeeen.

When the list of officers had been read, John W. Forney introduced J. Murray Rush, who, after making a brief address, in which he urged the importance of extending a prompt and hearty support to the general government, offered a series of resolutions, declaring that the foresight, prudence, and energetic conduct of Maj. Anderson at Charleston merited the hearty approbation of the government and people of the United States, that it was the imperative duty of the President to provide Maj. Anderson with all the force he might require "for the successful defense of his present position;" that "all persons who wage war against the United States for the purpose of destroying the government established by our fathers, or for any other purpose whatever, and all who aid, counsel, sanction, or encourage them, can be regarded in no other light than as public enemies;" that the meeting would "sustain the President of the United States and the constituted authorities of the government in whatever measures they may adopt to support Maj. Anderson, and to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws of the United States;" and that "the flag of the Union is the property of the people, and whenever lawfully unfurled it must and shall be protected to the last extremity." The resolutions were greeted with nine hearty cheers, after which the band in the gallery struck up the "Star-Spangled Banner." Charles Gibbons seconded the resolutions offered by Mr. Rush, and stated that he had called on the venerable Horace Binney, with the request that he should preside at the meeting. Mr. Binney, however, declined on the ground that his advanced age exposed him to danger from the excitement of such a gathering. At the same time he declared that his heart was bound up in the Union, and expressed the opinion that nothing would overthrow the Union or materially curtail or enfeeble it, "if to the purity and energy of our forefathers we unite that coolness, calmness, and obedience to the Constitution we live under, which carried them to success in their day and generation." Mr. Binney's letter of declination was read to the meeting, and was greeted with cheers, after which Mr. Gibbons read an extract from Washing-

ton's address, pointing out the evils of factional spirit. The resolutions were then put and adopted. At the same time a large American flag was unfurled behind the speakers on the stand, and as it made its appearance was caught by those on the platform and so drawn down as to form a canopy above those on the stage. Marcellus Mundy then made a brief address, in the course of which he mentioned that Maj. Anderson and himself were natives of the same State, Kentucky. Morton McMichael thereupon proposed three cheers for Kentucky, which were given with a will. At the conclusion of Mr. Mundy's remarks the meeting adjourned. An immense assemblage gathered outside the hall, to which the resolutions were read. A number of speeches were also made, "which were all well received, it only being necessary to utter the most commonplace Union sentiment to call forth the greatest applause."

—On the same day (January 5th) an adjourned meeting of citizens was held, without distinction of party, at the Board of Trade rooms, to receive the report of the committee on resolutions appointed at a previous meeting. Joshua T. Owen called the meeting to order, and Cephas G. Childs was chosen to preside. Judge Lewis moved that his resolutions offered at a former meeting be adopted; but the chairman ruled the motion out of order, as no report had been received from the committee. The meeting then adjourned in the midst of great confusion and angry demonstrations on the part of individuals toward each other; and David S. Winebrener moved that a new meeting be organized by calling Judge Ellis Lewis to the chair. Judge Lewis moved toward the chair, but Mr. Blodget, secretary of the Board of Trade, announced that he had been instructed by the board to forbid the use of the room for any political meeting. Judge Lewis, however, took the chair amid great excitement. William B. Mann suggested that all favorable to the original call for the meeting which had just been adjourned, and whose object was to sustain the laws and the American flag, should retire from the room. This suggestion, however, was not acted upon. Daniel Dougherty made an earnest appeal for order, and Marcellus Mundy, after stating it was not the object of those present to break up the meeting, added that in order to meet the exigencies of the situation he would offer a series of resolutions. Mr. Mundy thereupon offered resolutions to the effect that "in the opinion of the citizens of Philadelphia, irrespective of party, the spirit of compromise which characterized the labors of the framers of the Constitution should pervade our national council and influence the action of the people's representatives in settling the difficulties which now threaten the dissolution of the Union and make civil war imminent;" that "the heedless legislation of some of the Northern States in passing personal liberty bills, which would interfere with a proper exercise of the constitutional rights of the slave-holding citizens of Southern States,

is to be deprecated as not only an unwise and unconstitutional assumption of power, but as an abnegation of that comity and courtesy which should characterize the fraternal relations [1861 and intercourse of the several States of the Union with each other;" that "the renunciation by South Carolina of the duty she owes to the confederated government, and her avowed purpose to destroy the Union by withdrawing therefrom, is in utter disregard of the rights of her sister confederates, and a mad sacrifice which should be prevented, as it can, through such pacific measures as will appeal to the patriotism of her people and her sense of right; induced by a generous sacrifice of Northern prejudice against the institution of slavery and a unanimous resolve to adopt as an honorable and at the same time the most practicable basis of compromise, the resolutions proposed by the Hon. John J. Crittenden in the Senate of the United States;" that "while pacific measures and compromises only should be resorted to to allay the fears and apprehensions and appease the resentment of an excited people, as the subjugation of one State, through the combined power of the other States of the Union, would be to deprive her of equality, and thus effectually destroy the constitutional Union of the States, the honor, property, and capital of our general government, if need be, should be preserved and protected by our national army and navy under the proper direction of the heads of government." Mr. Mundy's resolutions were adopted, the persons favoring the original meeting declining to vote for or against them.

—On the evening of January 5th a meeting of natives of Maryland residing in Philadelphia was held for the purpose of approving the course of Governor Hicks in refusing to convene the Legislature of Maryland in obedience to the demands of the disunionists. S. W. De Courcy presided, and Tristram Bowdye acted as secretary. Resolutions warmly indorsing Governor Hicks' action were adopted. On motion of J. W. Kramer it was determined that a society similar to that of the Sons of New England should be organized, and that a festival should be held annually on the 12th of September, the anniversary of the battle of North Point. A letter from J. Murray Rush warmly indorsing Governor Hicks was read, and addresses were delivered by Charles B. Pottinger, Marcellus Mundy, and several others.

—At a meeting of the Republican Invincibles, held on the same evening, Thomas M. Hall presiding, the resolutions adopted at the Union meeting at National Hall were read and adopted. A motion that the Invincibles organize into a military company was laid on the table, but resolutions deprecating any legislation at variance with the principles upon which the campaign had been fought and won, and recognizing "in its fullest extent the truth of Webster's great sentiment, that the will of the people, constitution-

ally expressed, is the supreme law of the land," and declaring that "the will of the people having been unequivocally expressed in the late election, **1861**] it becomes the duty of all good citizens and Union-loving men to carry it into execution," were agreed to after considerable discussion.

—Salutes were fired in honor of Maj. Anderson on the 5th by the Minute-men of '76, Capt. Berry, and the members of the Independence Hose Company, on George Street between Second and Third.

—On the 7th of January a meeting of citizens "opposed to war" and in favor of giving guarantees to the South was held at Barr's Hotel, on Sixth Street below Chestnut. Col. Isaac Leech was called to the chair, and John F. Gibson and Charles Leisenring appointed secretaries. On motion of Robert Palethorp it was determined that a mass-meeting of citizens opposed to the use of coercion in settling the difficulties with the South should be held on the evening of the 10th, at National Hall. Mr. Palethorp also offered a resolution indorsing the course of President Buchanan; but it was finally decided, after much discussion, that a committee should be appointed to prepare a set of resolutions to be presented to the public meeting.

—At a meeting of the veterans of the war of 1812, held on the 8th of January at Independence Hall, a resolution was adopted invoking "the blessings of Divine Providence upon our beloved country in these times of peril and alarm, trusting most fervently that our prayer, going up as it does from this sacred place, will be answered, and that the whole people of the republic may live in good fellowship for all time to come." Col. Joel B. Sutherland, president of the association, made an address, in which he denied the right of any State to secede, but counseled moderation. "The occasion," he said, "might possibly be the last whereon the old soldiers would meet under the flag of all the States. He trusted in God that it would not be."

—The meeting of citizens opposed to coercion, which was called for the 10th, was held on the afternoon of that day at Barr's Hotel, Vincent L. Bradford presiding. John McCarthy offered a resolution to the effect that it "would be unwise and inexpedient for those originating this meeting to make arrangements for a mass-meeting purporting to express the opinions of the Democracy of Philadelphia," but his motion, which created some disorder, was not adopted. A series of resolutions to be proposed at a mass-meeting were then read. They admitted the right of a State under certain contingencies to secede, and declared that in the event of secession on the part of the South, Pennsylvania would decide whether she would go "with fanatical New England or with the South, whose sympathies are ours." It was also asserted that neither the President nor Congress had power to declare war against a sovereign State.

—The mass-meeting of the anti-coercionists was

held at National Hall, on the evening of January 16th. Vincent L. Bradford called the meeting to order, and Charles Macalester was elected chairman. In his address on taking the chair, Mr. Macalester said that "the South should have remained loyal to the Union and fought the battle of the Union in the Union, but as they seem determined to go, let them go in peace, and let us say in a spirit of kindness and fraternal love, 'Let there be no strife between us, for we be brethren.'" "Let the Northern States," added Mr. Macalester, "before they commence fighting the South (for which some of them seem so anxious), repeal the odious and offensive nullifying acts called 'personal liberty' bills; let them discard the whole tribe of itinerant lecturers and demagogues who have been so eminently industrious in sowing discord throughout the land, and then let them resolve to mind their own business, and when this is done perhaps there will be no fighting to do." After Mr. Macalester had concluded, cheers were proposed and given for Maj. Anderson, President Buchanan, Gen. Scott, John J. Crittenden, and John C. Breckinridge. The name of Stephen A. Douglas was greeted with hisses. Robert P. Kane proposed a series of resolutions appealing "to the high sense of honor of the South not to turn away in anger from their steady friends, leaving them to the despotism of a sectional party flushed with victory, and which even the danger of disunion and civil war has not yet moved to conciliation," and declaring that among the most important features inculcated in the text-books of the Democratic party "is a strict construction of the Constitution of the United States, a sacred regard for the rights of each State to administer its own domestic concerns, and an absolute non-interference, directly or indirectly, by the people of the several States with the domestic institutions of each other;" that had these principles been respected by the opposition party, the alienation of the North and South might have been avoided; that "the present difficulties in the country are principally attributable to the sentiment prevalent in the North against the moral, social, and political right of the citizens of any State in the confederacy to retain the African race in bondage;" that "the question of domestic slavery for the African race in any of the States of the Union is purely a question of political economy," and that the support of the institution, with such guarantees and protection for the slave as duty and humanity might suggest, did not in any way involve a question of religion or morals; that the common Territories belonged to all, and no right of property of any kind, recognized by a State, could be divested by Congressional action or intervention; that "the denial of this community of interests and the compressions of domestic slavery within its present limits, involves in our judgment, as a matter of right, a violation of the Federal compact, and has led to most pernicious results;" that each of the States was a sovereignty and possessed full power, subject to

the Constitution of the United States, of legislating in such manner as might best comport with the interest of her citizens; that the Legislature of Pennsylvania should at once repeal all acts not consonant with a spirit of friendliness to the sister States, and should, by legislative enactments, "secure to the citizens of every State while within our limits as sojourners, and while coming to and going therefrom, ample protection for themselves and their property;" that any attempt to dissolve the Union should be looked upon with sorrow and alarm, but that "all conciliation failing, if the people of these States cannot live in harmony under the Constitution as it is, it should, by a general convention, be amended; and that failing, which we are loath to believe possible, acquiescence in peaceable separation is so far preferable to the horrors of civil war;" that it (the meeting) was utterly opposed to any such compulsion "as is demanded by a portion of the Republican party," and that the Democratic party of the North would "by the use of all constitutional means and with its moral and political influence, oppose any such extreme policy of a fratricidal war thus to be inaugurated;" that "we cordially approve the disavowal by the President, in his last annual message, for himself and for Congress, of the war-making power against a State of the confederacy;" that, "in the deliberate judgment of the Democracy of Philadelphia, and, so far as we know it, of Pennsylvania, the dissolution of the Union by the separation of the whole South, a result we shall most sincerely lament, may release this commonwealth to a large extent from the bonds which now connect her with the confederacy, except so far as for temporary convenience she chooses to submit to them, and would authorize and require her citizens, through a convention to be assembled for that purpose, to determine with whom her lot should be cast, whether with the North and East, whose fanaticism has precipitated this misery upon us, or with our brethren of the South, whose wrongs we feel as our own, or whether Pennsylvania should stand by herself as a distinct community, ready, when occasion offers, to bind together the broken Union and resume her place of loyalty and devotion;" that "we gladly acquiesce in the plan of compromise, embodied in the resolutions for amendment to the Constitution, offered in the Senate of the United States by Mr. Crittenden, and now pending before that body, as a proper basis for settlement of all existing difficulties;" and finally, that "we earnestly recommend our Democratic brethren in different cities and counties of this State and of New York and New Jersey, who agree with the views enunciated by this meeting, to take the earliest opportunity of holding mass-meetings in their respective localities." The reading of the resolutions was frequently interrupted by mingled applause and hisses. An attempt to introduce a series of adverse resolutions was made by Charles Gilligan, who, however, was ejected from the meeting. George M.

Wharton then addressed the meeting, advising conciliation and opposing secession. He was followed by Charles Ingersoll, who, after making a few remarks in the same strain, was interrupted by [1861 cries for "Brewster" (Benjamin H. Brewster), the confusion finally becoming so great that the speaker was unable to continue. William B. Reed then made an earnest plea in behalf of peace and conciliation, claiming that he spoke the true sentiment of every one around him, "Nay, of all Pennsylvania, except those who, as technical Abolitionists, I count as outlaws." Benjamin H. Brewster, who was the next speaker, declared that the South had been wronged, which would never have happened had not the Democratic party been divided. The South had been too precipitate, but he thought the difficulty might be adjusted even yet if a policy of conciliation were adopted. William Neal, of Ohio, made the closing speech, and the meeting adjourned with cheers for the Union, Stephen A. Douglas, and Maj. Anderson.

—In the newspapers of January 17th appeared the letter of William D. Lewis, chairman of the mass-meeting of January 5th, to Maj. Anderson, transmitting an account of the proceedings, and Maj. Anderson's reply, in which he expressed the hope that "by the blessing of God the impending political storm may be dispersed without bloodshed."

—On Saturday evening, January 19th, a meeting of workmen, without distinction of party, was held at Spring Garden Hall, Dr. A. L. Kennedy presiding, at which resolutions were proposed in favor of using every effort for the preservation of the Union and of repealing every "unconstitutional enactment" adopted by Northern States which had given offense to the South. The resolutions also called on Congress to take some action to allay agitation and excitement, and to restore confidence throughout the country, and indorsed President Buchanan's declaration of the right of the national government "to use military force defensively against those who resist the Federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the prosperity of the United States." The first resolution, declaring in favor of resistance to all efforts to dissolve the Union, was adopted, but the second resolution, calling for the rescinding of unconstitutional enactments, was amended by the substitution of one indorsing the Crittenden Compromise. The consideration of the other resolutions was postponed, and, after a committee to arrange for a mass-meeting had been appointed, the meeting adjourned.

—At a meeting of Marylanders residing in Philadelphia, held on the 22d of January, J. M. Stevens presiding, and H. Hollyday secretary, the constitution of the proposed society, to be known as the Maryland Association, was adopted. The society was then organized by the election of the following officers: Rev. J. W. Kramer, president; M. Hall Stanton, vice-president; J. M. Stevens, treasurer; H. Hollyday and

J. D. Watson, secretaries; Thomas Watson, J. D. Watson, William B. McAtee, G. J. Naylor, and H. Dickson, executive committee.

1861] —During the visit of members of the Chicago and Milwaukee Boards of Trade, who arrived in Philadelphia on the morning of January 24th, a number of speeches were made at the reception and banquet given them in which earnest Union sentiments were expressed. At Independence Hall, Mayor Henry, in welcoming the visitors, expressed the hope that "ere long the fanaticism and treason that obscure the early pathway of our country's progress may be dissipated, and happiness again become the heritage of the whole people." At the banquet given by the United Trade Association on the 25th, Gen. Rufus King, responding to the toast "The Great Northwest," said that all the past and present of that section were bound to the Union, and proposed as a toast "The Locomotive and the Cannon,—

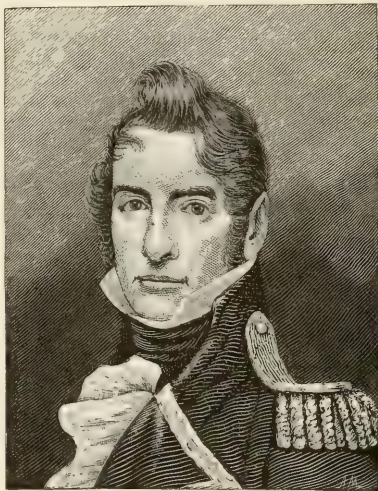
The iron that walks,
And the iron that talks.

With the one they could preserve the Union, with the other defend it against all enemies." The sentiment was received with cheers, and all present joined in singing the "Star-Spangled Banner." A. G. Cattell, president of the Philadelphia Corn Exchange, claimed that there was no power, native or foreign, capable of subverting the Constitution; and Commodore Charles Stewart, United States Navy ("Old Ironsides"), declared that the Constitution, like his own ship of that name, "might be sunk by her friends, but was never to be taken."

Charles Stewart, or "Old Ironsides," was born of Irish parents in Philadelphia, July 18, 1778. At the age of thirteen he entered the merchant service, in which he rose from the situation of cabin-boy to the command of an Indiaman. On March 9, 1798, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the navy, and in July, 1800, was appointed to the command of the schooner "Experiment," and cruised in the West Indies, where he rendered efficient service. On September 1st he captured the French schooner "Deux Aims," of eight guns, and soon after "The Diana," of fourteen guns, besides recapturing a number of American vessels which had been taken by French privateers. In 1802, as first officer, he joined the frigate "Constellation," which had been ordered to

the Mediterranean to blockade Tripoli; and on his return, after one year's cruise, was placed in command of the brig "Siren." In this vessel he was engaged in the expedition sent to destroy the frigate "Philadelphia" on Feb. 16, 1804, and subsequently in the blockade and siege of Tripoli. For his services in the bombardment of Aug. 3, 1804, he received the thanks of Commodore Preble in general orders. Promoted to be master-commander on May 19, 1804, he was placed in command of the frigate "Essex," which joined the squadron in Tunis Bay, and subsequently took command of the frigate "Constellation." On April 22, 1806, he was made captain, and was employed in superintending the construction of gun-boats at New York. In December, 1812, Capt. Stewart was again appointed to the "Constellation,"

and proceeded to Hampton Roads, where he assisted in defending Norfolk and Craney Island from the attacks of the British. In December, 1813, he sailed in command of the frigate "Constitution," in which, in February, 1815, he fell in with the British ships-of-war "The Cyane," of thirty-four, and "The Levant," of twenty-one guns, and captured them after a sharp conflict of forty minutes. "The Levant" was subsequently retaken by a British squadron, but the "Constitution" escaped with her other prize to St. Jago. On his return to America he was received with the highest honors. The Legislature of Pennsylvania presented him with a gold-hilted sword,



CAPTAIN CHARLES STEWART.

and a gold medal was ordered to be struck by Congress. He commanded the Mediterranean squadron from 1817 to 1820, when he took command of the Pacific fleet. On his return home he was tried by a court-martial, but was honorably acquitted. He was a member of the board of navy commissioners in 1830-33, and in 1837 succeeded Commodore Barron in command of the navy-yard at Philadelphia. In 1857 he was placed on the reserve list on account of his advanced age, but in March, 1859, he was replaced on the active list by special legislation, and on July 16, 1862, was made a rear-admiral on the retired list. He rendered important service in the organization of the navy, and submitted to the department many valuable papers on the subject. He died greatly lamented at Bordentown, N. J., Nov. 7, 1869.

—The mass-meeting of workmen to take ac-

tion on the political crisis was held in Independence Square on Saturday evening, January 26th. The following officers were chosen: President, Isaac W. Van Houton; Vice-Presidents, John A. Wallace, Alexander McPherson, George W. King, Eli Howell, A. V. Brady, Henry Clark, James Pugh, Joseph B. Hancock, John J. O'Connor, F. B. Smith, S. B. Whiting, Francis Reiley, George Widener, David Conrad, Hiram Gaston, William Cannon, Thomas Gibbs, Alfred A. Kennedy, George Hensler, Hiram Maxwell, Richard Newsham, John Hall, George Oat, William Morton, W. Wells, Passmore M. Collins, John Williamson, Thomas Clark, Joseph Travis, John A. Hughes, George Christy, Frank Walker, Thomas Christy; Secretaries, John A. Fulton, John Keesey, Robert J. Magee, Jonathan E. Fincher, John Curley, and John Call. Speeches were delivered by James B. Nicholson, Stacy Wilson, Henry A. Gilder, and J. J. Greenfield, urging moderation and a conciliatory policy, and resolutions were adopted in favor of the repeal of legislation obnoxious to the people of the South and deprecating collisions between the military force of the general government and the seceding States; but declaring that, after all fair and honorable means of reaching an amicable settlement had been exhausted, the workingmen of Philadelphia would sustain the government in all just and legal measures for enforcing the laws. The Crittenden Compromise was indorsed, and the committee of arrangements was authorized to appoint two delegates from each of the Congressional districts of Philadelphia to meet in convention on the 22d of February, as recommended by the mechanics and workingmen of Louisville, Ky.

—Hon. Simon Cameron, then United States senator from Pennsylvania, was serenaded at the Girard House on Saturday evening, January 26th, and, in acknowledging the compliment, declared that he was willing to make any reasonable concession, not involving a vital principle, to save the country from anarchy and bloodshed.

—At a meeting of Kentuckians resident in Philadelphia, held on the 29th of January, Dr. S. D. Gross presiding, an address to Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, stating that the people of the North would in time repeal all obnoxious laws and concede all reasonable demands, and a series of resolutions favoring conciliation and the Crittenden Compromise, were adopted.

—The committee appointed by the meeting of workingmen, held on Saturday, January 25th, to present the resolutions passed at the meeting to the United States senators and representatives, and to the Pennsylvania Legislature, repaired to Washington and Harrisburg for that purpose, and on their return were received at the Pennsylvania Railroad depot by a large delegation from the principal machine-shops, and escorted to their headquarters with a band of music. A line was formed, and the proces-

sion, headed by a large lantern, which had inscribed on the face of it in large letters, "Welcome home, committee," moved down Eleventh Street. After marching through several of the principal [1861] streets, the procession halted in front of the Wetherill House, on Sansom Street, where addresses were delivered by Messrs. Van Houton and Lowry. The former, in behalf of the committee, reported that they had been well received in Washington by the President of the United States and the senators from Pennsylvania, and that they had been assured by senators and representatives from the Southern States that the visit of the committee had had more effect upon Congress and the people of Washington than anything that had occurred in the course of the pending political agitation. In the House of Representatives the petition prepared by order of the mass-meeting had been received, read, and ordered to be printed. During their stay in Washington the members of the committee were introduced to Mr. Crittenden (author of the Crittenden Compromise). At Harrisburg the committee had received assurances from all the Philadelphia members of the Legislature, with but one exception, that they would do all in their power to secure the repeal of legislation injurious to the people of other States.

—On the 9th and 10th of February quite a large assemblage was attracted to the wharf of the Reading Railroad Company, foot of Willow Street, by the presence of a large number of heavy cannon, together with several tons of shells. They had been transported from the Fort Pitt foundry, near Pittsburgh, and were destined for the Stevens Water Battery in the harbor of New York. In the excited state of public feeling special significance was attached to the accumulation of war material, and three cheers, proposed by one of the spectators, were given with a will.

—On the 15th of February it was announced that Messrs. Hacker, Bradford, & Wetherill had been chosen by the special committee of Councils appointed to make arrangements for the reception of Hon. Abraham Lincoln, President-elect of the United States, to visit Cleveland for the purpose of presenting resolutions of the Councils inviting Mr. Lincoln to visit Philadelphia on his way to Washington. A committee of citizens was also appointed, which cooperated with the committee of Councils. The former committee adopted as a badge to be worn on the occasion of the President's reception a design comprising a spread-eagle, with the figures of Commerce and Agriculture under the wings. On their return from Cleveland the sub-committee of Councils reported to the committee that Mr. Lincoln had accepted the invitation. It was stated that Gen. Patterson had been called upon in reference to ordering out the First Division of volunteers to act as an escort to the President-elect, but that the general had declined to do so because there was no precedent for it, Mr. Lincoln

not coming in an official capacity. At a meeting of the committee held on the 19th, Mr. Benton, from the sub-committee appointed to ascertain if the First City Troop would parade as a body-guard, reported that Capt. James had been called upon, and had stated that he thought the Troop would be governed by the law of etiquette as laid down by Gen. Patterson. Capt. James afterwards came in and said he had concluded not to order out the Troop, for the reasons which Gen. Patterson had given for not calling out the First Division. He had no feeling in the matter, and at another time would be glad to conform to the wishes of the authorities and citizens. At a meeting of the committee held on the 20th, it was resolved that the citizens residing on the route of the procession be requested to display flags and ensigns, and also that they be requested not to display any of a partisan character.

—The reception of Mr. Lincoln on Thursday, February 21st, was an imposing demonstration. Many of the hotels and public buildings displayed bunting from their flag-staffs, and the city generally wore a holiday appearance. At two o'clock the members of Councils met at the hall, and the citizens' committee in the building opposite, preparatory to taking carriages for the depot. A salute fired by a detachment of soldiers under command of Capt. Berry announced to the multitude assembled at the Kensington Depot the arrival of the train. The committee of Councils appointed for the purpose having met the President-elect at Trenton, there was no particular ceremony after the train entered the depot. The procession to escort the President-elect was formed in the following order: Policemen, mounted, under command of Chief of Police Ruggles, detachment of police on foot; Col. P. C. Ellmaker, chief marshal of the procession, and aids; Conrad B. Andress, marshal, and aids; cavalcade of citizens, James Freeman, chief marshal; Pennsylvania Dragoons, commanded by Maj. Charles Thomson Jones; the President-elect in a barouche drawn by four white horses, and accompanied by the chairman of the committee of Councils and the presidents of Select and Common Councils; suite of the President-elect; committees of the Legislatures of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and officers and members of the City Councils of Philadelphia, all in carriages. A guard of police was posted on the flanks of the carriages and moved with the procession. The streets through which the parade passed were densely thronged, and the assemblage at the depot was so great as to render the sidewalks almost impassable. As the procession was about turning into Girard Avenue salutes were fired from the cupola of the William Penn Hose-house, on Frankford road, which was gayly decked with flags and patriotic emblems. A large American flag floated over the building of the James Page Library Company, on Girard Avenue, below the

Frankford road, and the front of the house of William P. Hacker, on Arch Street, near Broad, was festooned with three large American flags. An ever-green arch, decorated with American flags, extending across the street, was erected on Sixteenth Street, near Chestnut, under which the procession passed. Flags were also displayed from many private residences. Mr. Lincoln was loudly cheered all along the route, and frequently rose and acknowledged the greetings of the spectators. Several handsome bouquets were thrown into his carriage. When the procession reached the corner of Ninth and Walnut Streets the pressure of the crowd was tremendous. On Ninth Street from Walnut to Chestnut a strong force of police was stationed to keep the street clear; but at times its efforts was unavailing. The Continental Hotel, at which lodgings had been provided for Mr. Lincoln, soon became so crowded that it was found necessary to close nearly all the doors and to station policemen at them, in order to prevent the entrance of the thousands who surged toward them after the President-elect had entered. Mr. Lincoln soon after presented himself on the balcony of the hotel, and was greeted with prolonged cheering. A band stationed on the balcony struck up a lively air, at the conclusion of which the mayor of Philadelphia, Alexander Henry, tendered the hospitality of the city to Mr. Lincoln, who responded in a brief address. When he had concluded Mr. Lincoln retired to his apartments, and the vast assemblage slowly dispersed. A little after eight o'clock the President-elect took a position at the head of the grand stairway of the hotel, where he remained some time, in order to gratify the curiosity of those who wished to see him. About ten o'clock an arch of fire-works with the words, "Abraham Lincoln" in large letters in the arch, and the words, "The Whole Union" beneath it, was exhibited at Ninth and Chestnut Streets, extending across Chestnut.

—Washington's birthday, February 22d, was more generally observed in Philadelphia this year than for many years previous. The presence in the city of the President-elect, together with the ceremony of flag-raising at which it had been arranged he should assist, gave the celebration a more important character than ordinarily. From all the public buildings, hotels, shipping, newspaper offices, and engine- and hose-houses the American flag was displayed, and a large number of private dwellings were decorated in a similar manner. At sunrise a national salute was fired, and at seven o'clock a committee of the City Councils waited upon Mr. Lincoln, who was escorted from the Continental Hotel to Independence Hall by the Scott Legion. On entering the hall Mr. Lincoln was formally received by Theodore Cuyler, president of Select Council, to whose address of welcome Mr. Lincoln briefly replied. After inspecting the portraits and relics in the hall, Mr. Lincoln was escorted to the platform in front of the building, where his

appearance was the signal for long-continued cheering. Everything had been arranged for unfurling the new flag with thirty-four stars, the thirty-fourth representing Kansas, then recently admitted as a State. The flag was rolled into a ball in man-of-war style, so that when it reached the peak of the staff it should gradually unfurl to the breeze. The Scott Legion was drawn up in front of the platform. Mr. Benton, chairman of the joint committee of Councils, then said that he had been deputed to request Mr. Lincoln personally to raise the new flag with thirty-four stars, "the first elevated by the city government." Mr. Lincoln consented to perform the ceremony, signifying his acceptance of the invitation in a brief address, in which he said, "I think we may promise ourselves that not only the new star placed upon that flag shall be permitted to remain there to our permanent prosperity for years to come, but additional ones shall from time to time be placed there, until we shall number, as was anticipated by the great historian, five hundred millions of happy and prosperous people." After prayer by the Rev. Henry Steele Clark, Mr. Lincoln grasped the halyards until the flag, having ascended to the peak of the flag-staff, was unfurled. The band played the "Star-Spangled Banner," which was followed by "The Stars and Stripes are Still Unfurled," a piece of music dedicated to Mrs. Robert Anderson, wife of Maj. Anderson, commander of Fort Sumter. During the ceremonies a detachment of the Washington Grays stationed in Independence Square fired artillery salutes. Great enthusiasm was exhibited by the spectators. Having performed the task allotted him, Mr. Lincoln returned to the hotel, and at half-past eight o'clock left in an open barouche drawn by four horses for West Philadelphia, where a special train awaited him. At this point a salute was fired, and a large assemblage witnessed Mr. Lincoln's departure for Harrisburg at half-past nine o'clock. The next feature of the day's celebration was that in which the City Councils took part. Both branches met in joint convention, being called to order by Mayor Henry, and repaired in procession to the platform in front of Independence Hall. Mayor Henry here stated that the object of their meeting there was to listen to the reading of Washington's Farewell Address by the Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll. Bishop Potter offered a prayer, in which he expressed the hope that Washington's words of warning and admonition might be heeded throughout the length and breadth of the land. Mr. Ingersoll was then introduced and read the address, which was attentively listened to by the vast assemblage. The address was also read at the meeting of the soldiers of the war of 1812, which was held in the Supreme Court room on the same day, Hon. Joel B. Sutherland presiding, by Col. Robert Carr, who had carried a musket at a review of troops by Gen. Washington, and was the oldest of the survivors of the war of 1812. Resolutions were adopted by the meeting requesting Con-

gress and the State Legislatures "to adopt such measures as will present to the people of the several States such amendments to the Constitution of the United States as will tend [1861 to secure peace and amity between the different States, and thus add new strength to our institutions and make our republic the continual admiration of the civilized world;" thanking Virginia "for coming to the rescue and holding out the olive branch of peace to the other commonwealths;" and expressing the hope that the Peace Congress would not adjourn until it had perfected some plan for the preservation of the Union. At Mechanics' Hall a large number of citizens assembled to do honor to the memory of Washington. The building was profusely decorated with flags, and at the back of the speakers' stand portraits of Washington and Commodore Decatur were exhibited. After the national hymn ("America") had been sung, Rev. J. E. Meredith offered a prayer. The choir then rendered the "Birth of Washington," after which the master of ceremonies, William B. Thomas, introduced the orator of the day, Rev. D. W. Bartine, who delivered a patriotic discourse. The day was also marked by an imposing procession of workmen, representing the leading industrial establishments of the city. During the parade bells were rung at frequent intervals, and many beautiful flags, banners, and appropriate emblems were displayed, with inscriptions expressing fidelity to the Union. At National Hall a mass-meeting of workmen was held. Isaac W. Van Houton presided. After Washington's Farewell Address had been read by James Blakeley, Mr. McPherson offered a series of resolutions demanding immediate action on the part of Congress, "either by the adoption of the Crittenden, Guthrie, or Bigler amendments, or by some other full and clear recognition of the equal rights of the South in the Territories;" opposing "any measures that will evoke civil war;" recommending the repeal of all acts of the Pennsylvania Legislature which were not consonant with a spirit of friendliness to sister States, and that the workmen of Philadelphia hold their senators and representatives in Congress and in the State Legislature to "a strict account for the fulfillment of the promises made to the Workingmen's Committee of Thirty-three at Washington and Harrisburg;" and suggesting that the organization of the workmen of Philadelphia should be maintained. In addition to the other observances of the day, there was a parade of the military organizations of the city, including the Minutemen of '76, Capt. Berry, the Garde Lafayette, Capt. Archambault, the Washington Grays, Capt. Parry, the Philadelphia Grays, Capt. Foley, and the Meagher Guards.

—A national convention of workmen began its sessions at the Wetherill House, Sansom Street, on the 23d of February. Delegates were present from Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana,

Ohio, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. S. W. Cloyd, of Kentucky, presided. Resolutions deploring the sectional agitation which was disturbing the **1861]** country, and indorsing the Crittenden Compromise, were adopted. J. B. Nicholson, of Pennsylvania, having been introduced to the meeting, presented the chairman, on behalf of the workingmen of Philadelphia, with a handsomely-bound copy of Washington's Farewell Address. A series of resolutions were offered by Mr. Touchstone, of Maryland, denouncing the "nabobs and aristocrats of the South and fanatics of the North," but having been objected to were withdrawn. On motion of Mr. Lawrence, of Virginia, it was determined to appoint a National Executive Committee, consisting of three persons, with power to increase their number to thirty-four. The convention then adjourned.

—At a convention of workingmen, composed of delegates from the different industrial works of Philadelphia, held at Spring Garden Hall, on the 4th of March, for the purpose of choosing delegates to a national convention to be held at Louisville, Ky., on the 4th of July, Joseph Christy was chosen president, J. M. Stephens vice-president, and Richard Flach secretary. An executive committee was appointed, which, on March 7th, organized by electing the following officers: President, I. W. Van Houton; Vice-Presidents, A. N. Macpherson and E. W. Fraley; Recording Secretary, John Hall; Corresponding Secretary, W. H. Sylves; Treasurer, W. Obdyke.

—Hon. David Wilmot, senator-elect from Pennsylvania, and famous as the author of the Wilmot Proviso, arrived in Philadelphia on Saturday, March 16th, and stopped at the Continental Hotel, where he was serenaded by a number of his political friends. Mr. Wilmot acknowledged the compliment by making an address, in which he defined the principles that would guide his course in the Senate.

—A meeting of the friends in Philadelphia of Hon. J. J. Crittenden was held on the 6th of March at the American Hotel. Dr. Alfred L. Elwyn was appointed chairman, and S. E. Cohen secretary. It was resolved that a committee of ten persons be appointed to confer with Mr. Crittenden "to ascertain when it would be convenient for him to visit Philadelphia, in order to afford its citizens an opportunity of manifesting their deep sense of approbation of the patriotic efforts made by him to maintain and perpetuate the union of these States." The committee, consisting of Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, Hon. Peter McCall, Hon. Edward King, Peter Williamson, James C. Hand, Dr. Alfred L. Elwyn, Robert H. Hare, John Hulme, J. E. Peyton, and Marcellus Mundy, wrote to Mr. Crittenden, who replied on the 17th, declining the invitation on account of having been called to his home in Kentucky.

—At a meeting of the Workingmen's Committee of Thirty-four, which was held at the Wetherill House on the 19th of March, it was resolved that "the work-

ingmen of Philadelphia do hereby recommend to all our fellow-workingmen of our common country to lay aside all political and sectional feeling, and to come out in the majesty of their power and show to political party tricksters and to the world that our country must and shall be preserved."

—The action of the Pennsylvania Legislature in postponing the spring municipal election was the occasion of several political meetings in Philadelphia about this time. On the 20th of March the county convention of the Constitutional Union party met at the county court-house, George C. Collins presiding, and after electing S. H. Norris president, S. S. Sunderland secretary, and M. B. Dean treasurer, appointed a committee to draft resolutions denouncing the action of the Legislature, with instructions to report at a subsequent meeting. On the 21st the Minutemen of '76 appointed a committee, consisting of H. F. Knight, James W. Martin, F. S. Altemus, H. C. Laudenslager, and W. J. McMullen, to confer with committees of other associations as to the propriety of holding a mass-meeting to protest against the action of the Legislature. The Democratic City Executive Committee characterized the act as an "outrage perpetrated by the Black Republican majority in the State Legislature," and appointed a committee to consult counsel as to its legality.

—Early on the morning of March 26th a secessionist flag was found flying from a pole in front of the "Jolly Post," in Frankford, and soon attracted a large crowd. It was finally taken down, and the assemblage dispersed.

—A meeting of the Constitutional Union convention was held on the 27th of March, I. H. Norris in the chair, at which resolutions were adopted declaring it inexpedient at that time to attempt to test the constitutionality of the late act of the Legislature by which the spring election had been postponed until the fall, and that the time had come when those "who love their country for their country's good must unite in beating down under foot the fell spirit of disunion, anarchy, corruption, and fanaticism."

—On the 29th of March an opinion was published of City Solicitor Charles E. Lex, rendered in compliance with a request from City Councils, affirming the constitutionality of the act of Legislature abolishing the spring election for municipal officers.

—During the annual session of the Philadelphia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church the Committee on the State of the Church, to which was referred the subject of the repeal of the new chapter on slavery inserted into the "Discipline" by the General Conference, reported March 29th, concurring in the resolutions of the East Baltimore Conference requesting the General Conference at its next session to repeal the chapter on slavery, and instead thereof, empower each annual Conference within whose bounds the institution exists "to make such regulations upon this subject as in their judgment may best

subserve the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom among them." The committee also recommended the adoption of an address to the members of the church in Delaware and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia. The address assured them that they had the profoundest sympathies of the Conference in their disquietude and agitated condition, and that no exertions should be wanting to secure them redress for their grievances and to maintain their ecclesiastical rights in and under the constitution of the church. It also declared that the change in the church discipline introduced by the chapter on slavery was entirely uncalled for, "highly offensive to our brethren on the border, and lamentably injurious to the welfare of the church among them," and ought to be repealed. The committee also reported that "in view of our present national difficulties and embarrassments, and the consequently disturbed condition of the public mind on the one hand, and the conflicting opinion of our churches in Delaware and Maryland on this subject, we deem it inexpedient to divide the Philadelphia Conference by State lines at this time." The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

—News of the firing upon Fort Sumter (April 12th) was received in Philadelphia by telegraph on the same day, but did not become generally known until published in the newspapers of the following day. On the reception of the news at Harrisburg the State Legislature immediately passed the bill, drawn up by A. K. McClure, appropriating five hundred thousand dollars toward organizing, equipping, and arming the militia. On Saturday, April 13th, a feverish interest in the dispatches from the seat of hostilities followed the announcement in the morning papers that war had actually commenced. The streets in the centre of the city were thronged until a late hour at night, and "every one who hinted any sympathy with the secessionists was made to take an unequivocal stand." At an early hour on Sunday groups of men gathered around the newspaper and telegraph offices, and eagerly discussed the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter, as published in the extras. The feeling in opposition to secession was very strong, and one individual who openly expressed his sympathy for the South was set upon and chased from Third and Chestnut Streets into Dr. Jayne's drug-store. Here he was protected by policemen, who barred the door, and thus effected his rescue. A hand-bill was circulated during the day calling upon "young men desirous of rallying around the standard of the Union" to enroll themselves immediately in the new volunteer Light Artillery Regiment, "now rapidly filling up, and ready to march upon the receipt of orders from the Governor." This circular was issued by order of Capt. J. Brady, acting major. At most of the city armories the volunteers gathered during the day, discussing the probable effect of the news from a military point

of view. The Union feeling was strongly in the ascendant, and it was agreed on all hands that the government should be sustained at all hazards, and independent of party predilections. [1861 During the evening the throngs on the street increased, and the extras, announcing that a proclamation would be issued by the President calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers, were quickly sold.

—A meeting of the officers of the First Regiment, Washington Brigade, was held at Military Hall, Third Street near Green, on Saturday evening, April 13th, Lieut.-Col. C. M. Berry presiding. Gen. Small stated that he had visited Washington and tendered the command of the brigade to Hon. Simon Cameron, who had accepted. Recruiting soon became general, and the ranks of the volunteer companies filled up rapidly.

—On Monday, April 15th, an excited crowd collected in front of No. 337 Chestnut Street, owing to a rumor that a paper called *The Palmetto Flag*, which advocated secessionist principles, was published in the building. Finally several men entered the door leading to the stairway and attempted to ascend to the third story, where the publication-office was said to be. A policeman interfered, and the men left the building. The crowd, however, continued to increase, and a demand was made that the American flag should be displayed from one of the windows of the room in which *The Palmetto Flag* was said to be published. Mayor Henry soon made his appearance at one of the windows, waving a small flag, and was greeted with cheers. The mayor addressed the assemblage, appealing to all citizens who were loyal to the flag to show their respect for it and for the laws by retiring to their respective homes. The request was not complied with, however, until a large flag had been unfurled from the building, and a number of persons remained until some time in the afternoon. In consequence of the excitement, Town & Co., the publishers of *The Palmetto Flag*, announced that they would suspend its publication. While the crowd was still gathered in front of *The Palmetto Flag* office, the stars and stripes were being run up at the American Hotel, Chestnut Street, above Fifth. By some mismanagement the flag ascended the staff union down. As soon as the mistake had been discovered the flag was lowered, but not until the crowd, having noticed the reversal of the ensign, and interpreting it as an insult to the Union, had made a rush for the hotel. In a few minutes the flag reappeared in the usual way, and was greeted with cheers. About noon the crowd began to move in other directions, visiting various places where flags had not been exhibited as an evidence of the Union sentiments of the occupants, and requiring them to be displayed. A paper, declaring the unalterable determination of the subscribers "to sustain the government in its effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our national Union and the perpetuity of the popu-

lar government," was circulated on the 15th and following days for signatures. Among the subscribers were Horace Binney, S. G. Fisher, James **1861**] R. Webb, Joseph R. Ingersoll, J. I. Clark Hare, Samuel C. Perkins, William M. Meredith, Charles Gilpin, B. Gerhard, Richard Vaux, William H. Kern, James Bayard, H. C. Carey, Thomas A. Biddle, William E. Lehman, V. Gilpin, James W. Paul, C. W. Churchman, Oswald Thompson, George M. Stroud, C. N. Bancker, Morton McMichael, L. C. Cassidy, S. A. Mercer, Charles S. Peaselee, Charles Gibbons, Ch. Borie, Charles Platt, David Webster, Charles Dutilh, Edward H. Trotter, John C. Knox, Edward S. Whelen, Matthew Morris, R. Smethurst, John W. Field, William R. White, C. H. Fisher, C. G. Childs, W. Cummings, Alexander Fullerton, William D. Lewis, Charles Gilpin, George H. Stuart, Samuel H. Perkins, Richard S. Smith, E. M. Lewis, Benjamin Rush, Thomas C. Hand, Daniel Smith, Jr., J. Murray Rush, E. A. Souder, H. P. Borie, C. Guillou, J. Hill Martin, I. P. Hutchinson, Victor Guillou, John R. Penrose, William R. Lejee, S. P. Wiltbank, Alexander Biddle, D. Dougherty, Joshua W. Bates, Horace Binney, Jr., Theodore Cuyler, J. H. Curtis, Jr. On the evening of April 15th the members of the Corn Exchange fired a salute of thirty-four guns from their rooms in Second Street in honor of their new flag and the whole Union.

—On the 15th of April, Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, commanding the First Division Pennsylvania Volunteers, issued an order calling attention to the President's proclamation asking for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and stating that he relied on the loyalty of the officers and men of his division for the enforcement of a rigid system of military instruction. The brigadier-generals were directed to give orders for special attention to the instruction of members of companies, and to adopt the most efficient means for putting their brigades in condition for immediate service. Under President Lincoln's requisition upon the State of Pennsylvania for sixteen regiments, Philadelphia's quota was six regiments, and the companies in process of organization vied with each as to which should have their ranks full first.

Gen. Robert Patterson died Aug. 7, 1881, aged eighty-nine years. He was for a half-century one of the most conspicuous public men in Philadelphia. His military position gave him unusual prominence. Entering the army of the United States during the war of 1812, he was appointed first lieutenant in the Twenty-second Regiment of Infantry. He was transferred to the Third Regiment in May, 1813, and before the war ended held the position of captain. Returning to Philadelphia, he became interested in the volunteer branch of the Pennsylvania militia. He was elected captain of the Washington Blues upon the formation of that company, on the 17th of August, 1817. The Blues was a large and spirited company,

and was noted for its strength and efficiency in military exercises. Some time after they were formed, Capt. Patterson was elected colonel of the City Volunteer Infantry Regiment, retaining at the same time the command of the Blues. In 1824, Brig.-Gen. Thomas Cadwalader, of the City Brigade, resigned that position, having been previously elected major-general of the First Division, to succeed Gen. Isaac Worrell. Col. Patterson was elected brigadier-general of the City Brigade. In 1833, Gen. Cadwalader having resigned the position of major-general, Brig.-Gen. Patterson succeeded him. He held that rank until 1867, when he resigned. During all that period he was prominent in the city upon occasions of military parades, processions, and as chief commander of the division in times of riot and disturbance, when the services of the troops were called. He was in command of the troops which went to Harrisburg during the Buckshot war in 1835. During the Native American riots of 1844 he had command of the troops in Kensington, and at the church of St. Philip de Neri in Southwark. For some time after the latter riot the city was practically under martial law. Gen. Patterson had his headquarters at the Girard Bank, and remained there until quietness and good order were assured. Upon the breaking out of the war between the United States and Mexico he was appointed major-general in the service of the United States. He was in command at the battle of Cerro Gordo, which was fought on the 18th of April, 1847, in which eight thousand five hundred American troops vanquished twelve thousand Mexicans. He commanded the advance which followed the retreating enemy, and on the 19th of April captured Jalapa. He took part in the subsequent engagements in the heart of Mexico, and entered the city of Mexico with the victorious army. After the close of the war he returned to the United States with the troops, and participated in the reception of the Pennsylvania volunteers by the citizens of Philadelphia on the 24th of July, 1848. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was commissioned major-general by Governor Curtin, and was assigned to the command of the Pennsylvania three-months' volunteers. The United States government immediately appointed him to the command of the military department composed of the States of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. With the three months' men he crossed the Potomac on the 15th of June, 1861. There were skirmishes and engagements with the rebels. Eventually Gen. Patterson reached Winchester; a rebel force, commanded by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, being in front of him. While there he was anxious to attack the enemy, but was restrained by positive orders from Gen. Scott to make no movement until directed. *That order to attack never came.* Patterson remained idle at Winchester, menacing Johnston, without authority to fight him. Meanwhile the bulk of the force of Johnston was enabled to slip away

to reinforce Beauregard toward the close of the battle of Bull Run, in consequence of which the Union troops under Gen. McDowell were defeated. This disaster caused great feeling throughout the Union, and Patterson was severely censured for his inactivity. As a soldier he was compelled to bear this odium without being able to show that he was in no fault. It was years afterward before he was able to break the seal of secrecy which had been maintained by the government, and to show by the publication of official orders that Gen. Scott was to blame, by compelling Patterson to remain idle in front of the enemy, waiting for orders which were never issued. On the expiration of the three months' term Gen. Patterson retired from active service, and returned to Philadelphia. Gen. Patterson was the son

of an Irish farmer, and was born in the County Tyrone, Ireland, Jan. 12, 1792. His father came to Pennsylvania, and settled at Ridley, in Delaware County, about 1799 or 1800, and lived upon the estate of John Sketchy Morton. He purchased five or six hundred acres of land on Ridley Creek, not far from the present village called Morton, in Springfield township, and engaged in farming. Robert Patterson was sent to the Springfield school, near by, a somewhat famous academy at the time, at which John Edgar Thomson and others who became eminent men were afterward educated. Having an inclination for a mercantile life, Robert Patterson was placed in the counting-house of Edward

Thomson, who was a leading merchant of this city in the China and India trade, about the year 1808. He was appointed to the United States army while in Mr. Thomson's service. About 1817 he commenced on his own account as a grocer at No. 260 High Street. Some time in 1818 he removed to No. 287½ High Street. In 1833 the store of Robert Patterson & Co. was at No. 182 High Street, between Fifth and Sixth. The wholesale grocery business led Gen. Patterson into purchases of sugar, and gave him extensive connections with the sugar-growing districts of the South, especially in Louisiana, where he became owner of sugar plantations. From sugar he gradually was induced to take participation in the cotton trade, and by degrees the grocery business was abandoned. He became a large dealer in cotton, and furnished the material for cotton-mills. Those interests compelled him

at length to become a cotton manufacturer, not so much from inclination as by necessity. The failure of manufacturers who were his debtors compelled him, in order to save himself from [1861] loss, to purchase their mills, and thus by degrees he became a manufacturer. This interest increased so that he became in time the largest cotton manufacturer in the country. At the time of his death he was the owner of the Patterson Mills, in Chester, the Ripka Mills, in Manayunk, and the Lenni Mills, in Delaware County. His principal offices and counting-houses at the time of his death were at Manayunk and at No. 136 Chestnut Street. Gen. Patterson was a man of strong social instincts. He was a prominent figure upon every social occasion. He was one of the founders of the Aztec Club,

established by officers of the United States army in Mexico in October, 1847, was elected president at that time, and remained in that office until his death. He was one of the founders, and a member until his death, of the Saturday Club of the city. He was a member of the Farmers' Club, a social organization. He held a few prominent civil offices. He was a member of the State Board of Canal Commissioners from 1827 to 1829. He was State director of the Philadelphia Bank for many years, and was afterward director elected by the stockholders. He was for some years president and member of the Board of Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary. He was the first president



GENERAL ROBERT PATTERSON.

of the Philadelphia and Wilmington Railroad Company. He was for a long time member and president of the Hibernian Society. In 1874 he was elected a trustee of Lafayette College at Easton. In politics he was always a Democrat. He was a Presidential elector and president of the Pennsylvania electoral college in 1837. Gen. Patterson survived his wife (who was a Miss Engle) about six years. His son, Col. Francis E. Patterson, had command of the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Artillery during the three months' service, and unfortunately died in the service from an accidental pistol-shot wound. His eldest son, William Patterson, is a resident of Tennessee. His son, Gen. Robert E. Patterson, a graduate of West Point, and for some years an officer of the United States army, was engaged in business with him. One of his daughters married the Hon. J.

Ross Snowden, who was for some years treasurer of the United States Mint, and clerk of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Another daughter **1861**] married Gen. John J. Abercrombie, of the United States army. Mrs. Lynde was another daughter.

—The Board of Trade and Board of Stock Brokers met on the 16th of April and passed resolutions declaring their unalterable attachment to the Union and their purpose to support the government. Similar resolutions were adopted at a meeting of citizens of the Nineteenth Ward, which was held on the same day at Temperance Hall, Frankford road and York Street. Speeches indorsing the resolutions were made by John M. Carson, Fletcher Budd, A. Warthman, A. J. Holmes, and others.

—On the 16th of April Mayor Henry issued a proclamation declaring that treason against the State of Pennsylvania or against the United States would not be suffered within the city, nor would violence to the persons or property of its inhabitants be tolerated. "I do hereby require all good citizens," continued the proclamation, "to disclose and make known to the lawful authorities every person rendering in this city aid to enemies in open war against this State and the United States by enlisting or procuring others to enlist for that purpose, or by furnishing such enemies with arms, ammunition, provisions, or other assistance. I do hereby require, and command that all persons shall refrain from assembling in the highways of this city unlawfully, riotously, or tumultuously, warning them that the same will be at their peril. The laws of our State and Federal government must be obeyed. The peace and credit of Philadelphia shall be preserved. May God save our Union."

Commenting upon this proclamation, the *Public Ledger* of April 17th said, "Under the supposition that manufacturers have been furnishing arms to the secessionists, manufactories have been visited by organized bodies of persons, and the workmen compelled to leave. Private citizens have also had their houses visited, and a display of flags demanded of them." After indorsing the mayor's declaration that persons engaged in rendering aid to the enemies of the United States would be handed over to the lawful authorities, the same paper expressed its approval of the mayor's determination to protect citizens suspected of Southern proclivities from the violence of party spirit.

—A meeting of merchants and manufacturers of Philadelphia was held at the Board of Trade room, on the 17th of April, for the purpose of taking action expressive of their determination to support the government. John E. Addicks called the meeting to order, and nominated David S. Brown as chairman, and William C. Ludwig as secretary. After a brief address by Mr. Brown, S. V. Merrick said, "The executive committee at its last meeting felt that the

time had come when every man should show where he stood,—whether for the government or against it. The committee, on that occasion, passed resolutions expressive of their fidelity to the Union. At the same time it was thought proper that a meeting of the merchants of the city should be called to indorse their resolutions." Mr. Ludwig then read a series of resolutions, to the effect that the merchants and manufacturers of Philadelphia, "forgetting all political differences, unmindful of party lines and distinctions, remembering only that we are fellow-citizens of one beloved country, and that country in danger," pledged themselves to use all their influence to strengthen the hands of the government and cheerfully to bear their share "of the sacrifices and perils of the hour." After speeches by George N. Tatham, George L. Buzby, and W. D. Lewis, the following resolution was offered by Levi T. Rutter:

"Resolved, in the glowing words of our Revolutionary sires, we hereby pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to support the Union, the Constitution, and the laws."

After an earnest pro-Union speech by Marcellus Mundy, the resolution was adopted. Hon. William D. Kelley, Frederick Fraley, and Dr. Elder then addressed the meeting, after which the resolutions as read by Mr. Ludwig were adopted by acclamation.

—On the evening of the same day (April 17th) a number of persons formerly connected with the Washington Grays Artillery Corps met at the Wetherill House for the purpose of organizing a reserve guard for the protection of the city. Charles S. Smith was elected chairman. Col. C. G. Childs said that Independence Hall, the birthplace of liberty, "should be defended against all assaults of those traitors" who were "contemplating the capture of Washington." Col. Childs, Morton McMichael, Joseph M. Thomas, Peter C. Ellmaker, and Charles Gilpin were appointed a committee to draft a series of resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, and a paper was submitted for signatures stating that the undersigned, retired and contributing members of the Washington Grays, and other citizens of the city of Philadelphia, over forty-five years of age, agreed to "raise a regiment of at least eight hundred men for the purpose of defending and protecting the city of Philadelphia, to be designated as the Reserve Corps," and pledged themselves to each other to maintain the laws and uphold the constituted authorities of the country in her hour of trial. At the different recruiting-stations the excitement continued unabated, and on the 18th it was announced that the ranks of the Washington brigade were nearly full. The display of the national flag had also become general. "The city," said a contemporary journal, "never presented so brilliant an appearance as at present in the way of the display of the stars and stripes. All the public buildings and hundreds of proprietors of stores have thrown the glorious flag to the breeze, and in some quarters it

floats from private dwellings." The following appeal, said to have emanated from a meeting of ladies, was widely circulated :

"The crisis now impending on the country calls forth the true patriotism of every woman in the community ; and while our husbands, fathers, and brothers are engaged in war, that we may not be found wanting in deep sympathy,

"Resolved, This 16th day of April, that we, as a body of ladies, do hereafter adopt the colors of the Union, to be worn as a rosette or bow, hoping to express by this simple manifestation the devoted feeling we have for our country, and as we think every true American woman must feel at this present time.

"RED, WHITE, AND BLUE."

The suggestion was promptly complied with, and on the following day, April 18th, a number of women appeared on the streets wearing the rosettes.

—In Select Council, on the 18th of April, Mr. Megary submitted an ordinance authorizing the mayor to issue a proclamation offering a reward of five hundred dollars for the apprehension and conviction of any person or persons who, within the limits of Philadelphia, should violate the provisions of the act then recently passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature defining treasonable acts. An ordinance offered by Mr. Wetherill provided that the sum of ten thousand dollars should be appropriated for the purchase of arms or other munitions of war for the use of a home guard or any other company that might be formed for the defense of the city. In the same connection Mr. Wetherill presented a subscription paper in which the signers volunteered to give five thousand dollars toward the purchase of twelve howitzers and their equipment, to be under the control of the Home Guards. Mr. Dickson submitted an ordinance appropriating one hundred thousand dollars for the relief of families of volunteers. Similar ordinances were offered by Messrs. Bradford and Beideman, and Daniel M. Fox introduced a series of resolutions expressing gratification that Pennsylvania had proven her loyalty. Mr. Benton offered a resolution instructing the commissioner of city property to tender the city halls for the purpose of drilling ; and another resolution directing the commissioner to purchase American flags and to have them displayed from the dome of every district hall. Mr. Bradford submitted an ordinance to organize, equip, and pay a mounted police force of five hundred men for a term of three months, the members to receive the same pay as that of the regular police force. A series of resolutions was submitted by Mr. Davis declaring the undying devotion of the citizens of Philadelphia to the Union, and pledging the faith and credit of the city to the general government to the extent of one million dollars to aid in the enforcement of the laws. Mr. Ginnodo submitted a resolution beseeching Maryland to stand by the Union, and pledging the sympathy of the people of Philadelphia to the people of Baltimore in their efforts on behalf of the Union. These ordinances and resolutions were referred to a special committee, which reported in favor of asking Common Council to ap-

point a committee to confer with the Select Council committee as to the measures proper to adopt in the pending crisis. The report was agreed to. Mr. Benton offered a resolution, which [1861 was adopted, instructing the special committee to inquire into the propriety of continuing the salary of any public officer "who shall be enrolled into the service of the United States whose pay is less than two hundred dollars per annum." On motion of Mr. Craig it was determined that a committee should be appointed to tender to Maj. Robert Anderson the hospitalities of the city on his arrival in Philadelphia. In the Common Council, Mr. Quin offered resolutions approving the general government's determination to "enforce the laws, quell rebellion, and preserve the integrity of the Union," and declaring that "the defense of Fort Sumter by the gallant Maj. Anderson demands, and deserves, the highest meed of praise, and that, as a mark of our high appreciation of his incorruptible patriotism and unflinching courage, the city of Philadelphia present him with a sword, and that the mayor, together with the presidents of Select and Common Councils, be a committee for carrying this resolution into effect." Both resolutions were adopted, the first unanimously, and the second with only one vote in the negative. Mr. Kerr submitted a letter from the clerk of Common Council, Gen. William F. Small, asking leave of absence during the period in which he should be engaged as a soldier in aiding to suppress the insurrection in the Southern States. A resolution was passed granting the desired leave of absence provided it did not continue longer than the first Monday in January following. The resolution was afterward concurred in by Select Council with the exception of a section appropriating five hundred dollars to furnish equipments to Gen. Small. Mr. Potter submitted an ordinance appropriating sixty thousand dollars for the relief and support of such of the families of the citizens of Philadelphia who were then or should be subsequently regularly mustered into the service of the United States, as needed assistance during their absence ; the same to be expended for that purpose in such manner as a committee of six of the citizens—three to be chosen by each branch of Councils separately—should, in conjunction with the presidents of Select and Common Councils, the mayor and the city solicitor, from time to time direct. The ordinance recommended to the citizens that they co-operate in this design by individual subscriptions. On motion of Mr. Cattell the amount was made one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars instead of sixty thousand dollars, and the ordinance as amended was then adopted. Mr. Potter submitted an ordinance, which was passed, appropriating five thousand dollars for the use of the mayor, "to be employed by him as he may deem expedient for the preservation of the public peace, the security of the city, and the detection and prevention of any plans or combi-

nations to destroy the government of this State or of the United States." The mayor was also requested and authorized "to use all and every means in his [1861] power to detect and prevent any combinations, conspiracies, or endeavors whatever or by whomsoever made, within the city, to subvert the government of this State or of the United States, or to aid, succor, or assist any person or persons in rebellion against the same, or to molest or disturb the peace or property of the citizens, and to prosecute such person or persons to the full extent of the law." The resolution from Select Council requesting Common Council to appoint a committee to confer with a similar committee of the former body on the state of the country was concurred in. The two committees consisted of the following members: Select Council, Messrs. McIntyre, Megary, Wetherill, Davis, Beideman, Dickson, Drayton, and Riley; Common Council, Messrs. Catherinewood, Kerr, Hodgson, Moore, Paul, Lynd, Loughlin, and Potter.

—On the 19th of April a card was published by S. E. Cohen announcing that in compliance with requests from various quarters he had opened a muster-roll at his office, 712 Chestnut Street, for the organization of a battalion of volunteers for home protection, to be known as the Municipal Guard. On the same day all the military companies intended for service under the general government were mustered and placed under marching orders. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, Col. Edward F. Jones, which had arrived on the previous evening *en route* for Washington *via* Baltimore, met with an enthusiastic reception. On their arrival at the foot of Walnut Street, by steamer from the Jersey shore, they were greeted with cheer after cheer from the large assemblage of men and women collected on Delaware Avenue and the wharves in the vicinity. The regiment formed in line on Delaware Avenue, and marched up Walnut to Dock Street, up Dock to Third, up Third to Chestnut, and up Chestnut to the Girard House. So great was the crowd about the hotel that it was with much difficulty that the troops obtained admission. In the evening the regiment was entertained at the Continental Hotel.

—The news of the attack in Baltimore, on the 19th of April, on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment and the troops from Philadelphia created great excitement in the city and intensified the Union sentiment. The Philadelphia troops, consisting of one-half of the Washington Brigade, comprising six companies of the First Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Berry, and four companies of the Second Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Schoenleber, left Philadelphia for Washington at three o'clock on the morning of the 19th, under the command of Gen. William F. Small. They numbered about eighteen hundred men. A short time before their departure the Massachusetts volunteers had left their quarters at the Girard House, and having marched to the Philadelphia, Wilmington and

Baltimore Railroad Depot, took the cars for Washington. On their arrival at the President Street Depot in Baltimore, the Massachusetts troops were met by a mob, which obstructed their passage through the city. On attempting to force their way they were attacked by the rioters, and three of the Massachusetts soldiers were killed and several wounded. The troops returned the fire, killing eleven of the citizens, and finally succeeded in reaching the Camden Depot, whence they proceeded over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Washington. At the request of the Governor of Maryland and the mayor of Baltimore, the train containing the Philadelphia troops was ordered by the railroad officers to remain in the depot. The Philadelphians were unarmed, and without uniforms. Missiles were thrown at them while in the cars, and some of them were injured. In his report of the affair, as narrated to a newspaper reporter, Gen. Small said that the Pennsylvanians behaved gallantly, and many of them sprang from the cars upon their assailants and engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict with them. It was impossible, however, to distinguish friends from foes, as the mob was composed of Union men and secessionists, who were fighting among themselves, and the Pennsylvanians, not being uniformed, could not be distinguished from either. This state of things continued more than two hours, when Marshal Kane, the chief of police of Baltimore, appeared upon the ground, restored something like order, and placed the Pennsylvanians in cars ready to be returned North. The officers and men from Philadelphia, he added, conducted themselves with the utmost courage and deliberation. Regular troops could not have behaved better. The main body of the Washington Brigade returned on the night of the 19th, reaching the depot at Broad and Prime Streets at eleven o'clock. Twenty-eight members of the force became separated from the rest of the command, and according to the statement of one of their number, Samuel Baker, of Philadelphia, after fleeing about twenty-two miles from Baltimore in a northwesterly direction, they were arrested by a number of secessionists, marched across the country to Belair, Harford Co., Md., and there placed in jail. On the following day, however, they were released and escorted by troops to the Pennsylvania line, whence they proceeded to Philadelphia. The Baltimore riot produced intense resentment in Philadelphia, and called forth strong expressions of indignation from public bodies. In the City Council prompt action was taken for aiding a vigorous prosecution of the war. The special committee appointed by Select and Common Councils reported in favor of passing ordinances,—first, requesting the citizens of Philadelphia to assemble in their respective wards and form companies of one hundred each for the purpose of drill for home service, and to answer any call from the government; second, instructing the Committee on Finance to

report at the next meeting an ordinance for a loan of one million dollars for the purpose of meeting the appropriations to provide for the families of volunteers and for other purposes connected with the disturbed condition of the country; third, that the commissioner of city property be requested to place at the disposal of any military organization for drill any of the city halls, when not otherwise occupied, free of charge; fourth, that "the fervent devotion to the Union manifested by the citizens of Baltimore entitles them to the warmest thanks of the citizens of Philadelphia and to the unbounded admiration of every Union-loving citizen of the United States;" fifth, that "the patriotic stand against secession maintained by Thomas H. Hicks, Governor of Maryland, proves him a patriot worthy of the proudest days of Greece or Rome, and will hand down his name to posterity engraven with the same scroll with the worthiest of the heroes and sages of 1776;" sixth, that fifty thousand dollars be appropriated for the purchase of such arms and other munitions of war, "for the use of a Home Guard, or any other company hereafter to be formed for the defense of the city;" seventh, that one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars be appropriated for the relief and support of the families of volunteers engaged in the service of the Union; eighth, that the determined attitude taken by the general government for the suppression of the Rebellion be heartily approved, and that a sword be presented to Maj. Anderson; ninth, that five thousand dollars be appropriated to the use of the mayor for the preservation of peace in the city, the detection of persons engaged in treasonable designs against the government, and of persons engaged in molesting the property of citizens of Philadelphia. All of these recommendations were agreed to by both Select and Common Councils. Mr. Benton submitted a resolution continuing the salary of any officer of the city who, before the proclamation of the President of the United States, was connected with volunteer companies, and who might be called into service. This resolution was referred to the special committee. The activity at the recruiting stations was greatly increased after the attack upon the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania troops in Baltimore had become generally known. On the 19th, Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson issued an order directing the regiments and companies of the Second and Third Brigades, who had volunteered for service, to report to Brig.-Gen. George Cadwalader for instructions. The troops, it was stated, would be inspected and mustered into the service of the United States by Maj. Ruff and Capt. Heth of the army, and would march as soon as arms, ammunition, great-coats, blankets, and other appointments indispensable for the health of the men could be procured from the government. The First Division received orders to be in readiness to march at two hours' notice, and the armories all day on the 19th presented an animated appearance. The organization of companies of Home

Guards in the different wards also received an impetus from the news from Baltimore, it being apprehended that if the secessionists retained possession of Baltimore, an attack might [1861] be made on Philadelphia. At a meeting of the soldiers of the war of 1812, held at Independence Hall, Hon. Joel B. Sutherland presiding, resolutions were adopted complimentary to Gen. Scott, Maj. Anderson, and Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, and pledging the support of those present to the general government in its efforts to put down domestic treason. A committee was appointed to draft an address to soldiers of the war of 1812 throughout the Union. During the quarterly meeting of the State Council of Pennsylvania, Order of United American Mechanics, held on the 19th, at their hall, corner Fourth and George Streets, it was determined to recommend the several councils to take such action as was necessary to provide for the keeping of such of their members in regular standing as might leave their homes for the defense of their country, and make such provision for their families as their necessities required. The members of the Tivoli Hose Company having volunteered for service in the Union army, decided, at a meeting held on the 19th, that the apparatus be placed in the hands of the citizens and police, to be used during their absence. It was also resolved to appropriate one hundred dollars out of the amount received from the city for the benefit of the families of volunteers.

—On the evening of the 19th of April the Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, Col. Monroe, arrived in the city. As they marched from Walnut Street wharf to their quarters at the Girard House they were enthusiastically cheered, and, on reaching the hotel, were received by an assemblage that crowded Chestnut, Eighth, and Ninth Streets in that vicinity. On the following day the regiment proceeded southward, taking a steamer at Havre de Grace for Annapolis. The Seventh New York Regiment arrived at Camden, N. J., early on the morning of the 20th and proceeded *via* Washington Street to the Broad Street Depot, where it remained until Saturday afternoon, when, news having been received of the interruption of travel southward *via* Baltimore, it returned to Washington Street wharf and embarked on the steamer "Boston," which dropped down the Delaware.

—A seizure of contraband goods was made on the 19th of April by officers Taggart and Sharkey, who took possession of nine cases which, it was said, had been packed for shipment to Savannah, Ga. Four of the cases contained camp equipage, kettles, and pans; the other five were filled with knapsacks and haversacks. The goods were found in possession of a mercantile firm, which, upon discovering their character, declined to ship them. The officers were unable to trace them to first hands. On being opened the cases were found to contain two hundred and fifty camp-

kettles, two hundred and fifty mess-pans, five hundred and fifty knapsacks, and five hundred and fifty haversacks, all of which were turned over to 1861] the commissary department.

—On the night of Friday, April 19th, Fort Delaware was garrisoned with one hundred and seventy-five men from Philadelphia, and on Saturday five thousand stand of muskets arrived in the city and were distributed among the troops. The Girard House was selected by Governor Curtin as a military depot, and a notice was posted on the streets on the 20th stating that women were wanted to make up army clothing for the Pennsylvania troops. On Saturday and Sunday, April 20th and 21st, the recruiting stations throughout the city were the scene of much excitement in consequence of the large numbers of volunteers who presented themselves for enlistment. On Sunday the companies belonging to the National Guard Regiment were drilled in Franklin Square. Drilling was also going on in most of the armories of the city.

—The Buena Vista Guards, attached to the Washington Brigade, returned to Philadelphia from Baltimore on the 20th. Their commander, Capt. E. W. Power, returned the following list of casualties: killed, Peter Rogers, John V. Greaves; wounded, John McGercher, James Teague, Richard Mooney, Patrick J. Campbell, James Agnew, Miles Shield, John P. Murray, Thomas Foster, Thomas P. Little.

—A town-meeting was held at the Exchange on the 20th, at which it was resolved that, "in view of the impending danger to our homes and liberties," it was "indispensable that a body of not less than ten regiments of resident citizens should be organized as a Home Guard without delay, each regiment to be composed of ten companies of not less than eighty men each, and that a committee of citizens be appointed to solicit subscriptions to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purchase of arms. Meetings were also held in the different wards, at all of which patriotic resolutions were adopted, and in some instances measures taken for the organization of companies of Home Guards. On the 20th Mayor Henry issued an order appointing Col. Augustus J. Pleasonton commander of the Home Guard in Philadelphia, with authority to organize, under the direction of the mayor, a force to be composed of the residents of Philadelphia for cavalry, artillery, infantry, and light infantry service.

—On the night of April 19th the railroad bridges on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad west of Havre de Grace and on the Northern Central Railroad south of Cockeysville were burned by Marylanders in order to prevent the passage of Northern troops through Baltimore to the South, thus necessitating their transportation from Havre de Grace by water to Annapolis. The country residence of Gen. George Cadwalader, on the Gunpowder River, Harford Co., Md., was also burned.

—On the 22d of April it was announced that the total number of men enrolled up to that time in the three Philadelphia brigades, exclusive of Gen. Small's brigade, which numbered two thousand men, was seven thousand six hundred. In addition to these, a number of independent companies had been formed. Gen. Robert Patterson, it was added, had been appointed to the chief command of the Pennsylvania troops, and Gen. Cadwalader to the command of the whole of the First Division, comprising the First, Second, and Third Brigades, all of Philadelphia.

—Seizures of four tons of lead and a lot of gun-stocks, locks, and other portions of guns on their way South were made in Philadelphia on the 21st.

—A number of ladies who were stopping at the Continental Hotel asked permission of Capt. Gibson, in charge of the military depot at the Girard House, to assist in making up clothing for the troops. Their offer was accepted. Hundreds of workingwomen congregated at the Girard House in order to obtain employment.¹ During the day two hundred cutters were employed, and enough sewers to make up one thousand suits a day. At the town hall, Germantown, work of a similar character was given out.

—On the 21st of April a joint committee of the City Councils, headed by Charles B. Trego, had an interview with Maj. Anderson in New York, and tendered that gentleman the hospitality of the city. Maj. Anderson expressed his gratification at the compliment, but said he was unable to make any engagement at that time.

—A number of ladies met at 912 Chestnut Street on the 22d of April and organized the "Philadelphia Military Nurse Corps." It was decided that the members wear a uniform consisting of blue Canada flannel and a Shaker bonnet trimmed with red, white, and blue. Each lady subscribed to a pledge to act as nurse in the United States army.

—On the 23d of April it was announced that George Leisenring, a member of Gen. Small's brigade, who was severely stabbed during the riot in Baltimore, had died the night before at the Pennsylvania Hospital.

—The uniform of the Home Guards, as determined by the commander, Col. Pleasonton, consisted of a single-breasted light- or cadet-gray frock-coat, with standing collar and buttons of the arm to which the regiment belonged, pantaloons of drab color, army pattern, and a rosette of the national colors.

—A meeting of members of the bar of Philadelphia was held at the Supreme Court room on the 22d of April. Hon. William M. Meredith presided, with St. George Tucker Campbell, Judge Hare, and H. J. Williams as vice-presidents. On motion of O. W. Davis it was resolved that a committee be appointed

¹ This fine hotel was vacant at the time when the attack was made on Fort Sumter, and it was very convenient for the use to which it was put at this period.

to receive subscriptions from members of the bar for the support of families of volunteers who were dependent upon their daily labor. Marcellus Mundy offered a resolution, which was adopted, that "the bar of the city of Philadelphia, in meeting assembled, are anxious and ready to tender their services as volunteers to protect the city of Philadelphia, and, if called upon, the government of the United States from the assaults of the rebels who are now in arms in the South," and that "a company be at once formed, in accordance with the above resolution." Consideration of the matter was postponed.

—On the 24th of April it was announced that the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company having been taken in charge by the Federal government through an agent in Philadelphia, all its equipments were under the control of the government, and trains with troops were being sent out as fast as possible, an uninterrupted route to Washington having been completed. The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, used for conveying troops from Philadelphia to the Chesapeake, was guarded by a force of one thousand men of Gen. Cadwalader's division. The arrival of troops in Philadelphia was now a matter of daily occurrence, the city being the chief point of concentration for the dispatch of military forces to the South. On the 23d the First Regiment of Infantry, Col. William D. Lewis, Jr., with ten full companies of about one hundred men each, paraded, marching through the principal streets. Although men enough to make up six regiments had already been enrolled, recruiting was still proceeding rapidly. On the evening of the 23d the Reliance Fire-Engine Company held a meeting, and appropriated one hundred dollars per man to provide equipments for those members who had volunteered for military service. On the 24th it was announced that the Municipal Guards had elected the following officers: S. E. Cohen, Sr., captain and acting major of battalion; Col. William H. Dinmore, vice-president; William H. Helmbold, secretary; and J. L. Hamelin, battalion paymaster. On the same day the following appointments by Gen. Reuben C. Hale, quartermaster-general of the Pennsylvania militia, were made public: Assistant Quartermasters, John K. Murphy, W. V. McGrath, William M. Hale, R. R. Young; Assistant Quartermaster for duties in Ordnance Department, A. L. Magilton; Assistant Quartermasters for the transportation of troops and provisions from West Philadelphia, F. A. Showers and O. D. Mehaffey; Clerks, H. H. Shillingford, Samuel W. Wray, and James McMullin; Commissary Department, Reuben C. Hale, acting quartermaster-general; Assistant Commissaries, John Derbyshire, A. J. Antelo, Thomas Webster, Jr., John Haviland, Thomas J. Diehl; Chief Clerk, Evan W. Grubb; Clerk, Jonathan Cummings; Messengers, John R. Dialogue and E. P. Stiles. At a special meeting of the trustees of the city ice-boat held on the 23d, it was determined to tender the vessel to Capt. Dupont,

commandant at the navy-yard. Capt. Dupont accepted the boat, and said she would be employed on important business at once. Col. Pleasanton, commander of the Home Guards, announced [1861 on the 24th the following appointments: Aids, Samuel B. Henry, Andrew Cohen, Lewis H. Ashurst, and Thomas B. Dwight; Secretary, Lewis A. Scott; Quartermaster and Commissary, Col. William Bradford; Assistant Commissary, James S. Watson; Secretary to the Quartermaster, Henry C. Kutz.

—A movement to create a "Volunteers' Home Fund" was inaugurated at a meeting held in West Philadelphia on the 23d, Judge Allison presiding. The subscriptions were payable in monthly installments during the ensuing six months, and were to be distributed through a general executive committee. At a meeting of residents of Chestnut Hill, on the evening of the 22d, Col. C. G. Childs presiding, similar action was taken for creating a fund for the relief of families of volunteers.

—An adjourned meeting of members of the bar of Philadelphia was held on the 22d, for the purpose of taking final action upon Mr. Mundy's resolution for the formation of a military company. Judge Knox proposed the form of a paper for members to sign, tendering their services as volunteers to protect the city of Philadelphia, and "to aid, if called upon, the government of the United States in the suppression of the rebellion now existing in some of the Southern States." The document was approved by the meeting, which then adjourned, whereupon Mr. Mundy drew up a more specific paper, which he submitted to the members for signatures, declaring that the subscribers volunteered their services to guard and defend the city of Philadelphia, "and, if required by the constituted authorities, to aid in the defense of the government and the American flag." Mr. Mundy, however, did not meet with much success in obtaining signatures.

—On the 25th of April it was stated in the Philadelphia newspapers that the delay in forwarding troops to Washington from Philadelphia, caused by want of information as to the condition of the route *via* Havre de Grace and Annapolis, Md., had been obviated. Armed men had been placed along the whole route of the railroad from Elkton, Md., to Havre de Grace, at which point a fleet of vessels had been concentrated for the purpose of conveying troops to Annapolis, and the railroad being in the hands of the Federal government, the transportation of troops and stores was being prosecuted with great energy.

—In addition to the armories the public squares were now used for drilling troops, and the city had the aspect of a great military camp.

—The Ladies' Union Relief Association announced on the 25th that they would be glad to receive contributions of money or materials, such as flannel, cotton socks, handkerchiefs, and crash, to be made up for the soldiers who had volunteered in defense of

their country. At this time over two thousand persons were employed in the manufacture of army clothing at the Girard House. Among those **1861]** engaged in the work were many ladies from fashionable portions of the city. At the United States Arsenal a large force of women was employed in the same kind of work. A meeting of ladies representing various Christian denominations was held at Rev. Dr. Boardman's church on the 24th of April, to concert measures for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers and sailors. Dr. Boardman opened the meeting with prayer, and Mrs. Judge Jones was chosen to preside. It was resolved to proceed at once to carry out the objects of the meeting, and a committee was appointed to procure the requisite information as to the furnishing of a hospital and other matters.

—On the 25th it was announced that the chairman of the bar meeting, held on the 22d, had appointed O. W. Davis, H. M. Phillips, E. S. Miller, D. Dougherty, and Charles Gibbons a committee to receive contributions to the fund for the support of the families of volunteers.

—A meeting of the committee of superintendence, appointed at a general meeting of the soldiers of the war of 1812, was held on the 23d, Peter Hay presiding, and Edward King secretary, at which it was resolved that there being still some among them some whose physical energies had not been materially impaired, they would organize a corps for the defense of the city, and the maintenance of order and public security. It was also determined that subscription-lists or enrollments of soldiers of the war of 1812 should be opened at the offices of Alderman Hay and Matthew Newkirk, and at the residence of Col. Lemuel Painter, and that when the enrollment had been completed a meeting should be called for the organization of a command to be known as "The Veteran Guard of the War of 1812."

—As the bell at Independence Hall struck twelve o'clock on the 24th an American flag with thirty-four stars was unfurled from the flag-staff of Carpenters' Hall, where the first Continental Congress met. The ceremony was accompanied by the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner" by a chorus of young ladies. On the morning of the same day a meeting of the Carpenters' Company was held at the hall (with James A. Campbell presiding, John Williams secretary), at which patriotic resolutions were adopted. It was also decided that those of the members who were able and willing should form themselves into a volunteer company, to be known as the Carpenters' Company, to be attached to the Home Guard of the city of Philadelphia, to be used in such service, either mechanical or military, as might be deemed most advisable.

—Col. George Gibson, Jr., of the United States army, who, at Governor Curtin's request, accompanied R. L. Martin, the Governor's special agent,

to the city to assist in getting up the ten thousand uniforms required for the troops then concentrating in the field, published a card on the 25th, acknowledging the services rendered the State by the cutters and trimmers of the Schuylkill arsenal, in cutting out from United States patterns the various garments to be used by the volunteer troops. Col. Gibson, on behalf of the Governor, returned sincere thanks to all who were engaged in sewing clothing for the troops. "Never," he added, "has been witnessed such devotion to the comforts of the soldier as is presented by the crowds of ladies (both rich and poor) daily besieging the doors of the Girard House for employment."

—The Germans of Philadelphia held several meetings for the purpose of devising measures for the relief of the families of German volunteers, and a committee of fifty was finally appointed to solicit contributions. The following were elected permanent officers of the organization: President, Jacob Kemper; Vice-President, Julius Hein; Treasurer, C. A. Thudium; Secretary, F. Reuter. A sub-committee, consisting of Capt. V. Wicht, Julius Hein, Fr. Staake, John Weik, and August Bourkner, was appointed to confer with the city authorities with regard to the distribution of the relief fund appropriated by Councils. About three thousand Germans, it was stated, had thus far entered the service of the government in Philadelphia.

—At a meeting of the St. George's Society, held on the 23d, the members passed a series of resolutions expressive of their loyalty to the government under which they lived, and calling earnestly upon all Englishmen residing in Philadelphia to declare themselves in support of the stars and stripes. It was also decided that, in view of the distracted state of the country, the usual anniversary dinner be dispensed with, and that the money which would have been devoted to it should be subscribed for the relief of families of volunteers requiring aid.

—In the City Councils, on the 25th of April, the committee under whose control the one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars appropriated for the relief of families of volunteers was to be distributed was announced as consisting of the mayor, city solicitor, presidents of Select and Common Councils, M. W. Baldwin, John Robbins, Jr., and Peter Williamson, on the part of the citizens, and Thomas Potter and William Loughlin, on the part of Councils. Mr. Kerr submitted a communication from J. J. Gumper, in which he stated that, "believing it to be the duty of every citizen to aid the constituted authorities to the extent of his abilities during the present unnatural rebellion," he would tender to the city of Philadelphia a loan of five thousand dollars without interest for two years if the war should last so long. The reading of the letter was greeted with loud applause, and a resolution thanking Mr. Gumper was adopted. An ordinance authorizing the mayor, in connection with the joint special committee of

Councils, to take such measures as he might deem necessary for the safety of the city and the protection of property, and appropriating two hundred thousand dollars therefor, was passed by both branches of Councils. In the Common Council, Mr. Quin announced that the Buena Vista Guards, of Philadelphia, had assigned to him the duty of presenting to the city of Philadelphia, through the president of the chamber, the first trophy gained in the war just inaugurated. The trophy was the flag borne by the secessionists and under which they had fought during the riot in Baltimore on the 19th of April. It was captured by the Buena Vista Guards, who formed part of Gen. Small's command, and brought it to Philadelphia. The Council adopted a resolution thanking the donors.

—The Southwark Navy-Yard became the scene of great activity soon after the firing upon Fort Sumter, and on the 25th over six hundred men were at work fitting out vessels for the use of the government. A large quantity of stores had been concentrated at the yard, over fifty thousand dollars' worth of provisions and clothing having been removed from Norfolk, Va., before the destruction of government property at that place. Great activity also prevailed at the rendezvous for shipping seamen, from twenty to thirty being sent to the yard daily. At the Bridesburg Arsenal the employes worked day and night to fill orders for arms and ammunition.

—On the 26th of April news was received that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, between Baltimore and Washington, had been put in condition for travel, and that the New York Seventh and the Massachusetts regiments, which had left Philadelphia for the national capital *via* Havre de Grace and Annapolis, a week before, had arrived at Washington. It was added that the route being now unobstructed, the Philadelphia and Pennsylvania troops would be sent off as rapidly as they were equipped.

—Announcement was made on the 29th of April that the full quota of men called for from Philadelphia under the requisition of the Governor had been furnished, and that most of the companies had received their equipments and were ready to march.

—In compliance with the advice of the United States attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, William Millward, marshal of the district, gave notice on the 27th of April that he would take into custody all flour and other provisions, and also all munitions of war and military stores, directed and intended to be sent to Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and all other States engaged in making war on the Federal government, and would hold them subject to legal process or the order of the government. Under this order Deputy Marshal Jenkins seized two hundred and fifty barrels of flour at the Baltimore Railroad Depot, intended for Baltimore, two kegs of powder, and six revolvers, which

were found at the same place among the effects of a resident of Cecil County, Md.

—During the excitement in Baltimore [1861] which followed the 19th of April riot, a number of Union sympathizers left the city, and most of them came to Philadelphia. On the evening of the 26th addresses were delivered to a large assemblage in front of the Continental Hotel by some of the refugees. Among the speakers were J. B. Shoemaker, E. Rawlings, and T. J. Rogers. A meeting of Marylanders, resident in Philadelphia, was held at the American Hotel the same evening, for the purpose of devising some means of relieving those Baltimoreans who had been summarily compelled to leave their homes. H. Dickson was called to the chair, and A. Holland was appointed secretary. A communication was read from the Hibernia Fire Company tendering the use of their hall for the Baltimoreans, and it was determined that those present should act in connection with a committee which had been appointed by the Hibernia Company for aiding the refugees.

—On Sunday, April 28th, after the benediction, the organ at St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church pealed forth "The Star-Spangled Banner," the rector, Rev. Henry W. Ducachet, D.D., remaining in the chancel until it had ceased. Dr. Ducachet had already accepted the appointment of chaplain of the First Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanded by Col. William D. Lewis, Jr.

—An order of Lieut.-Gen. Winfield Scott, extending the Military Department of Washington so as to include, in addition to the District of Columbia and Maryland, the States of Delaware and Pennsylvania, and assigning Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson to the command, was published in the Philadelphia newspapers of April 30th. Gen. Scott instructed Gen. Patterson, in the same order, to post the Pennsylvania volunteers as fast as they were mustered into service all along the railroad from Wilmington, Del., to Washington City in sufficient numbers and in such proximity as would give reasonable protection to the lines of parallel wires to the road, its rails, bridges, cars, and stations. In compliance with Gen. Scott's instructions Gen. Patterson issued an order, from his headquarters in Philadelphia, directing that commanders of troops entering the department from the East, North, or West should, on their arrival, report for instructions, and stating that Lieut.-Col. Hale, quartermaster-general of Pennsylvania, would be prepared to furnish cooked rations for three days to the troops of any State on their way to Washington. Gen. Patterson cautioned the troops against molesting peaceable citizens, but announced that those who were not peaceable, or who were disposed to resist the authority of the government, would be punished. Commanders of corps were instructed to "shoot down without hesitation any man or party of men caught in the act of arson," or in any attempt to interrupt the line of communication.

—The Providence Marine Artillery, of Providence, R. I., which arrived in Philadelphia on the 28th of April, and was quartered at the Broad and 1861] Prime Streets Depot, left for Washington via Annapolis on the 30th. The Eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, from Schuylkill County, which arrived in Philadelphia on the 23d, encamped near the depot. Three companies of this command left on the 25th for Elktown, and the rest remained at the depot drilling. The regiment left Philadelphia on the 7th of May for points on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad.

—A Committee of Public Safety, appointed by the citizens of Philadelphia, co-operated with the municipal authorities in preparations for defense. On the 1st of May it was stated that many of the Philadelphia corporations had responded most liberally to the solicitations of the Safety Committee for funds.

—C. A. Greiner, of Georgia, was arrested on the 30th of April by Capt. McMullin, by order of Gen. Patterson, on the charge of treason. The family of Mr. Greiner had been living in Philadelphia for some months, but he had reached the city only a few days before his arrest. It was alleged against Mr. Greiner that he had headed the citizens of Savannah, Ga., who drove the United States forces from Fort Pulaski. Mr. Greiner admitted that he had participated in the capture, but only as a private, and claimed that he had done so in order to aid in preventing the fort from falling into the hands of a mob. He added that he was a native of Philadelphia and as good a Union man as could be found. He was committed for trial, but after a hearing before Judge Cadwalader was released on ten thousand dollars bail to keep the peace.

—In his message to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in extra session, on the 30th of April, Governor Curtin stated that seven regiments had already been organized and mustered into service in Pennsylvania.

—At a meeting of the British residents of Philadelphia, held on the 2d of May, it was determined to form a company for home defense.

—Maj. Robert Anderson, who had commanded the Union garrison at Fort Sumter, arrived on the 3d of May, on his way to Washington. As he passed through the streets he was frequently recognized from the numerous portraits of him in circulation, and enthusiastically cheered.

—In the daily papers of May 6th appeared an address to Gen. Winfield Scott, dated April 30th, and signed by about two hundred leading citizens, expressing their admiration, and offering their thanks for his services to the country. Among the signers were Alexander Henry, Richard Vaux, Theodore Cuyler, Horace Binney, William M. Meredith, and C. Macalester.

—An iron car, built for the government at the locomotive-works of Baldwin & Co., and to be used for defensive purposes on the Philadelphia, Wilmington

and Baltimore Railroad, was taken to the Broad and Prime Streets Depot on the 4th of May. The sides and top were of the best boiler-iron, warranted to resist rifle-balls. One-half of the car was furnished with port-holes, so as to permit the use of a cannon which moved on a pivot. It was also pierced with holes for the use of riflemen. The battery was placed in front of the locomotive.

—Moyamensing Hall, on Christian Street between Ninth and Tenth, was fitted up as a military hospital, and was in operation on the 6th of May, only one patient, however, having been received. The medical staff consisted of Dr. John Neill, medical director; and Drs. Francis G. Smith, S. S. Hollingsworth, John McClellan, and Ellerslie Wallace, aids; Drs. John Brinton, John Packard, George C. Harlan, and F. W. Lewis, assistant surgeons; and Dr. C. H. Boardman, resident physician.

—Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania, issued an appeal to the clergy and laity of his jurisdiction, early in May, expressing the hope that chaplains—"men of the right stamp"—would be numerous, and that Testaments, Bibles, and tracts would be supplied to the volunteers in liberal measure. It was the earnest desire, added Bishop Potter, to offer a copy of the prayer-book to every Pennsylvania volunteer who might be willing to receive it, but, in order to accomplish this object, it needed additional contributions. Bishop Potter accordingly recommended that in every congregation a special contribution should be taken up to aid in the work.

—On the afternoon of the 7th of May the Twentieth New York Regiment, Col. G. W. Pratt, arrived *en route* for the South.

—The First Artillery Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Francis E. Patterson, composed of old and regular organizations of militia, left the city for the South on the 8th of May. The regiment formed at Washington Square at eight o'clock in the morning. A large assemblage of spectators had congregated at the square, and the route of march to the depot was lined with people. At nine o'clock the regiment, headed by a fine band and drum corps, started for the depot. As it passed the Franklin Hose-house, on Broad Street, the hose-carriage was brought out into the street, and the bells rang out a merry peal. At the depot many painful scenes were enacted while friends and relatives were taking leave of the departing soldiers. Thousands of persons accompanied the cars as far as Gray's Ferry bridge, being able, without difficulty, to keep up with the train. The other regiments which had received orders to move at the same time as Col. Patterson's received contrary orders during the night, but were instructed to hold themselves in readiness for marching at any time. On the afternoon of the same day the Third Regiment United States Infantry, commanded by Maj. Sheppard, passed through Philadelphia on its way

to the South. The Philadelphia regiment passed through Baltimore on the 9th, accompanied by the Third United States Infantry and Sherman's Battery.

—The work of reconstructing the bridges on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad was commenced, with a large force of workmen, on the 10th of May.

—At a meeting of the Ladies' Union Relief Association held on the 8th of May, a statement of the work accomplished by the society, the receipts and expenditures, etc., was made. The chief object of the organization was to supply needy volunteers with a second outfit of clothing and other necessary articles. The officers were: President, Mrs. M. P. Ketterlinus; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Neff; Secretaries, Miss Baird and Miss Pauline Roberts; Treasurer, Mrs. Dorsey; Distributors of Outfits, Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Patterson.

—The First Regiment of Infantry, Col. William D. Lewis, Jr., paraded on the 9th of May, and was presented with two flags from lady friends of the members. After marching from Broad and Chestnut Streets down Broad to Walnut to Eighteenth to Chestnut, and down the latter street, they halted at the United States Mint. Here Col. Lewis and staff left the line and mounted the steps for the purpose of receiving the colors, a national and a State flag, which were presented by David Paul Brown. After an address by Mr. Brown, and a brief acknowledgment from Col. Lewis, Rev. Dr. Ducachet, rector of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, and chaplain of the regiment, blessed both flags and kissed them. The regiment then took up the line of march again to its quarters and was dismissed.

—Col. Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, arrived in Philadelphia again on the 10th of May, accompanied by Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, who was on her way to Boston. A committee of the City Councils, consisting of Messrs. Craig, Dougherty, Smedley, and McMakin, of Select Council, and Messrs. Peale, Case, Cattell, and Queen, of Common Council, met the colonel at the railroad depot, and, after an interchange of civilities, escorted him to the Continental Hotel, where he was received by Theodore Cuyler, president of Select Council. On the following day (May 11th) Col. Anderson was formally received by the mayor and City Councils at Independence Hall. He was escorted from the hotel by a military procession, consisting of the Black Hussars, Capt. Beaker, Philadelphia Light Guards, Col. Morehead, and the National Guards, Col. Lyle. The line was formed on Ninth Street, and when Col. Anderson made his appearance and took his place in an open barouche, drawn by four white horses, he was greeted with deafening cheers by the immense crowd which had congregated there. All along the route to Independence Hall he was repeatedly and enthusiastically cheered. At the hall the mayor and both branches of the City Councils were in waiting, together with

the venerable Commodore Charles Stewart, Col. C. G. Childs, Col. Pleasonton, Rev. Drs. Ducachet and Boardman, and other leading members of the community. As Col. Anderson entered [1861] the hall, accompanied by Mr. Cuyler, president of Select Council, he was received by Mayor Henry, who welcomed him in terms highly eulogistic of his conduct at Fort Sumter. Col. Anderson replied briefly, after which the persons present were introduced to him. Before leaving the hall he entered his name on the visitors' book, "Robert Anderson, Colonel U.S.A., Kentucky," and then exclaimed to those near by, "Thank God, she is still in the United States!" After he had returned to his carriage, the military marched past, honoring him with a salute, and when the line had filed by a gentleman stepped forward, and, on behalf of Miss Albright, presented Col. Anderson with a handsome national flag. He took it and waved it, and as he did so the band struck up the "Star-Spangled Banner," amid the enthusiastic cheers of the multitude. In the afternoon Col. Anderson left Philadelphia for New York.

—On the 13th of May the repairs to the bridges on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad had been completed, and two passenger trains passed through to Baltimore during the day and evening.

—The First City Troop, Philadelphia's ancient cavalry company, was mustered into the service of the United States on the 13th. The troop numbered eighty-five men, and its officers were: Captain, Thomas C. James; First Lieutenant, Richard Butler Price; Second Lieutenant, William Camac; First Sergeant Lieutenant, Richard C. Devereaux; Second Sergeants, William D. Smith, Charles F. Taggart, and Fairman Rogers.

—On the 14th of May the First Regiment National Guards, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Peter Lyle, the Philadelphia Light Guards Regiment, Col. Turner G. Morehead, and the First Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. William D. Lewis, Jr., left Philadelphia for the South. The scenes of excitement and enthusiasm which attended the departure of Col. Patterson's regiment were repeated. The regiments proceeded by rail to Perryville, where they were transferred to steamers for Baltimore, where they were stationed for some time.

—A musical entertainment was given at the Academy of Music on the evening of the 16th of May by the pupils of Zane Street (Female) Grammar School, the proceeds to be devoted to the formation of a fund for the relief of volunteers. The feature of the evening was the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner."

—Suffolk Park, a race-course in the southwestern portion of Philadelphia, was used as camping-ground for troops, and was given the name of "Camp McClellan." Two regiments from Ohio—the First Reg-

iment, Col. A. D. McCook, and the Second Regiment, Col. Wilson—were the first organizations to occupy it, and during their stay the camp was visited

1861] daily by thousands of people from Philadelphia. On the 17th of May one of the regiments (the Second Ohio) was presented with a stand of colors by Col. Bradford, representing citizens of Philadelphia. At Hestonville, a suburb of Philadelphia, another camp was established about the same time with the name of "Camp Owen," in honor of the commander of the Irish regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers located there. The Ohio regiments left Philadelphia for the South on the 23d.

—The Fourteenth (New York) Regiment, or Brooklyn Chasseurs, Col. A. M. Wood, arrived May 19th, on their way to Washington.

—Three small schooners, the "Mary Willis," "Emily Ann," and "Delaware Farmer," were towed to the navy-yard on the night of the 17th of May by the propeller "Live Yankee" from the mouth of the James River, Va., where they had been captured by the United States blockading squadron. They were loaded with tobacco and pig-lead, which they were taking from Richmond to Baltimore. They were the first prizes of the war that were taken to Philadelphia. On the 25th, Judge Cadwalader, of the United States District Court, released them, on the ground that the fifteen days allowed by the blockading proclamation had not expired at the time of the seizure.

—In the Presbyterian General Assembly (O. S.), which was in session in Philadelphia during the month of May, a resolution was offered by Rev. Dr. Spring on the 18th, that "a special committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of this Assembly making some expression of their devotion to the Union of these States and their loyalty to the government, and if in their judgment it is expedient to do so, they report what that expression shall be." The resolution was laid on the table by a vote of one hundred and twenty-three yeas to one hundred and two nays. Toward the close of the meeting, however, a call was read, inviting such members of the Assembly as felt a desire to give expression to their loyalty to the Union to meet in the basement of the church. This meeting was organized by the election of Rev. William C. Anderson, of San Francisco, chairman, and Rev. J. D. Smith, of Columbus, Ohio, secretary. A committee to prepare business was appointed, after which the meeting adjourned, upholding to the call of the chairman.

—In the United States District Court, on the 20th of May, Judge Cadwalader addressed the grand jury, defining the nature of treason and misprision of treason, and charging them that all questions arising under these heads should be considered with calmness and caution.

—The Second New York Regiment passed through the city on the 20th of May, going South. It was

enthusiastically cheered as it marched through the streets.

—Another naval prize, a fine ship called the "General Parkhill," belonging to parties of Charleston, S. C., was brought into port on the 21st of May by Midshipman W. Scott Schley. The "General Parkhill" was captured off Charleston by the United States vessel "Niagara."

—On the 21st the Scott Legion Regiment, Col. Gray, attended Rev. Dr. Boardman's church, at Twelfth and Walnut Streets, for the purpose of hearing a discourse by the pastor, preparatory to the regiment's departure from the city.

—When, on the 23d of May, the announcement was made in the Presbyterian General Assembly that the "record" of the Synod of South Carolina had been received, a scene of subdued excitement followed. Rev. Dr. Bergen, who submitted the record, said he rejoiced to learn from it that certain preambles and resolutions of a character unfriendly to the United States government had been laid upon the table by a vote of seventy-seven to twenty-one, and that a resolution to take up the matter again had been overruled. The committee appointed to draft resolutions expressing the sentiments of the Synod had reported that "the Synod of South Carolina is one of thirty-three which comprise the Old-School Presbyterian Church of this country, and from our brethren of the whole church annually assembled we have received nothing but justice and courtesy." The committee of the Assembly on Synodical Records recommended that the report from South Carolina be adopted, on the whole, with the exception of the following passage: "The act of 1818 was adopted by the South of that day as well as by the North, but has been since virtually rescinded." A motion to strike out this clause gave rise to a debate, which was postponed, the Assembly finally adopting the record, with the exception of a clause concerning the political action of South Carolina. On the 24th an exciting debate occurred on a series of resolutions introduced by Rev. Dr. Spring, two days before, appointing the 4th of July as a day of general prayer, petitioning God "to turn away his anger from us and speedily restore to us the blessings of a safe and honorable peace," and declaring that, "in the judgment of this Assembly, it is the duty of the ministers and churches under its care to do all in their power to promote and perpetuate the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal government." Speeches were made by Rev. Dr. Thomas, of Ohio; Mr. Gillespie, of Tennessee; J. G. Bergen, of Illinois; and Rev. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton. Rev. Dr. Hodge offered as a substitute for Dr. Spring's resolutions an elaborate paper professing amicable feelings toward the members of the denomination at the South, but at the same time declaring that "both religion and patriotism require us to cherish a union which, by God's blessing, may yet be a

powerful and beneficial means of reuniting the broken links of our political Union, and spreading peace and joy over a grateful land." Dr. Spring's resolutions were strongly advocated by Dr. Anderson, of San Francisco; Dr. Spring; Judge Ryerson, of New Jersey; Rev. Mr. Hastings, of Pennsylvania; and Rev. Dr. Musgrave, of Kentucky; and were opposed by Rev. Mr. Watt, of Pennsylvania, and Professor Hoyt, of Nashville, Tenn. Before a vote was reached the Assembly adjourned for the day. On the following morning the debate was resumed, and Rev. Dr. E. C. Wines read a dispatch from Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney-General of the United States, in which Mr. Bates said he thought the best thing the Assembly could do to strengthen the government and maintain the Union was "to preserve the unity of the Presbyterian Church by abstaining from any deliberation upon the present troubles." In conformity with this advice Dr. Wines offered a resolution, that "the General Assembly deem it injudicious at the present time to give any formal expression touching upon the existing crisis, and therefore the matter be indefinitely postponed." Judge Allen, of Ohio, then addressed the Assembly in favor of Dr. Spring's resolution, but suggested that the second resolution should be amended by providing that the Assembly would support the government "in the just exercise of all its functions under our noble Constitution." Dr. Spring accepted the amendment. Rev. Mr. Matthews, of Kentucky, then spoke on the resolutions, commencing with, "Mr. Moderator,—It is, sir, with great pleasure that it is known that the State from which I come unfurls the stars and stripes of our government." At this point Mr. Matthews was interrupted by a wild outburst of mingled hisses and applause. "The house," says a contemporaneous account, "was thrown into a perfect furor. Cheers, with clapping of hands and stamping, commingled with hissing, were almost deafening in effect." It was with great difficulty that the moderator succeeded in restoring order. A prolonged discussion resulted, and no action was taken prior to adjournment. Another debate ensued on the 27th, in the course of which Dr. Spring offered a substitute for his resolution, pledging the Assembly to support the government, as follows: "*Resolved*, That this General Assembly, in the spirit of that Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this church, do hereby acknowledge and declare an obligation to promote and perpetuate the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, and uphold, and encourage the Federal Constitution, in the exercise of all its functions under a noble Constitution." Various substitutes for and modifications of Dr. Spring's resolutions were proposed from day to day, and the discussion was kept up with much energy and warmth. On the 29th a telegram from Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, was read in the Assembly, stating that he could perceive "no valid

objection to unequivocal expressions," on the part of the Assembly, "in favor of the Constitution and freedom." A substitute for Dr. Spring's resolution, recommended by a special committee to [1861] whom they had been referred, was rejected on the 29th of May, by a vote of eighty-four to one hundred and twenty-five, and the resolutions, as proposed and amended by Dr. Spring, were adopted by a vote of one hundred and fifty-four to sixty-six. A protest against the action of the Assembly, which was signed by over forty members, was filed on the following day. The adoption of Dr. Spring's resolutions was characterized in this protest as "a great national calamity, as well as the most disastrous to the interest of the church which has marked its history."

—Saturday, May 25th, was a day of great excitement in Philadelphia, owing to the reception of news that the Federal army had on the previous day commenced its march into Virginia, and that Col. Ellsworth, commander of "Ellsworth's Zouaves," had been shot and killed at Alexandria. At half-past nine o'clock on the evening of the same day a train arrived at Philadelphia bearing Col. Ellsworth's remains, accompanied by a guard of honor consisting of seven Zouaves. Among them was Francis E. Brownell, the man who shot Col. Ellsworth's murderer, and who had with him the secession flag cut down from the "Marshall House," Alexandria, by Col. Ellsworth. The body was taken from the Baltimore Depot to the New York Depot at Kensington, where a special train was in waiting. Although it was not generally known that Col. Ellsworth's body would be brought to Philadelphia, there was a large crowd at the depot, and the Pennsylvania Rangers, Capt. Davis, were in attendance; Mayor Henry was also present. At the request of the committee which accompanied the remains, representing the citizens of Chicago and the New York fire department, no other escort was provided, except the guard of honor, composed of Zouaves, the committees, and a squad of policemen. As the cortege passed out of the building every head was uncovered.

—On the 27th of May it was announced that the Charity Hospital had been offered to the City Council for the use of the volunteers, and had been accepted.

—At the breaking out of the war gray was generally used for uniforming the volunteer regiments, but after experience in the field it was found that great confusion and danger resulted from the similarity of the Confederate uniforms, the troops of the enemy being frequently mistaken for friends, and Union regiments for bodies of the enemy. The change to blue, as the regulation color for uniforms, was made very gradually, and for some time after the battle of Bull Run gray clothing continued to be dealt out to the Pennsylvania volunteers. Among the first regiments to adopt gray uniforms was the Gray Reserves of Philadelphia, Col. P. C. Ellmaker.

—On Thursday, May 30th, there was a general move-

ment of troops from Philadelphia toward Chambersburg and other points in Southern Pennsylvania, preparatory to an advance on Harper's Ferry, 1861] Va. Among the commands ordered to the front was the historic First City Troop, Capt. Thomas C. James, which left Philadelphia on the 30th.

—In Select Council, on the 30th of May, a resolution was adopted requesting the mayor to tender to Lieut. Slemmer, the defender of Fort Pickens, the use of Independence Hall for the purpose of receiving his friends. In the Common Council, on the same day, an ordinance was adopted authorizing a loan not exceeding one million dollars for the relief of families of volunteers.

—On the 2d of June, Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson left Philadelphia for Chambersburg, to take charge of the Federal advance into Virginia by way of Harper's Ferry.

—The Presbyterian General Assembly adjourned on the 1st of June. In dissolving the Assembly the moderator, Rev. Dr. Backus, said the church had, during the session just ended, passed through the severest ordeal it had ever had to encounter. With a firm reliance in God he hoped that prosperity and harmony would soon again prevail throughout the country. He then delivered a fervent prayer asking for a special blessing upon all the members of the Assembly.

—On the 4th of June it was announced that the Pennsylvania Regiment of Independent Riflemen had been thoroughly reorganized, with the following staff: Colonel, E. G. Chorman; Lieutenant-Colonel, S. M. Ramsey; Major, A. E. Griffith; Adjutant, N. W. Kneass; Quartermaster, W. M. Singerly; Surgeon, H. Ernest Goodman; Assistant Surgeon, David G. Bowman; Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Egan. About the same time the organization of Col. William F. Small's regiment was completed, with the following officers: Colonel, William F. Small; Lieutenant-Colonel, Rush Van Dyke; Major, Casper M. Berry; Quartermaster, John Adler; Quartermaster-Sergeant, William Dickinson; Adjutant, Joseph Dickinson; Sergeant-Major, George Wigner; Chaplain, Rev. Charles A. Beck; Commissary-Sergeant, Robert L. Bodine; Assistant Surgeon, John W. Mintzer; Hospital Steward, Luther Gerhard; Sutler, J. L. Gibon.

—The Union troops in passing through the city received many kind attentions from citizens of Philadelphia, especially from the ladies in the lower section of the city. A number of families residing in the vicinity of Washington Street Depot made it a rule to deal out coffee, sandwiches, etc., to the soldiers on their arrival at that point. Persons wishing to aid them in their patriotic work were requested to send contributions of money, coffee, sugar, hams, etc., to 110 South Street. In order to notify the ladies of the expected arrival of troops guns were fired, each gun representing the hour of the expected arrival of the

soldiers. By this arrangement persons in the district inclined to assist in the preparation of food, knew at what period they should be ready.

—At the commencement of the June term of the Court of Quarter Sessions, on the 3d, Judge Allison called the attention of the grand jury to the bill, then recently passed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, providing for the punishment of those residents of the State who extended aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, or accepted commissions in the Confederate service, or aided in procuring or furnishing vessels for the Southern privateer service. In this connection Judge Allison said, "The mere expression of opinions, spoken or written, adverse to the government and the war waged by it in defense of the unity and integrity of the States composing it, unless such written declarations assume the form of a traitorous correspondence with the enemies at war with this State or the United States, however ill-advised such conduct may be at the present juncture of affairs, is not an offense punishable under the act of Assembly, though it may reasonably be regarded as subjecting the person thus acting to a well-grounded suspicion of disloyalty, of being at heart a traitor, wanting but the opportunity to consummate his treason, though not liable to indictment. The law punishes only the overt act, and if it comes to your knowledge as grand jurors that any one belonging to or residing within this jurisdiction has offended against the law to which I have called your attention, let such an one be presented without 'fear, favor, or affection,' that the law may be vindicated, the hands of the government strengthened, and the guilty brought to speedy and condign punishment."

—On the 4th of June the cases of three Baltimoreans charged with being concerned in the destruction of bridges on the Northern Central Railroad came up before Judge Cadwalader, of the United States District Court, on an application by their counsel for a writ of *habeas corpus*. George H. Williams, of Baltimore, one of their counsel, had come on to Philadelphia, but having seen an article in a Sunday newspaper counseling the men of Gen. Small's command to hang him on account of his supposed complicity in the Baltimore riot of the 19th of April, and having received anonymous warnings to the same effect, he determined to return to Baltimore. Accordingly, when the cases were called he did not make his appearance in court. On being informed of the cause, Judge Cadwalader said that ample protection would have been afforded Mr. Williams had he applied for it. Mr. Wharton, another of the counsel for the defense, then announced that just before coming to court he had received a letter from Mr. Williams stating that, by orders of the War Department, the petitioners had been discharged, and that they were at their homes in Maryland.

—In the local newspapers of June 5th it was announced that the government had purchased the

steamer "Keystone State," which had formerly plied between Philadelphia and Charleston, S. C., and which carried the Pennsylvania delegation to that city to attend the Democratic national convention, with the view of converting her into a gun-boat, to be commanded by Commander S. D. Trenchard, carrying thirty-two-pounders and two nine-inch guns.

—Early in June, Governor Curtin appointed a commission, consisting of B. Haywood, Jacob Fry, Jr., Charles F. Abbott, Caleb Cope, and Evans Rogers, to investigate the alleged frauds in furnishing supplies to the troops at Philadelphia.

—Orders were received at the navy-yard on the 5th directing that the work of constructing one of the new sloops-of-war ordered by Congress should be commenced forthwith. The vessel was to be constructed after the drawings and models of the "Wyoming," one of the finest ships ever launched at this yard.

—At a special meeting of the Democratic City Executive Committee, held on the 5th of June, to take action concerning the death of Senator Stephen A. Douglas, a series of suitable resolutions was adopted, and it was determined to send a copy of them to the family of the deceased "as an evidence of the sentiments of his party in Philadelphia." Similar action was taken in Common Council on the 6th of June.

—The field and staff officers of the Philadelphia Light Artillery Regiment, which had been accepted by the United States government for three years or the war, were announced on the 6th of June to be the following: Colonel, Max Einstein; Lieutenant-Colonel, Charles Angeroth; Major, William Schoenleber; Adjutant, Shreve Ackley; Aide-de-Camp, Charles K. Doran, M.D.; Quartermaster, Frederick Bretinger; Surgeon, H. Heller; Assistant Surgeon, M. Heller, Jr.; Sergeant-Major, Worthington Cromline, Jr.; Quartermaster-Sergeant, B. Reiter; Commissary-Sergeant, A. Golleim; Regimental Ensign, Herman Heymann; Drum-Major, C. Bassler.

—On the 7th of June four companies, mustered into the service of the State under the command of Capt. J. C. Chapman, John H. Taggart, C. S. Preall, and Casper Martino, left the city for Camp Curtin, Harrisburg.

—The United States sloop-of-war "Jamestown," Capt. Charles R. Green, left the navy-yard on the 9th of June for the Gulf of Mexico to form one of the blockading squadron there.

—On the 11th of June a public reception was given to Lieut. Slemmer, commander at Fort Pickens, at Independence Hall. At eleven o'clock Col. Small's regiment formed on Ninth Street near the Continental Hotel, and Company G, Capt. Adams, was detailed as a guard of honor. Lieut. Slemmer was escorted to Independence Hall, where he was received by Mayor Henry, to whose address of welcome and congratulations the lieutenant briefly replied. Before

leaving the hall he recorded his name directly after that of Maj. Anderson.

—A regiment raised by Col. John K. Murphy was accepted by the United States War Department on the 10th of June. The commander was Col. Murphy; Lieutenant-Colonel, Charles Parham; Major, Michael Scott. On the 11th of June, Col. Einstein's regiment paraded for the first time, and was presented with the national and State colors by Moses A. Dropsie on behalf of the lady friends of the command, the ceremony taking place at Franklin Square. Lewis C. Cassidy responded on behalf of the regiment. Company F (Harrison Guards), Capt. Spering, was selected as the color-guard.

—On the 12th of June news was received of the death on the previous day of Lieut. John T. Greble, of Philadelphia, who was killed during the Big Bethel affair. Lieut. Greble was a son of Edward Greble, and a member of the Second United States Artillery. Lieut. Greble's remains reached Philadelphia on the following day, and on the 13th the funeral services were held at the residence of his father, No. 128 South Nineteenth Street, after which the body was escorted to Independence Hall by a committee representing the City Councils, and Company G, Capt. Goodfellow, of Col. Small's regiment. From the hall it was conveyed to Woodland Cemetery, escorted by Col. Small's regiment, Sharp's Rifle Guards, Capt. James Alexander, Union Artillery Guard, the Quaker City Artillery, Capt. T. W. Miller, and other organizations.

—The Keystone Regiment was organized in June and accepted by the War Department. Its officers were: Colonel, Peter Fritz; Lieutenant-Colonel, Edmund R. Badger; Major, William C. Rice; Quartermaster, Lewis W. Ralston; Surgeon, John H. Packard.

—On the 13th of June a large number of persons called upon the Hon. George M. Dallas, ex-minister to England, who had just returned from Europe, in order to pay their respects and express their approval of his course. Col. J. Ross Snowden addressed Mr. Dallas on behalf of those present, and Mr. Dallas replied, expressing his gratification at the cordial welcome which had been extended to him, and his devotion to the cause of the Union.

—On the 15th of June the State and national colors were presented to the regiment commanded by Col. William F. Small, at the residence of George F. Jones, on Girard Street. The State flag was the gift of three daughters of Mr. Small, and the national colors were obtained through the instrumentality of Mrs. Finletter and the wife of Col. Small. The national flag was presented by Thomas K. Finletter, and the State flag by George A. Coffey, both of whom addressed the regiment. A suitable reply was made by Col. Small.

—The advance-guard of Maj.-Gen. Patterson's force, consisting of ten thousand men, arrived in the

neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, Va., on the 15th of June. The place had previously been evacuated by the Confederate troops. The First Division, **1861** under Gen. Cadwalader, crossed the Potomac on the 16th, the troops wading the stream up to their waists in water, covered by two pieces of the Rhode Island Battery, which had been planted on a bluff near Williamsport.

—Thomas Young was arrested on the night of June 16th on the charge of inciting to riot, and was taken before Mayor Henry for a hearing. It was alleged that Young had declared in public, in front of the Methodist Episcopal Church on Green Street above Tenth, that privateersmen should not be regarded as pirates and hung, and that the shooting of Col. Ellsworth was justifiable under the circumstances. These assertions greatly excited an assemblage which had gathered in front of the church, and Young was finally compelled to take refuge in a neighboring house, whence, having been discovered by the mob, he was taken to the station-house under a strong guard of policemen. Mayor Henry decided that Young could not be held, as he was simply exercising the right of free speech, and therefore discharged him.

—On the 17th of June the two Philadelphia regiments, commanded by Cols. Small and Einstein, left Philadelphia, the former for Baltimore, and the latter for Chambersburg.

—The Light Infantry Corps, composed of students of the University of Pennsylvania, were presented, on the 17th of June, with a national flag by Professor Coffee, on behalf of Mrs. George H. Boker.

—On the 19th of June it was announced that Philadelphia had ten regiments in the field, under Cols. Francis E. Patterson, William D. Lewis, Peter Lyle, William H. Gray, John F. Ballier, T. G. Morehead, Charles P. Dare, Joshua T. Owen, William F. Small, and Max Einstein. These regiments numbered in all about ten thousand men. Col. Dare's regiment was originally sworn in for three months, but the larger portion of the command had already decided to enlist for the war. The lieutenant-colonel, David B. Birney, assumed command under the new organization. In addition to these, Col. E. D. Baker's California Regiment, at New York, had been reinforced by some nine hundred Philadelphians. Gen. Sickles' brigade also received large accessions from Philadelphia, and the Garibaldi Regiment of New York had at least four hundred Philadelphians in its ranks. Including Capt. McMullen's Independent Rangers, eighty-four men, and the First City Troop, one hundred men, the number of Philadelphians then in the field was about fourteen thousand. At this time five new regiments, which had been accepted by the government, were in process of formation, viz.: Col. Peter Fritz's Keystone Regiment, Col. J. K. Murphy's Jackson Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Stees' Cameron Life Guards Regiment, Col. William

E. Seymour's Chippewa Guards Regiment, and Col. Chantry's regiment.

—The "Commonwealth Artillery," mainly composed of Philadelphians, was stationed at Fort Delaware. The officers were: Captain, James E. Montgomery; First Lieutenant, Francis A. Lancaster; Second Lieutenant, Archibald McL. Roberts; Ensign, John W. Kester, Jr.

—The military hospital on Christian Street above Ninth had sixteen patients in it on the 20th of June.

—The new wing of St. Joseph's Hospital (the corner-stone of which was laid on the 19th of July, 1860) was blessed on the 20th of June by the Right Rev. Bishop Wood. The new building was four stories in height, facing Girard Avenue, with Nineteenth Street on the west.

—The Twenty-ninth (New York) Regiment, composed principally of German residents of New York and Philadelphia, arrived at the latter city on the night of the 21st of June. The Turner Society marched to the depot at the foot of Washington Street to receive the regiment, to which it presented a handsome flag.

—An association of residents of southern Philadelphia, formed for the purpose, rendered valuable service by supplying soldiers passing through the city with food. A lot at the corner of Swanson and Washington Streets was secured, and here the troops, on their arrival at Washington Street Depot, were provided with substantial food and coffee.

—The Philadelphia Battalion, composed of the third company State Fencibles, Capt. J. F. Nagle; Wetherill Blues, Lieut. J. Book commanding; Greble Guards, Capt. O. B. Griffith; and the second company Garde Lafayette, Capt. Theodore H. Peters, were attached to Col. D. H. Williams' regiment of Pittsburgh.

—On the 22d of June the "People's party" convention for the Second Congressional District met and nominated Charles O'Neill for Congress, and adopted resolutions denouncing the Rebellion and pledging the support of the members to the Federal government. The Democratic convention met on the 24th, adopted similar resolutions, and nominated Charles J. Biddle. The Constitutional Union convention, which met on the same day, adopted a resolution requesting Mayor Henry, Theodore Cuyler, Charles B. Trego, Horace Binney, Henry C. Baird, Morton McMichael, Robert P. King, Joseph P. Loughhead, James Traquair, Benjamin F. Brewster, Samuel H. Perkins, William L. Hirst, Henry M. Watts, Benjamin Gerhard, George W. Biddle, Samuel W. De Coursey, Daniel Haddock, Samuel Sparhawk, Dr. Samuel Jones, Wetherill Lee, J. Price Wetherill, Hon. Oswald Thompson, and Hon. George Sharswood to act as a committee of citizens, irrespective of party, in nominating a candidate to represent the Second Congressional District. "The qualifications of said nominee to be: first, ability for the duties of

the position; second, unfaltering devotion to the union of the States and the maintenance and support of all its laws." The committee subsequently nominated Hon. William M. Meredith, who, however, declined to serve.

—The Philadelphia Merchant Troop, Capt. E. B. Martin, which was attached to Col. W. H. Young's Kentucky regiment, was inspected by the regimental commander on the 25th of June.

—The ship "Amelia," Capt. Kenzie, which sailed from Liverpool on the 23d of April with a cargo of iron, camp-ovens, camp-equipage, etc., for Charleston, and was captured off the latter port while attempting to force the blockade by the United States gun-boat "Union," arrived at Philadelphia on the 26th of June in charge of an officer of the navy. The "Amelia" was a large and valuable vessel.

—The Seventy-first Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, or the California Regiment, was raised by Col. Edward D. Baker, who had been a resident of California from 1852 to 1859, and who was senator from Oregon at the outbreak of the war. He raised "the California Regiment" partly in New York and partly in Philadelphia, and gave it that name in allusion to his former residence in California. The regiment arrived on the 29th of June, and encamped at Suffolk Park. The lieutenant-colonel, Isaac J. Wistar, and the major, R. A. Parrish, were Philadelphians. On the 30th a flag was presented to the regiment by Lieut. Todd, of Company C, on behalf of Mrs. Yeager, whose husband was a member of the company. The regiment proceeded southward on the 4th of July, and was sent to Fortress Monroe. Col. Baker was killed at Ball's Bluff on Oct. 21, 1861.¹

—There was a pension board established in Pennsylvania by acts of March 31, 1812, and Feb. 26, 1813, for soldiers in the Pennsylvania line during the Revolutionary war who were regularly discharged, and who, "from bodily infirmity or other cause, were unable to earn a living." This provision was extended, Feb. 7, 1814, to soldiers who were wounded during service in the Pennsylvania line, and who did not have property sufficient to maintain them. By act of May 15, 1861, widows of soldiers who died after being mustered into the service of the United States, or of this State, were entitled to pensions if they had

minor children under the age of fourteen years, and were to receive eight dollars per month until the children were fourteen years old. By act of March 27, 1865, any honorably-discharged officer [1861 or soldier, including volunteers, militia, or drafted men, since the 4th of March, 1861, disabled by any wound received or disease contracted in the service of the United States, are entitled to eight dollars per month or less, according to circumstances, the pension continuing during the existence of said disability, or until the party receives a gratuity or pension from the United States. By act of March 13, 1866, gratuities, or pensions, on account of the services of soldiers in the war of 1812, were restricted to soldiers who had served at least two months in said war, or who were wounded or disabled in said service, or to their widows who had not married. A gratuity was given of forty dollars at once, and forty dollars per annum. By act of March 24, 1868, the provisions of the law were extended to soldiers who had not been in service two months, but who had been in any actual engagement with the enemy. By the same act the term "necessitous circumstances" was construed to mean "not to be possessed of real or personal estate to the value of five hundred dollars."

—In June two regiments of the Home Guards were organized, one of artillery and the other of infantry. Besides these there were a number of unattached companies organized in the different wards, the total force footing up nearly five thousand men.

—The remains of Commander James H. Ward, who was killed on the steamer "Freeborn" on the 27th of June, while attempting to cover the landing of troops at Mathias' Point, were brought to Philadelphia on the 29th. On the following day they were transferred from the undertaker's to the foot of Walnut Street, to be conveyed by the Camden and Amboy Railroad to New York, and thence to Hartford, Conn., where Commander Ward was born. The body of Assistant Surgeon William N. Handy, of Col. Lyle's Philadelphia regiment, who had died in Baltimore of apoplexy, reached Philadelphia on the 29th, with an escort of twenty men, two from each company of the command.

—On the 1st of July, Mr. McMurtrie, the prize commissioner, filed in the United States District Court his report of the testimony taken in the case of the ship "General Parkhill," seized off Charleston, S. C., for attempting to violate the blockade. The owners of the vessel, Messrs. Patterson & Stock, appeared through their counsel, Messrs. Wharton, Harrison, and Guillou, and presented their claim. The point was raised by Mr. Harrison, whether the blockade was lawful, and, if lawful, whether the ship was endeavoring to run it. No authority, he argued, could be found in the Constitution permitting the President of the United States to establish a blockade, and the owners of the vessel, who were citizens of the United States, had a perfect right to question

¹ Col. John W. Forney, in his "Recollections of Public Men," thus graphically describes a scene that took place in the United States Senate between Col. Baker and Hon. John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky:

"Perhaps the most dramatic scene that ever took place in the Senate-chamber—old or new—was that between Breckinridge and Col. E. D. Baker, of Oregon, on the 1st of August, 1861, five days before the adjournment *sine die*, in the darkest period of the war, when the Rebellion was most defiant and hopeful. . . . Breckinridge rose to make his last formal indictment against the government. Never shall I forget the scene. Baker was a senator and a soldier. He alternated between his seat in the Capitol and his tent in the field. He came in at the eastern door (while Breckinridge was speaking), in his blue coat and fatigue cap, riding-whip in hand. He paused and listened to the 'polished treason'—as he afterward called it—of the Senator from Kentucky, and, when he sat down, he replied with a fervor never to be forgotten."

the legality of the blockade. Chief Justice Taney had decided in the Merryman case that the President had no power to declare martial law and suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and it followed that he had no more right to issue the proclamation under which the "General Parkhill" had been captured and brought into court.

—The election to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of E. Joy Morris, congressman from the Second District, which was held July 2d, resulted in the choice of Col. Charles J. Biddle, Democrat, over Charles O'Neill, People's candidate; Hon. William M. Meredith, nominated by the Citizens' Committee, selected by the Constitutional Union party, having declined to serve. The vote was, Biddle, 3937; O'Neill, 3694; Biddle's majority, 243.

—Col. Baker's California Regiment left Suffolk Park on the 3d of July with the intention of proceeding to Fortress Monroe on the steamers "Virginia" and "Richmond," but after a portion of the command had gone on board, a dispatch was received from Washington directing it to proceed to Baltimore. Accordingly the regiment left on the night of the 3d for Baltimore by rail.

—The Fourth of July was celebrated with more than usual spirit this year, one of the features of the day being an imposing parade of the local military organizations. The line was formed at seven o'clock in the morning on Broad Street, the right resting on Ridge Avenue. At the head of the line marched a platoon of policemen, following which came the First Regiment, Gray Reserves (Col. P. C. Ellmaker), and next the Blue Reserves under Lieut.-Col. Taylor. The battalion of Light Infantry followed, consisting of the Boys' Own Infantry, Capt. Isaac Starr, Jr.; University Light Infantry, Capt. J. D. Hartranft; Commonwealth Light Infantry, Capt. Sutherland Prevost; Quaker City Artillery, Capt. Frank Miller; National Guards Cadets, Capt. Bland; Pennsylvania Cadets, Capt. John Sword; Garde Lafayette Cadets, Capt. E. J. Hincken. Next came the first battalion of the First Regiment of Rifles, Capt. John A. Koltes; First Battalion Second Regiment of Rifles, Capt. Charles E. Graeff; First Regiment Infantry of the Line, Col. J. M. Bickel; Second Regiment Infantry of the Line; battalion of the Third Regiment of the Line, Capt. L. B. Thomas commanding; First Battalion First Regiment of Artillery, Capt. Matthew Hastings commanding; Battery of Field Artillery, Capt. Chapman Biddle; first squadron, First Regiment of Cavalry, Capt. John Bavington. The column was reviewed by the mayor and City Councils at Penn Square. A salute of thirty-four guns in honor of the day was fired by the French ship "David," Capt. Barron, lying at Lombard Street wharf. The compliment was returned by a number of custom-house officers, who procured a cannon and, having run up the French flag, saluted it with twenty-one guns.

—The general business prostration caused by the war had already occasioned much distress among the workmen, and on the 8th of July a mass-meeting of unemployed mechanics and laborers of the Fifteenth Ward was held, with James Bigger as chairman, at which it was resolved to call upon the City Councils "to pass, without delay, an ordinance authorizing the several departments to proceed forthwith to execute such work as must be done some time, and which can now as well be done as at any time in the future, such as the laying of gas-pipes, water-pipes and mains, grading of streets, building of school-houses, improvement of the public park, and such other work as Councils may in their judgment determine upon." In Select Council, on the 11th of July, Mr. Dickson, of the committee appointed to devise work for the unemployed of the city, reported an ordinance appropriating money for the prosecution of various public works.

—The Twenty-second Regiment of Infantry, Pennsylvania Volunteers, known as the Philadelphia Light Guard, and commanded by Col. T. G. Morehead, was accepted July 15th by the Secretary of War for three years' service.

—On the 15th of July, Lieut. McFarland, of Company A, Third Pennsylvania Regiment, arrived in Philadelphia from Martinsburg, Va., with five Confederate prisoners, who had been captured by the Third Pennsylvania Regiment while performing picket duty. They were taken to Fort Delaware.

—There was a large gathering on the 15th at Engel and Wolf's farm of the friends of Col. Schimmelpfennig's regiment, which was about to leave for the seat of war. The Young Maennerchor, Teutonia, Saengerbund, Germania, Orion, and Orpheus singing societies, and the Maennerchor Rifles, Citizens' Rifles, Sharpshooters, Turners' Home Guard, Hlasko Cadets, Blücher's Home Guards, Capt. Schoeminger, Louis Winter's pupils, and Hildebrandt's Gymnastic Zouaves were present. The day was spent in military exercises, singing, dancing, and theatrical performances.

—The First City Troop, Home Guard, having been fully equipped, offered their services to the government, but were informed by the War Department that no more troops would be accepted unless authorized by Congress. The Lincoln Legion, under the command of Col. Romaine Lujane, received their mustering orders about the same time. The Legion had their encampment on the Judge Peters farm, on the Schuylkill, a short distance above Columbia bridge. It was known as Camp Sweeney.

—The Philadelphia Merchant Troop, Capt. E. B. Martin, was sworn into the service of the United States on the 18th of July.

—In response to a letter to Gen. Scott from a number of prominent citizens, expressive of their appreciation of his distinguished services, the following reply was received and published on the 19th of July:

"WASHINGTON, July, 1861.

"GENTLEMEN,—Of the testimonials with which I have at different times been honored by portions of my countrymen, not one has been more precious to me than that I had the happiness to receive from you, my esteemed friends of Philadelphia. It cannot be long before my public acts will be reviewed by posterity, when its judgment, I humbly hope, may be somewhat colored by the partiality that now cheers my declining years. I have the honor to remain, gentlemen, your grateful servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

"MESSRS. ALEXANDER HENRY, HORACE BINNEY, RICHARD VAUX, WILLIAM MEREDITH, and two hundred and five others."

—Committees appointed by the companies of Home Guards, Reserve Blues, Reserve Grays, and Zouaves favorable to the formation of a regiment to be offered to the general government for active service, met on the 18th at Saranac Hall and received reports from the different companies. Several of the companies were still in their infancy, but their officers felt confident that they could have the requisite number of men within ten days. It was determined by the meeting that each company should immediately open muster-rolls. Capt. E. M. Gregory was chairman of the meeting, and Lieut. William Chapman secretary.

—The encampment of Col. J. K. Murphy's regiment, located four miles west of the Schuylkill, between Haddington and Hestonville, was visited daily about this time by large numbers of persons. A dress parade took place every morning and afternoon. The last company of Col. J. W. Geary's regiment was mustered in on the 18th, at Camp Coleman, Oxford.

—In the case of the ship "General Parkhill," Judge Cadwalader rendered a decision on the 19th that the owners of the vessel, Messrs. Stock & Patterson, could not appear as claimants, because they were residents of an insurgent State,—South Carolina, —and consequently had no standing in a prize-court. It was ordered, therefore, that the necessary steps be taken to condemn the vessel and sell it for the benefit of the government.

—The Cameron Dragoons, Col. M. Friedman, had, it was announced on the 22d of July, been accepted by the Secretary of War, and were going into camp as fast as the members were mustered in, on a lot opposite the depot of the Ridge Avenue Railway Company.

—Monday, July 22d, was a day of intense excitement, owing to the reception of news of the battle of Bull Run and the repulse of the Federal army under Gen. McDowell. An immense number of extras were sold, and the newspaper offices and the streets in their vicinity were crowded throughout the day and until late at night by people anxious to obtain the latest intelligence from the seat of war. The news had a depressing effect on the citizens generally, but stimulated recruiting. Squads were sent out by the recruiting officers, each headed by a drum and fife, and a number of volunteers fell into line at different points. Great activity also prevailed in forwarding troops and supplies to the front. At a meeting of the Councils Committee on the Defense and Safety of the City, held on the 22d, it was determined to order two batteries of Parrott guns from the Cold

Spring Foundry, near West Point, N. Y., for the use of the city. Regiments partially formed several weeks before filled up rapidly, and steps were taken to organize new ones should the government call for additional troops. [1861

Joseph Heritage, T. S. Reed, John Gegan, Jr., John Sterling, D. Jameson, Jr., and William P. Henry, and Mr. and Mrs. Savery volunteered their services as surgeons and nurses about this time, and having been accepted, left at once for the seat of war. A member of the Sixty-ninth New York Regiment, who was in the engagement at Bull Run, was in Philadelphia on the 23d, and on making his appearance on Chestnut Street, was surrounded by a crowd, which soon became so large that he took refuge in a store.

—On the afternoon of the 23d, Col. Dare's regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers returned, their term of service—three months—having expired. Although no public announcement had been made of their expected arrival, a large crowd had collected at the depot, and when the men alighted from the cars they were greeted with cheers. Nearly every soldier brought with him some trophy from Harper's Ferry, and several had secession flags, which attracted no little attention. The men marched to the arsenal where they deposited their muskets, after which they were allowed twenty-four hours in which to see their relatives and friends. The regiment had been accepted for three years, fully two-thirds of the men having re-enlisted. Hildebrand's Gymnast Zouaves were added to the regiment to make up its complement, and the command was given to Lieut.-Col. Birney.

—The manufacture of wagons for the government had now become an important industry, over six hundred men being employed day and night in the two establishments which had the contract for furnishing them. About one thousand knapsacks were also turned out daily at one of these factories. Philadelphia was also largely interested in furnishing other supplies to the government.

—It was announced on the 24th of July that a number of members of the Philadelphia Rifle Club had decided to enroll themselves as a company of sharpshooters, to tender their services to the government. Their shooting-master was T. F. Kolb. Only such riflemen were accepted as could hit the target ten times in succession, at a distance of two hundred yards at rest within five inches of the centre, or off-hand within eight inches of the centre.

—Col. Francis E. Patterson's regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, reached the city on the 25th. They were received with a salute of thirty-four guns, and were escorted by the Gray Reserves, Col. P. C. Ellmaker, to Washington Square, where they were formally dismissed. The term of service for which the regiment had enlisted having expired, the command was reorganized and accepted by the War Department for three years.

—Gen. George Brinton McClellan, who had been appointed to the command of the Army of the Potomac to succeed Gen. McDowell after 1861] the latter's disastrous defeat at Bull Run, arrived in the city from Pittsburgh on the 25th of July. A large assemblage had collected at the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot, Eleventh and Market Streets, through which he and Mayor Henry, who had come to meet him and tender the hospitality of the city, had some difficulty in making their way to the carriage which awaited them. Gen. McClellan, Mayor Henry, and Capt. Desilver, of the Home Guards, occupied seats in the carriage, which on reaching Broad Street took its place in the line which had been formed by the Gray Reserves, who acted as an escort. The cortege proceeded down Chestnut Street to Third, down Third to Walnut, and up Walnut to the residence of Gen. McClellan's brother, Dr. John H. B. McClellan, on Walnut Street, near Eleventh, where a large crowd had collected. As the general stepped from the carriage he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers. A few minutes later, in reponse to loud cries from the assemblage, he appeared on a balcony and expressed his gratification at the warmth of his reception, which he said he knew was not intended so much for himself as to mark their appreciation of the services of the men who had fought so bravely in Western Virginia. Gen. McClellan left soon after for Washington. Gen. McClellan was the son of Dr. George McClellan, of Philadelphia, and was born at the southwest corner of Seventh and Walnut Streets on Dec. 3, 1826. Dr. McClellan was born in 1796, in Connecticut, and his wife was a Miss Brinton, of Philadelphia.

—In Select Council on the 25th, an ordinance was adopted appropriating a further sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the relief of families of volunteers, which, with the sums previously appropriated, made three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars devoted to this purpose, of which \$58,881.22 had been expended. Resolutions eulogistic of Gen. McClellan and his soldiers in the engagement at Beverly, and proposing to purchase a sword with a suitable inscription, to be presented to the general, which had already been adopted by the Select Council, were concurred in by Common Council.

—The three months for which most of the regiments had volunteered having expired, large numbers of troops were now arriving almost daily on their way home. As the different regiments arrived at the foot of Washington Avenue, they were received by the Refreshment Committee and provided with food, etc. The Volunteers' Refreshment Saloon at Delaware Avenue and Washington Avenue, and the Cooper Shop Refreshment Saloon on Otsego Street below Washington Avenue, under the control of William M. Cooper, were in constant operation. The articles furnished were coffee, bread and butter, cheese, ham, sausages, and other substantial.

—A regiment named the McClellan Regiment, in honor of Gen. McClellan, was raised during the latter part of July, with the following officers: Colonel, Jacob Zeigler; Lieutenant-Colonel, Samuel C. Johnson; Major, John C. Johnson; Adjutant, Benjamin C. Brooker; Quartermaster, William Sharkey; Surgeon, H. B. Linton; Assistant Surgeon, Philip Leidy, Jr.

—The Sixty-ninth New York Regiment, which behaved so gallantly at the battle of Bull Run, arrived on the 26th, *en route* for New York. A large crowd gathered at the depot at Broad and Prime Streets, exhibited great enthusiasm, and when the regiment reached the wharf at the foot of Washington Street, the soldiers were treated with marked kindness by the committee in charge of the refreshment depot.

—On the 27th of July, Col. Geary's regiment left Oxford Park for Harper's Ferry. Four of the companies were organized in Philadelphia. The field officers were: Colonel, John W. Geary; Lieutenant-Colonel, Gabriel de Korponay; Major, Hector Tyndale; Adjutant, John Flynn; Surgeon, Henry Ernest Goodman; Assistant Surgeon, Samuel Logan; Chaplain, Charles W. Heisley; Quartermaster, Benjamin F. Lee; Sergeant-Major, Samuel D. McKee; Quartermaster-Sergeant, David B. Hilt; Commissary-Sergeant, John P. Nicholson; Regimental Postmaster, Thomas B. Hurst; Wagonmaster, George W. Keller.

—By the end of July most of the three months' volunteers had returned, and many of them had promptly re-enlisted. The Philadelphia Fire Zouave Regiment, Col. Baxter, and Col. D. B. Birney's regiment (formerly Col. Dare's) were organized almost immediately upon the return of the soldiers from the South. The Twenty-first Regiment, Col. Ballier, reached the city on the 29th, and the Scott Legion, Col. Gray, on the 30th. The Twenty-first halted in front of Gen. Patterson's residence, on Locust Street, between Thirteenth and Broad, and were addressed by the general, who warmly praised their conduct during the Valley campaign.

—A meeting of the friends of the National Guards Regiment, Col. Peter Lyle, was held on the 30th of July, to make arrangements for a reception of the command on its return to Philadelphia from Baltimore, Md., where it had been stationed for some time. George S. Adler presided, and A. J. Wester acted as secretary. It was determined to furnish an escort of Home Guards and citizens, and to provide a collation at the National Guards' Hall. George S. Adler was appointed chief marshal, with the following aids: John Fenlin, Jacob Crawford, Joseph Delavan, John Hill, G. Collins, and Isaac McBride. The National Guards reached the city on the night of the 31st of July. They were met at the depot by the First and Second Regiments of Infantry, Home Guards, Companies A, B, C, and D, German Rifles, and Company A, First Regiment of Cavalry, which acted as an escort. At the armory the returned soldiers were handsomely entertained.

—Prince Napoleon and suite arrived in Philadelphia on the 31st of July from New York *en route* for Washington. On the following day he visited the park and various public institutions.

—Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson was serenaded on the night of July 31st at his residence, Thirteenth and Locust Streets. He was introduced to those present by Benjamin H. Brewster, who warmly eulogized his military services while in command of the Pennsylvania troops in Virginia. In replying, Gen. Patterson thanked the assemblage for the confidence in himself which their compliment expressed, and said the Pennsylvania troops had behaved with conspicuous skill and courage. Col. Francis E. Patterson, the general's son, also made a brief address. The Twenty-fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Owen, paraded on the 1st of August, and proceeded to the residence of Brig.-Gen. J. D. Miles, on Franklin Street, near Noble, where they halted, and Gen. Miles, appearing in full uniform, delivered an address welcoming them home. Col. Owen, in replying, said he could promise that the Twenty-fourth would enlist for the war.

—The brig "Herald," laden with tobacco and naval stores, was brought to the navy-yard on the 1st of August in charge of a prize-master, having been captured off Cape Hatteras by the United States frigate "St. Lawrence" while attempting to run the blockade.

—In response to a call signed by a number of citizens for a meeting of those opposed to the system of partisan nominations, which had previously been in vogue in the city, a large assemblage collected on the 1st of August at the Merchants' Exchange. William Welsh was called to the chair, and the following vice-presidents were selected: First District, John G. Davis; Second, S. H. Perkins; Third, H. J. Williams; Fourth, Benjamin Gerhard. Frederick Fraley and John B. Kenny were appointed secretaries. A series of resolutions, proposed by E. Spencer Miller, were adopted, in which it was declared that no reverses could shake the determination of those present to support the Federal government at any sacrifice, and that to weaken and divide this support by renewing party issues, which had become subordinate, was as dangerous as to obstruct the government by direct opposition. It was also determined that a committee should be appointed, consisting of two persons from each ward, who should make nominations for all the offices to be filled in the ensuing October.

—In the Common Council on the 1st of August an ordinance from Select Council appropriating an additional sum of two hundred thousand dollars out of the loan of one million dollars for the benefit of the families of volunteers was concurred in. A resolution from the same chamber providing for the appointment of a committee to memorialize the Federal government to make the Philadelphia navy-yard a first-class naval station was also agreed to.

—The United States steamer "Albatross," Capt. George A. Prentiss, arrived on the 2d of August, having in charge the schooner "Enchantress." The latter vessel had been captured on the 6th [1861] of July two hundred and sixty miles south-east of Sandy Hook by the privateer "Jeff Davis," which placed on board a prize crew composed of Walter W. Smith, of Savannah, Ga., prize-master; Eben Lane, of West Cambridge, Mass.; Thomas Quigley, of New York; Daniel Mullings, of Charleston, S. C.; and Edward Rochford, of Liverpool. The steamer "Albatross," however, overtook the "Enchantress" while on her way to Charleston and recaptured her. The "Enchantress" had a cargo of assorted goods suitable for the army. The prize crew were placed in irons and brought with the vessel to the navy-yard, whence they were taken to Moyamensing jail.

—The Twenty-ninth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, known as the Jackson Regiment, and commanded by Col. John K. Murphy, left for Harper's Ferry on the 3d of August. On the same day the National Guards, Col. Lyle, were reviewed in front of the custom-house by the City Councils, and Theodore Cuyler, president of Select Council, as the representative of Mayor Henry, who was unavoidably absent. After the command had performed various evolutions Mr. Cuyler briefly welcomed them back to the city. Col. T. G. Morehead's regiment paraded on the afternoon of the same day.

—On the 5th of August, Mr. Chew, of Germantown, applied to Judge Ludlow for an injunction to prevent Senator Mason (of Mason and Slidell notoriety) from taking money out of the estate in which he was interested, located in Philadelphia County. In asking for the order, Mr. Chew said, "I apply to your Honor for an order to prevent James M. Mason from taking out of the jurisdiction of the court funds which the trustees have invested under the order of the Orphans' Court. Already a very large sum has been taken out of the State by that very remarkable traitor, and I have no prospect of ever getting retribution if the balance of the funds is taken away." Judge Ludlow suggested that a citation might issue, and notice could be given by publication.

—The field officers of the Third Regiment, Reserve Brigade, held an election on the 1st of August. C. M. Eakin was chosen colonel, John C. Paynter lieutenant-colonel, and T. Gordon Miller major. The officers of the Twenty-third Regiment, as announced on the 7th of August, were: Colonel, David B. Birney; Lieutenant-Colonel, Charles Wilhelm; Adjutant, John E. Collins; Surgeon, Samuel W. Gross; Sergeant-Major, J. Adams; Quartermaster-Sergeant, T. W. Jones; Commissary-Sergeant, W. Shipman.

—On the 6th of August the crew of the schooner "Protector," belonging to Philip Fitzpatrick, of Philadelphia, which was captured off Hatteras on the 28th of July by the Confederate privateer "Gordon,"

arrived in an open yawl-boat from Newbern, N. C. The "Protector" was commanded by Capt. Linnaikin, and the crew consisted of Thomas Ross, [1861] James Quomoe, and David Hart, of Philadelphia. After the capture they were taken to Newbern, placed in the yawl-boat, supplied with provisions, and told to make their way home as best they could.

—The steam gun-boat "Flag," Capt. Sartori, arrived at the navy-yard on the 7th of August from the Gulf of Mexico, having on board the officers and part of the crew of the Confederate privateer "Petrel," which was sunk by the frigate "St. Lawrence" off Charleston. The commander of the "Petrel" was Capt. William Perry, whose lieutenants were R. W. Harvey and Charles Campbell. The gunner was Auguste Peyresett. Eight of the crew were either killed by the fire of the "St. Lawrence" or drowned when the vessel sunk. The prisoners were taken to Moyamensing jail.

—A hearing in the case of the Confederate prize crew of the "Enchantress," charged with piracy, was held on the 7th of August before United States Commissioner Heazlett. Eben Lane was represented by F. Carroll Brewster, and the other four prisoners by N. Harrison. The hearing was continued on the 8th, when the prisoners were committed, without bail, to answer the charge of piracy at the next term of the United States Circuit Court.

—The Twelfth Regiment, Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, opened recruiting stations in Philadelphia about the 7th of August. The commander of the regiment was Col. John H. Taggart.

—On the 9th of August, Thomas J. Armstrong was executed for the murder of Robert Crawford on the night of the 21st of September, 1860. The crime was one of peculiar atrocity. Crawford was invited by Armstrong to take a ride in the latter's wagon, and while in the wagon was murdered and robbed, his body being afterward thrown upon the highway. Armstrong before his death made a confession implicating two other parties, who, however, were shown to be innocent.

—After the battle of Bull Run a letter to Gen. Winfield Scott was written and signed by the mayor and a number of leading citizens, expressing their unbounded confidence in his wisdom and courage.

—The Independent Rangers, Capt. William McMullen, reached the city on the 12th of August, from Sandy Hook, Md. A large number of friends of the members and others assembled at the Broad and Prime Streets Depot to witness their return, and a company of the Scott Legion Regiment, under command of Capt. Crossin, and one of Col. Patterson's regiment, under Capt. Bassett, were present as an escort. The procession halted in front of the residence of Gen. Patterson, who, accompanied by his son, Col. Patterson, came out upon the steps in full uniform and made a brief address of welcome.

—A further hearing of the cases of the crew of the privateer "Petrel" was had by United States Commissioner Heazlett on the 14th of August. N. Harrison and John P. O'Neil represented thirty-three of the prisoners, and Charles W. Brooke and George W. Arundel appeared respectively for two of the others. United States District Attorney Coffee was assisted by George H. Earle. The prisoners waived a hearing, and on the 17th the commissioner, after hearing the evidence of Capt. Sartori, commander of the United States steamer "Flag," committed them for trial.

—The First City Troop, Capt. James, was escorted to its armory on the 14th of August by the First City Troop, Home Guard, Capt. Bavington, the Seventeenth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Patterson, the Independent Rangers, Capt. McMullen, and a battalion of Gray Reserves under Col. Snowden. On the right of the troop were several of its members who had not been in active service and who were dressed in the holiday uniform of the command. The troop during their absence had been chiefly employed in Virginia, in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry.

—The ship "General Parkhill," which was captured while running the blockade off Charleston and brought in as a prize, was sold on the 15th of August, at public auction, for seven thousand four hundred dollars to Workman & Co., of Philadelphia, for Holmboe & Co., of New York.

—Two United States gun-boats, in course of construction at the ship-yards of Jacob Birely and Hillman & Streaker, were announced on the 16th of August to be rapidly approaching completion, although work had been begun on them only about two months before. About the same time Matthews & Moore completed the casting of a large cannon at their works on Bush Hill, from Reading iron. The gun weighed about five tons, and projected a nine-inch shell.

—On the 17th of August it was stated that the following regiments were in process of formation: First Artillery, Col. Patterson; McClellan Regiment, Col. Ziegler; Thomas A. Scott Regiment, Col. Conroy; Keystone Regiment, Lieut.-Col. Badger; Washington Legion, Col. Harvey; Fire Zouave Regiment, Col. Baxter; Zouave Regiment, Col. Gosline; Scott Legion Regiment (no colonel then named); Twenty-fourth Regiment, Col. Owen; Pennsylvania Legion Regiment, Col. Koltes; Andrew Johnson Regiment, Col. Kirk; Twenty-third Regiment, Col. Birney; the Cameron Regiment; the Eighteenth Regiment, Col. Miller; Col. Gregory's regiment (Home Guard); Col. Morehead's regiment; Col. Fritz's regiment; Col. Chantry's regiment; Col. Lujeane's regiment; Col. Rush's cavalry; Col. Chorman's Mounted Rifle Rangers; Col. Friedman's cavalry; Col. John Richter Jones' regiment; two German regiments and the Washington battalion, Col. Williams. Recruiting was also going on for Maryland and Delaware regi-

ments, and to fill up Col. Small's, Col. Baker's, and Col. Geary's regiments. There were several encampments within the city limits, two on the Wissahickon, one at Hestonville, one at Suffolk Park, one at Camac's woods, and several elsewhere. Col. Henry Bohlen's regiment, in process of forming, was located at Hestonville.

—Such was the magnitude of the operations at the Philadelphia navy-yard at this period that seventeen hundred mechanics and laborers were employed.

—An order from the War Department directing that troops, including those of regiments not fully organized, should be forwarded to Washington as soon as possible, created great activity and excitement during the latter part of August. Col. Edward D. Baker of the California Regiment came with authority to raise a brigade, and accepted Col. Baxter's Fire Zouaves, Col. Gosline's Zouaves, and Col. Owen's Irish Regiment. A movement was commenced at the same time to form a new artillery regiment based on the Commonwealth Artillery Company, Capt. Montgomery, which had been stationed at Fort Delaware. The Scott Legion was reorganized with Edwin R. Biles as colonel.

—Pierce Butler, a well-known citizen, was arrested on the 19th of August at his residence on Walnut Street, by order of the War Department, and sent to Fort Hamilton, N. Y. Mr. Butler was charged with having left for the South just after the attack on Fort Sumter, taking with him a number of secession cockades, pistols, etc., and it was claimed had returned to the city for the purpose of aiding the Confederates.

—In view of the urgent demand of the government for more troops, the Home Guards and Gray Reserves took into consideration the question whether they would offer themselves for active service of a temporary character. On the 21st of August, however, a dispatch was received from Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, stating that the department would not, in any event, call on the Home Guards or Gray Reserves for temporary service.

—Butterfield & Co., who were extensively engaged in furnishing arms to the general government and State of Pennsylvania, obtained patents for a breech-loading cannon and a breech-loading musket, which were regarded as great improvements on weapons of the same character then in use.

—The schooner "G. G. Baker," which had been captured by the United States steamer "South Carolina," and subsequently by the Confederate privateer "York," but afterward recaptured by the United States steamer "Union," arrived at the navy-yard on the 22d of August, in charge of Prize-master John White, of the United States frigate "Minnesota." The vessel was loaded with coffee, sugar, and rope.

—Thomas J. Carson, Walter W. Kelley, and William M. Pegram, who had been arrested in Harrisburg on suspicion of being Confederate spies, were on the 22d of August committed for a hearing.

—By direction of the President of the United States, United States District Attorney Coffee, on the 22d of August, gave directions to the United States marshal to seize all copies of [1861 the *New York Daily News*, *New York Day-Book*, *New York Journal of Commerce*, and *Philadelphia Christian Observer*, under an act of Congress authorizing the President to stop all transportation of aid and comfort to those in rebellion. The *Christian Observer* office was first visited, and the types seized. A force of officers stationed at Walnut Street wharf examined the bundles of newspapers upon the arrival of the mails from New York, and seized all copies of the newspapers mentioned.

—On the 22d of August the following permanent officers of the "No-Party" convention were elected: President, A. J. Derbyshire; Vice-Presidents, John Agnew and John Thompson; Secretaries, John Lambert and William McGlensey.

—The Councils Committee on the Safety and Protection of the City were induced by the result of the battle of Bull Run to take energetic measures for defense. Twelve Parrott rifled cannon (twelve- and twenty-pounders) were purchased, and twelve rifled pieces were also ordered to be cast at Phoenixville. A steel cannon, made in Paris, was presented to the city by George McHenry, and three more of the same pattern were purchased by private individuals. Application was also made to the general government to put the river and harbor defenses in complete order.

—The United States sloop-of-war "Tuscarora" was launched at the navy-yard on the 24th of August. The keel of the "Tuscarora" was laid on the 26th of June, and the vessel was built under the direction of Naval-Constructor Hoover. Her length between perpendiculars was one hundred and ninety-eight feet eight inches, and she was thirty-three feet beam, and fifteen feet hold. Her engines were built at the foundry of Merrick & Son. The "Tuscarora" was the first launched of six sloops provided for by Congress. At the launch, Miss Margaret Lardner, daughter of Commander Lardner, christened the vessel.

—Judge Ludlow, on the 24th of August, made an order in accordance with the prayer of Mr. Chew, in regard to the transfer of the funds of the Chew estate to James M. Mason, in Virginia, to be used in the interest of the rebels. The order in effect tied up the estate until the meeting of the Orphans' Court in September.

—The Chasseurs d'Afrique, a zouave corps, commanded by Capt. Charles H. T. Collis, left on the 25th of August for Fort Delaware, where it was exercised in skirmishing and artillery practice, preliminary to its departure for the seat of war.

—On the 25th of August, William Johnston, a nephew of the Confederate Gen. Johnston, and an officer in the Southern army, was arrested at the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot. He had been in Phila-

delphia, stopping at the house of a relative, about two weeks. A number of letters were found in his trunk directed to parties in the seceded States. He was held for trial. Samuel Eakin, arrested on the charge of being an agent for the Confederate States, was taken to Fort Lafayette on the 26th of August, by order of the War Department.

—The Confederate privateer "Sumter," which had begun to attract general attention on account of the boldness of her operations, was built in Philadelphia, by Birely & Lynn, after models made by John W. Lynn, a member of the firm. Her machinery was constructed by Reany, Neafie & Co., of Philadelphia. The vessel was built originally for James Connell & Co., of New Orleans, to ply between that port and Havana. She was launched on the 18th of May, 1855, and was named the "Habana." She was noted for her speed, having on one occasion made sixteen miles in fifty-eight minutes on the Delaware.

—Another prize, the schooner "Albion," arrived at the Philadelphia navy-yard on the 31st of August, in charge of Prize-master Stephen S. Russell, of the United States ship "Seminole." The "Albion" was captured off Charleston, S. C., while attempting to run the blockade. She was laden with sugar and coffee.

—On the 31st of August the remains of Gen. Lyon, who was killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Mo., while gallantly leading his men, reached the city on the 1st of September from Pittsburgh en route for New York. They were in charge of H. A. Conant, of Gen. Lyon's staff; Capts. Plummer and Edgar, of the United States army, and Lieut. Clark and eight privates of Col. McNeil's regiment, Missouri Volunteers. At the depot, Eleventh and Market Streets, they were received by a company of the Home Guards, Capt. Hartings, who acted as a guard of honor. Col. Dare's regiment was also present and formed part of the funeral cortege, which proceeded up Eleventh Street to Arch, down Arch to Fifth, and up Fifth to the Kensington Depot. Flags were displayed at half-mast in various portions of the city.

—At a meeting of the Councils Committee on the Safety and Protection of the City, held on the 31st of August, a resolution was adopted requesting the mayor to devise some plan by which the ranks of the Home Guard might be increased and made more efficient. A resolution was also adopted inviting delegates from all the steam fire-engine companies in the city to meet the committee for the purpose of participating in the formation of artillery companies for the protection of the city if needed.

—August Douglass, charged with attempting to induce soldiers to desert, was tried on the 4th of September before Judge Ludlow in the Quarter Sessions and acquitted.

—The one hundredth anniversary of the opening of St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church was cele-

brated on the 4th of September in the presence of a large assemblage. Among the officiating clergy were Bishops Potter (of Pennsylvania), Delancey (of New York), and Odenheimer (of New Jersey). A sermon, reviewing the history of the church, was preached by Bishop Delancey.

—R. S. Perkins, chief armorer of the United States Arsenal at Bridesburg, and Robert Bolton, who was engaged in the manufacture of patent primers at Frankford, were arrested on the 4th of September on the charge of furnishing arms and munitions of war in the month of April, 1861, to persons then engaged in open rebellion against the United States; but were discharged for want of evidence showing guilty intention.

—The "Abbie Bradford," a vessel which had been captured by the privateer "Sumter," but had been recaptured by the United States vessel "Powhatan" off the mouth of the Mississippi, was brought to the city on the 4th of September in charge of Jacob Stevens, prize-master. All the "Sumter's" men on board the "Abbie Bradford" were placed in irons on the "Powhatan," with the exception of one named Evans, who was placed in Moyamensing prison.

—Work on the Chestnut Street bridge was commenced on the 4th of September by the city engineer and surveyor, who, with the contractors, arranged the lines of approach, and made the necessary preparations for the excavation of the abutments.

—A seizure of tobacco, the property of S. M. Bailey, of Richmond, Va., was made at the warehouse of J. R. Sank & Co., in Water Street, on the 5th of September. On the same day the collector of the port seized three schooners at the wharves which were owned in part by rebels,—the "Emma Amelia," of Boston, Capt. Harding; the "Henry Cole," Capt. Hazleton, and the "Eagle," Capt. Taylor. The loyal owners were afterward permitted the use of the vessels on payment of the amounts held by Southern parties.

—In the newspapers of September 7th was published the reply to a letter addressed to Lieut.-Gen. Winfield Scott by Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll and others, expressing their confidence in his military capacity and patriotism. In acknowledging the receipt of the letter, Gen. Scott wrote, "Twice within a short time rolls of my fellow-citizens of Philadelphia, including many personal friends, have overwhelmed me with testimonials of their distinguished approbation and esteem. The second of these addresses has reached me through your honored hands. Such, I feel, are the rewards which cheer and render happy the close of an old soldier's life, now, by Divine goodness, much extended beyond the usual age of man."

—Col. Francis E. Patterson was elected brigadier-general by the officers of the regiments of reserves on the 5th of September.

—The sword designed as a gift from the city of Philadelphia to Col. Robert Anderson for his defense

of Fort Sumter, was stated on the 9th to be nearly ready for delivery. It was of the Damascus pattern, with an eagle and "E Pluribus Unum" on the blade. The handle was set with four amethysts, surmounted with diamonds. The scabbard was of solid silver, plated with gold, and bore the inscription,—"The City of Philadelphia to Robert Anderson, U.S.A. May 22, 1861. A loyal city to a loyal soldier,—the hero of Fort Sumter." The sword to be presented to Gen. McClellan was straight, and set with diamonds and pearls. On the handle was the figure of an American eagle attacking a serpent. The total cost of the two swords was about eleven hundred dollars.

—On the 16th of September one thousand Enfield rifles, purchased by the Committee of Councils on the Safety and Defense of the City, were distributed to a light infantry regiment, comprising, among other organizations, the Maennerchor Rifle Company, the Freeman's Rifle Company, and the Citizens' Rifle Company, forming part of the German Battalion.

—During the early part of September the work of strengthening the defenses at Fort Mifflin was commenced under the direction of Lieut. McCallister, of the United States engineer corps. The old wooden lining of the ramparts was removed and brick-work substituted. All the guns were dismounted, and the largest of them placed so as to defend the land approaches, while new ones of heavier calibre were substituted on the side commanding the river.

—In Select Council, on the 12th of September, Mr. Ginnods offered a series of resolutions, which were referred to the Committee on the Safety and Defense of the City, calling upon citizens for the purpose of preparing against a threatened Confederate invasion, to close their respective places of business at four o'clock P.M. daily, and recommending that all who were capable of bearing arms should assemble in their respective wards and precincts for such instruction in military drill as to be ready at a moment's warning to shoulder their muskets and meet the enemy. The resolutions also urged the citizens to press most zealously "the necessity of sustaining and building up the several bodies of troops dwelling in our midst for the safety and defense of our city."

—A meeting of citizens favorable to the formation of a new regiment, to be known as the Commonwealth Regiment, was held on the 12th of September. Lieut. Robinson was called to the chair, and Capt. James E. Montgomery, of the Commonwealth Artillery, stated the object of the meeting. The proposed organization consisted of one thousand and forty-six infantry, together with two companies of light artillery. A series of resolutions were adopted approving the object of the meeting, and the selection of Capt. Gibson, United States army, as colonel.

—William H. Winder, of Philadelphia, brother of Gen. John H. Winder of the Confederate service, was arrested on the 11th, on the charge of treason, and sent to Fort Lafayette.

—During a performance of "The Tempest" at the Continental Theatre, Walnut Street above Eighth, on Saturday evening, September 14th, the dress of one of the ballet-girls, Hannah Gale, [1861 caught fire in one of the dressing-rooms.

There were nineteen other young women in the room at the time, all of whom were light, gauzy costumes. Many of these caught fire. The girls ran in every direction, screaming from pain and fright. Some rushed to the windows and jumped out into the street, while others ran along the landing and sprang down upon the stage, with which it communicated. The house in front was filled with spectators, who were suddenly startled by the appearance of one of the girls, Anna McBride, who, screaming and in flames, rushed before the foot-lights for assistance. She was immediately covered with cloth, torn from the stage, and the flames extinguished, but not before she had been fatally injured. The curtain was lowered hastily, and the scene hidden from the excited audience, many of whom, hearing the screams of the unfortunate girls and not knowing the extent of the mischief, rushed toward the exits. Mr. Wheatley, the manager, appeared before the curtain and stated that in consequence of the accident the play would not go on, and requested the audience to retire in good order. The request was complied with, and the theatre soon emptied without any one being injured. Six of the girls died soon after the accident, viz., Hannah Gale, Phoebe Forden, Adeona Gale, Mary Herman, Anna Devlin, and Anna McBride. Abbie Carr, Ruth and Zela Gale, Kate Harrison, and Margaret Conway were more or less seriously injured. Ruth Gale died on the 17th, Zela Gale and Abbie Carr on the 25th of September.

—The Fire Zouaves, Col. Baxter, left the city on the 16th. A stand of colors was presented to the regiment by the Fire Department. The regimental flag, of blue silk with the coat of arms of the United States on one side, and the coat of arms of Pennsylvania on the other, bore the inscription, "The Philadelphia Fire Zouaves by the Fire Department of the City of Philadelphia, Sept. 16, 1861."

—Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the United States Navy, visited the navy-yard on the 14th of September, and in company with Commander Lardner inspected the work-shops, ship-houses, vessels in course of construction or undergoing repairs, etc.

—The schooner "Mary Wood," charged with blockade running, and captured by the squadron off Hatteras Inlet, was brought as a prize on the 16th of September.

—The seventy-fourth anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States was celebrated by an imposing demonstration on the 17th of September. Although the stores were not closed, the streets wore a holiday appearance, and the national colors floated from all the public buildings and many private residences. At sunrise a salute was fired from the navy-

yard, and later in the day a parade of the Home Guards and cadets took place. The line was formed on Twelfth

Street, with the right resting on Callowhill, **1861]** and moved up Callowhill to Fifteenth, down Fifteenth to Walnut, and down Walnut to the residence of the orator of the day, George M. Dallas, on Walnut near Tenth Street, whence Mr. Dallas was escorted to Independence Square. Seated in the carriage with Mr. Dallas was Theodore Cuyler, president of Select Council. Opposite the square the military came to a halt, and Mr. Dallas was escorted to the platform erected for the officers of the day, orator, etc. The platform was decorated with American flags, and across the front was displayed the inscription: "The Union and the Constitution must and shall be preserved." Although it was raining, an immense assemblage had congregated in the square. The following persons were selected as officers of the day: President, Alexander Henry, mayor of Philadelphia; Vice-Presidents, Samuel Breck, Henry J. Williams, John Graeff, Peter Williamson, John C. Farr, Thomas Dunlap, William Musser, Col. J. S. Riley, Daniel Paul, Peter P. Gaskill, Thomas Tasker, J. Edgar Thomson, Horace Binney, J. R. Ingersoll, John B. Myers, John C. Cresson, Caleb Cope, Joel B. Sutherland, John McCrea, Benjamin Rush, Col. John Thompson, Charles Macalester, William M. Meredith, Commodore Charles Stewart, Thomas A. Budd, Joseph Wayne, Sr., Franklin Peale, John G. Watomough, Charles S. Cox, James Dundas, Simon Gratz, Thomas I. Potts, John Welsh, S. M. Felton; Secretaries, Benjamin Gerhard, George W. Budd, John Carter, William Rotch Wister, H. C. Primrose, Isaac Hazlehurst, William H. Merrick, John E. Adicks, Joseph T. Thomas, Charles Gilpin, Samuel C. Perkins, Samuel B. Miller, Alexander Whilden. The Junior Maennerchor Rifles, Freeman Rifles, and the male members of the Handel and Haydn Society, assisted by a full band under the direction of Professor Birgfeld, sung the ode, "'America,'—Our country, 'tis of thee," after which Rev. Reuben Jeffries, D.D., offered prayer. Mayor Henry then made a patriotic address, and after the singing of "Old Hundred," a series of resolutions, adopted by the City Council, providing for the celebration, and reaffirming the devotion of the people of Philadelphia to the Constitution, were read. Mr. Dallas then delivered his oration. The ceremonies concluded with the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner." The anniversary was also celebrated by the James Page Library Company of Kensington with a display of fire-works and a salute of thirteen guns. An address was delivered at the hall of the company, the front of which was decorated with transparencies by Col. James Page.

—In Select Council, on the 19th of September, on motion of Mr. Fox, it was resolved that in accordance with the recommendation of the President of the United States, Thursday, the 26th, should be observed as a day of public humiliation, prayer, and fasting.

It was also determined that the usual meeting of Councils held on that day be dispensed with, and that the municipal offices be closed.

—The Ladies' Aid Society, it was announced on the 20th of September, had secured the voluntary services of ladies in Washington, and such facilities from the United States government as would enable them to distribute promptly and carefully such articles of food and clothing, not furnished by the government, as would promote the care and comfort of sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals. The officers were Mrs. E. P. S. Jones, president; Mrs. John Harris, secretary; Mrs. Stephen Colwell, treasurer.

—The vote for brigadier-general of the Home Guard resulted as follows: A. J. Pleasonton, 1302; Henry Coffee, 292; C. P. Dare, 280.

—Sharp and Rankin's breech-loading fire-arms manufactory, situated on the west bank of the Schuylkill below the wire bridge, was busily engaged at this time in the manufacture of patent breech-loading rifles for the United States navy. Three different sizes of Sharp's four-barreled pocket-pistols were also made in large quantities. The manufacture of cavalry and infantry swords and sabre-bayonets was actively carried on at the Frankford factory of Sheble & Fisher, and a number of Philadelphia firms were engaged in the manufacture of projectiles for the War Department, cavalry-spurs, belt-plates, sword- and bayonet-scarbarrd mountings, tent-cloth, and other supplies for the army.

—In the latter part of September the City Councils Committee on the Safety and Defense of the City employed persons to make a topographical survey of the Susquehanna River with the view of erecting, if necessary, fortifications to prevent a Confederate invasion of eastern Pennsylvania. The engineering party commenced operations near the mouth of the Juniata, and completed their work before the close of the year. For the purpose of creating an additional corps for home defense, the same committee suggested to the steam fire-engine companies the feasibility of organizing themselves into an artillery corps. In accordance with this suggestion a meeting of delegates was held on the 25th of September, at the headquarters of the Home Guard, State-House row. Peter A. Keyser, of Northern Liberties Fire Company, No. 1, presided, and George F. Borie, of Decatur Fire Company of Frankford, acted as secretary. After a statement of Gen. Pleasonton, it was determined to postpone action until a future meeting. Various meetings were held from time to time, but nothing definite was done until the 11th of October, when it was determined "to recommend to the fire companies of this city to form from their own companies and members who may join them, an artillery regiment, to be composed of a company from each fire district, and that the several fire companies throughout the city be requested to report, through their delegates at

a meeting to be held on Wednesday evening next, how far they can aid in this endeavor." At the meeting held on the 16th, in accordance with this recommendation, a number of those present stated that they had been instructed by their companies to report that their horses would be placed at the disposal of the new regiment; and that although many of their men were already enlisted for active service, there still remained a few who were willing to join the regiment and render what service they could.

—Capt. T. F. Dupont, commandant at the Philadelphia navy-yard, having been ordered South, took leave of the workmen at the yard on the 23d of September. In bidding them farewell he congratulated them on having done a thing unprecedented in naval history, in constructing a sloop of war in fifty-eight days.

—James Haig, of Baltimore, F. Wyatt, clerk in an iron store in Water Street, and William Gilchrist, dealer in cutlery in Commerce Street, were arrested on the 23d of September, on the charge of aiding the Confederates, and furnishing them percussion-caps, primers, and other supplies. They were sent to Fort Lafayette.

—A number of changes in the list of officers of the Reserve Brigade were announced on the 24th of September. Maj. N. B. Kneass had been unanimously elected lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment in place of Col. R. H. Rush, who had resigned for the purpose of entering into active service. Capt. Alfred Day was unanimously elected colonel of the Second Regiment, and Capt. N. Hicks Graham major. Col. C. M. Eakins, of the Third Regiment, appointed B. Andrews Knight adjutant of the Third; and Col. W. H. Yeaton, of the Fourth Regiment, appointed Charles C. Knight adjutant of the Fourth.

—Matthews & Moore succeeded in casting at their works at Bush Hill, on the 24th of September, an immense Dahlgren gun, weighing about ten thousand pounds, which was sent to Washington in the rough. Up to this time the firm had cast eight guns, the lightest weighing seven thousand pounds.

—The ship "Marathon," which arrived on the 23d of September, was seized by the custom-house authorities on the ground that two-thirds of the vessel was owned by residents of New Orleans. The prize-ship "Amelia," captured off Charleston on the 21st of June, was sold by the United States marshal on the 25th of September.

—William B. Wood, a veteran actor and manager, died on the night of September 24th, in the eighty-third year of his age. Toward the close of the eighteenth century he became a member of the company at the Chestnut Street Theatre, and shortly after the beginning of the present century, assumed the management in company with Mr. Warren. On the 2d of April, 1820, the theatre was destroyed by fire while the company was playing in Baltimore. A new theatre was erected and opened on the 2d of Decem-

ber, 1822, on which occasion Mr. Wood delivered the address. During the management of Messrs. Wood and Warren a number of the most celebrated English actors were introduced to the Philadelphia public, among them Cooper, Cooke, Kean, Macready, and Booth. As an actor Mr. Wood was very successful, and a great favorite with Philadelphians.

—Pierce Butler, James W. Wall, and George L. Browne were released from Fort Lafayette on the 24th of September, after Messrs. Wall and Browne had taken the oath to support the Constitution, and Mr. Butler had taken a pledge not to act hostilely to the United States, or visit South Carolina without a passport.

—On the 27th of September it was announced that there were then in the field the following regiments from Philadelphia: Twenty-third, Col. Birney; Twenty-fourth, Col. Owen; Twenty-sixth, Col. Small; Twenty-seventh, Col. Einstein; Twenty-eighth, Col. Geary; Twenty-ninth, Col. Murphy; Thirtieth, Col. Chantry; Thirty-first, Col. Williams; Thirty-second, Col. Lujane; Fire Zouaves, Col. Baxter; California Regiment, Col. Baker; Forty-fifth, Col. Koltes. Besides these regiments of infantry, Philadelphia had contributed one full regiment of dragoons under Col. Friedman, the greater portion of Young's so-called Kentucky Cavalry Regiment, and the Lincoln Cavalry. The regiments of infantry commanded by Cols. Mann, Sickles, and March had each three or four companies raised in Philadelphia. Recruiting for the Excelsior Brigade of New York, commanded by Gen. Sickles, was very active in Philadelphia, but it was not definitely known how many of the men came from the latter city. Capt. C. H. T. Collis' company of Independent Zouaves, which left the city on the 25th of September, was also recruited in Philadelphia. In addition to the Philadelphia organizations actually in the field, a number of commands were in process of formation. Col. Lyle had enrolled between seven and eight hundred men, who were being drilled at Oxford. Col. McLean had nearly a full regiment encamped on the Schuylkill near the mouth of the Wissahickon. Col. Gosline's Zouave Regiment was full, but it was determined to increase the force to one thousand five hundred men. Col. Gregory's regiment, which was in camp, was rapidly filling up, and Col. Ballier's regiment, stationed at Girard Park, was nearly ready to leave for the seat of war. Col. Bohlen's command, at Hestonville, was also nearly full, and Col. Wallace, whose regiment was encamped on the Islington Lane, opposite the Odd-Fellows' Cemetery, was busy recruiting in Philadelphia. The Fifth Regiment, Baker's brigade, Col. Morehead, was encamped in West Philadelphia, awaiting orders to move southward; and Col. Jones' regiment was encamped at Roxborough. Col. Conroy was engaged in raising the Thomas A. Scott Regiment, and Col. Dunn a regiment to be connected

with the Irish Brigade. The Commonwealth Regiment, and three regiments of mounted men—Col.

Chorman's Mounted Rifle Rangers, and Cols.

1861] Rush's and Price's cavalry regiments—were also being organized. Baron Vegesack, a Swedish nobleman, who had been commissioned by the War Department, was given command of the battery of flying artillery attached to Col. Birney's regiment, the Twenty-third Pennsylvania Volunteers.

—During the summer and fall of 1861, the government purchased a number of vessels at the shipyards, with the purpose of fitting them up as transports and gun-boats. Among them were two side-wheel iron steamers built by Neafie & Levy, a hull built by Simpson & Neill, which was converted into a gun-boat, another hull built by Williams & Son, and also converted into a gun-boat, three schooners fitted up for similar service, and the fine iron steamship "St. Mary," of about eleven hundred tons burden, built at Wilmington, Del.

—Thursday, September 26th, was generally observed as a day of fasting and prayer, in accordance with the recommendation of the President of the United States and a special resolution of the City Councils. Most of the places of business were closed, as well as the courts and public offices, and special services were held in the churches of all denominations.

—A stand of colors was presented to Col. Bohlen's regiment at the residence of the colonel, Walnut and Juniper Streets, on the 27th of September, by Hon. Joseph R. Chandler on behalf of Mrs. Sophia Bohlen. The colors were received by Lieut.-Col. Mahler, and after the ceremony the regiment started for Washington.

—A new department for the manufacture of army clothing having been established at the foot of Chestnut Street, Schuylkill, there was a rush of applicants for work on the 27th of September, there being at one time over five thousand women in front of or near the building. Such was the pressure of the crowd that a number of women fainted.

—On the 28th of September a stand of colors was presented to Col. Baxter's regiment of Fire Zouaves by their brother firemen, through I. Newton Brown. The ceremony took place in front of the La Pierre House. The colors were received on behalf of the regiment by Richard Ludlow, Jr.

—The mayor received notice on the 28th of September that two steel rifled cannon, made in Prussia and a gift from James Swaim, had arrived at New York. They were six-pounders, and the first of the kind exported from Prussia. The only condition attached to the gift was that they should always remain the property of the city of Philadelphia.

—In their final presentment, on the 28th of September, the grand jury of the Quarter Sessions stated that they had examined the charges of fraud in connection with the furnishing of clothing to the troops,

and were constrained to say that they "had no evidence of any fraud having been perpetrated upon this commonwealth in the supplies furnished to the troops, nor of any frauds on the part of those persons, official or unofficial, engaged in the management of the interests of the commonwealth." It was admitted that mistakes and irregularities had occurred, but it was believed that no frauds had been committed.

—On the 29th of September the news reached Philadelphia of a lamentable catastrophe that had befallen the Philadelphia regiments commanded by Cols. Baker, Baxter, Owen, and Friedman. During the advance of the Federal army on the Falls Church from Chain Bridge, Va., on the night of the 28th, Col. Owen's Philadelphia Irish Regiment, in the darkness of the night, mistook for Confederates Capt. Mott's battery, which was in the advance, sustained by Col. Baker's California Regiment (largely composed of Philadelphians), Col. Baxter's Philadelphia Fire Zouaves, and Col. Max Friedman's Philadelphia Cavalry, and fired a full volley into the approaching troops, killing and wounding a large number. The California Regiment, not knowing whence the firing came, returned it with disastrous effect. The horses attached to Mott's battery became unmanageable, and the tongues of the caissons were broken, owing to the narrowness of the road. Lieut. Bryan, having command of the first section, ordered the guns to be loaded with grape and canister, and soon had them in range to rake the supposed enemy, when word was sent him that a blunder had been committed, and that the attacking parties were friends. Of Capt. Mott's battery Timothy Ray was killed outright, and Corp. Bartlett and private Cilley were fatally wounded. Of Col. Baker's California Regiment the killed were Edwin Morris, of Company I; Joseph Pascoe and Joseph White, of Company H; and Alexander Philhison, of Company M. A number were more or less seriously wounded. In Col. Baxter's regiment none were killed, but several were wounded. John Doran, John McGuire, and private Williams, Company I, First Pennsylvania Dragoons, were mortally wounded. Of Col. Owen's Irish Regiment, Sergt. Gillon, Company B, was killed, and Sergts. W. B. McCann and Charles Shields, of Company E, were wounded.

—In the newspapers of October 1st it was stated that Dr. William Frishmuth, of Philadelphia, who was already a member of the United States detective service, was about to organize a field *gendarmerie* (mounted) of two hundred picked men for the service of the United States government. In a few days the complement of men had been secured. About the same time the Light Cavalry Regiment of Col. Rush, encamped on Second Street above Nicetown Lane, was ready to take the field. The field and staff officers were, Colonel, Richard H. Rush; Lieutenant-Colonel, J. H. McArthur; Major, C. Ross Smith; Quartermaster, Thomas E. Maley; Adjutant,

F. C. Newhall ; Surgeon, Dr. Moss ; Assistant Surgeon, Dr. Ellis.

—The United States gun-boat "Itasca," built by Hillman & Streaker, at their ship-yards, Kensington, was launched on the 1st of October. She was one hundred and fifty tons burden, one hundred and sixty feet long, twenty-eight feet beam, and twelve feet hold, and was pierced for eleven guns. She was armed, however, with a large rifled cannon on the fore-castle deck, and a pivot gun amidships, together with four eleven-inch guns. The gun-boat "Wissahickon," a vessel of about the same size as the "Itasca," was launched on the following day from the yard of John W. Lynn, at the foot of Reed Street.

—Prizes made by United States vessels continued to arrive in port every few days. The schooner "Extra," captured in the Rappahannock by the gun-boat "Daylight," reached the city in charge of Prize-master L. C. Wood, on the 30th of September. On the same day the schooners "R. W. Tull" and "Clare" and the bark "Isaac R. Davis" were seized on the ground that they were owned either in whole or part by citizens of the rebellious States. On the 2d of October the schooner "Harmony," captured off Hatteras Inlet by the United States gun-boat "Gemsbock," and the bark "Macon," captured off the mouth of the Mississippi by the sloop-of-war "Brooklyn," were brought into port.

—A frame building, thirty by twenty feet, and one story high, designed for use as a military hospital, was erected during the month of October on the east side of Swanson Street, below Washington Avenue. The corner-stone was laid on the 2d of October with appropriate ceremonies. Ex-Governor Pollock presided, and made an address, in which he said that the enterprise had originated with the men and women who had conceived the idea of providing refreshments for the volunteers on their way to the seat of war. No less than ninety thousand soldiers had been fed at the saloon adjoining, but the originators of the refreshment saloon felt that they were not doing enough in feeding the soldiers, and had resolved to build a hospital for the sick and wounded.

—Early in October, Point Breeze Park was tendered to the city authorities for a parade-ground, and for the drilling of troops, including the artillery arm of the Home Guard organization.

—The prize-ship "Amelia," which was captured June 18th off Hatteras Inlet, was sold at auction on the 8th of October to Peter Wright & Sons for eleven thousand five hundred dollars. On the same day the schooner "Ocean Wave," of Washington, N. C., from the West Indies with sugar, salt, fruit, etc., which was captured off Hatteras Inlet, was brought to the navy-yard in charge of a prize-master.

—The annual election for judges of the District and Common Pleas Courts, city and county officers, members of Councils and ward officers was held on

the 8th of October and passed off quietly. There were three tickets in the field,—the Democratic, People's, and Union.

—Owing to alleged irregularities in taking [1861 the votes of Philadelphians who had enlisted in the army, and who were then in camp, the result was not ascertained until several weeks after the election, and not until after much litigation in the courts. The frauds said to have been perpetrated in counting the army vote were brought, about the same time, to the attention of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and the Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia. In the suit of Robert Ewing, Democratic candidate for sheriff, against Charles D. Knight, and others, asking for an injunction to restrain the prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas from sending to the return judges of Philadelphia a fraudulent return purporting to give the votes of thirteen companies of the Thirty-ninth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, the Supreme Court decided in favor of the petitioner and granted the injunction asked for. Judge Ludlow, of the Common Pleas Court, however, decided that his court had not the power to grant a similar petition for an injunction to prevent the counting of the same return and of one from certain companies of Col. McLean's regiment. At the same time he advised the prothonotary as a ministerial officer to see that the returns made to him were according to law, and if he had evidence before him establishing fraud to withhold the certificate. If there was any doubt in regard to the fraud, he was not to solve the doubt, but to certify the paper. On the 12th of November the prothonotary, Mr. Knight, certified to the return judges the votes cast by the soldiers, but, it being claimed that he had omitted certain returns about which there was no suspicion of fraud, an application was made to Judge Ludlow for a mandamus to compel him to certify them. The judge decided that the prothonotary was simply a ministerial officer through which the returns were sent to the judges, and that the latter had power only to count up the returns thus sent them. They could not decide upon the authenticity of a paper certified to them by the prothonotary. The effect of the prothonotary's action was to exclude the votes of all companies belonging to regiments which had been raised independently of the Governor's authority and directly under the authority of the War Department at Washington. The court ordered the prothonotary to send in the excluded returns. When the return judges met on the 13th, a writ of mandamus was served, commanding them to include in their count of the army votes certain returns which had been sent to them by the courts, but which had not been counted. The judges, however, refused to recognize or count the returns, and a writ of peremptory mandamus was applied for and granted by Judge Ludlow, to compel them to compute the votes certified to by the prothonotary, under penalty of attachment for contempt. On the

following day the court was informed that the return judges had determined to comply with the order. At a meeting of the board, held on the 17th of November, it was determined that the clerks should proceed to write down the votes in the following order: First, the city vote of Oct. 8, 1861; second, the volunteer vote first sent and certified to by the prothonotary; third, the volunteer vote sent in under the direction of Judge Ludlow. The returns thus tabulated were,—

	ARMY.		City.	Total.
	Under Protest.	Not Under Protest.		
<i>President Judge Common Pleas Court.</i>				
Oswald Thompson, People's candidate.....	1275	280	32,114	36,669
William B. Hieskell, Democrat.....	2088	330	28,626	31,059
<i>Associates.</i>				
Joseph Allison, People's candidate.....	1263	277	31,395	32,925
Furman Sheppard, Democrat.....	2098	346	29,204	31,648
Thompson's majority, 2616; Allison's, 1277.				
<i>President Judge District Court.</i>				
George Sharswood, Democrat.....	3329	627	59,059	63,015
<i>Associates.</i>				
William O. Bateman, Democrat.....	2070	345	28,713	31,128
James Otterson, Democrat.....	2086	340	28,519	30,945
J. I. Clark Hare, People's candidate...	1273	279	32,056	33,608
George M. Stroud, People's candidate...	1290	283	32,080	33,653
Hare's majority over Otterson, 2963; Stroud's majority over Bateman, 2525.				
<i>Sheriff.</i>				
John Thompson, People's candidate...	1298	266	30,492	32,056
Robert Ewing, Democrat.....	2091	366	30,346	32,803
Ewing's majority, 747.				
<i>Register of Wills.</i>				
Thomas McCullough, Democrat.....	2093	343	29,166	31,602
Samuel Lloyd, People's candidate...	1264	279	28,352	29,895
F. S. Wolgast, Union candidate.....	5	2,928	2,933
McCullough's majority, 1707.				
<i>Clerk of Orphans' Court.</i>				
A. Lawrence, Democrat.....	2096	357	29,833	32,288
W. C. Stevenson, People's candidate...	1261	269	30,709	32,239
Lawrence's majority, 49.				
<i>City Treasurer.</i>				
James McClintock, Democrat.....	2135	352	29,698	32,185
Henry Bumm, People's candidate.....	1235	280	28,196	29,711
James S. Biddle, Union candidate.....	3	2,523	2,526
McClintock's majority, 2474.				
<i>City Commissioner.</i>				
John Johnson, Democrat.....	2116	353	29,642	32,111
Bertles Shee, People's candidate.....	1240	274	27,830	29,344
Edwin McCalla, Union candidate.....	2	2,859	2,861
Johnson's majority, 2787.				
<i>State Senator from the Third District.</i>				
C. M. Donovan, Democrat.....	515	105	7,528	8,148
M. H. Dickinson, People's candidate...	236	47	6,635	6,918
Donovan's majority, 1230.				

The certificates were made out for the successful candidates, and to each certificate was attached a protest setting forth that on the 12th of November there were twenty-one certificates which the prothonotary sent into the board as legal returns, and subsequently the prothonotary, by direction of Judge Ludlow, sent seventy-nine other returns which were not certified to be copies of returns of volunteers in actual military service of the United States in conformity with the law, and which last-mentioned returns were received by the board under protest, and afterward computed by the board by compulsion in obedience to a writ of

a peremptory mandamus issued by said Hon. J. R. Ludlow. This protest was signed by the members of the People's party, the Democratic members signing a counter-protest in which they declared the protest to be an insult to Judge Ludlow and to the Court of Common Pleas.

—A new regiment of light infantry was organized during the early part of October by Col. John F. Staunton, and encamped at Camac's woods. Two companies belonging to the late regiment of Col. P. Conroy were attached, by order of Governor Curtin, to Col. Staunton's command.

—The Pennsylvania Zouaves, Col. John M. Gosline, left their camp at Hestonville on the 12th of October, and marched to Broad and Prime Streets, where they took the train for the South.

—The "James S. Chambers" was launched on the 11th of November, at the ship-yard of Charles Williams, at the foot of Queen Street. Her dimensions were one hundred and twenty-five feet in length, twenty-nine and a half feet beam, and twelve feet depth of hold, and her rig that of a three-masted schooner.

—In the United States Circuit Court, on the 14th of October, Assistant District Attorney Ashton announced that he had received an order from the Assistant Attorney-General of the United States to withdraw the suits against the *Jeffersonian* of West Chester, Pa., and the *Christian Observer*, two newspapers charged with publishing articles with intent to aid and abet the insurrection in the Southern States. Counsel for the owners of the papers suggested that the claim for restitution of the property should be allowed, and an order to that effect was granted by the court.

—On the 12th of October a flag was presented from a lady of Roxborough to the National Regiment, Col. J. Richter Jones, at Camp Roxborough. The presentation was made by Horatio Gates Jones, a brother of the colonel, and the flag was received on behalf of the regiment by Capt. Montgomery Martin.

—The United States gun-boat "Scioto" was launched at the ship-yard of Jacob Birely, Kensington, on the 15th of October, after which she was taken to the ship-yard of I. P. Morris & Co. to receive her machinery. She was one hundred and sixty feet long, twenty-eight feet beam, and twelve feet hold. Her armament was similar to that of the "Itasca."

—George W. Peterson, of the well-known publishing firm of T. B. Peterson & Brothers, died on the 16th of October.

—The sword voted by the City Councils to Col. Robert Anderson was presented to him privately at Washington on the 16th of October.

—During October the City Councils adopted resolutions of thanks for gifts of cannon to the city of Philadelphia, from James Swaim, of Philadelphia, and James McHenry, of London.

—Up to October 18th, the Committee of Councils on the Safety and Defense of the City had purchased one thousand Enfield rifles with sword bayonets, six hundred Prussian rifles and five hundred Prussian muskets, thirteen hundred patent breech-loading muskets with Maynard primers, two hundred and fifty sabres, three hundred pistols, five thousand infantry and artillery accoutrements, two hundred and ten sets of harness for artillery purposes, and carriages, caissons, forges, etc., for twelve pieces of cannon purchased by the committee. From the City Councils permission was obtained for the use of the market-house at Broad and Race Streets as an armory for the local military organizations.

—The corner-stone of the Burd Female Orphan Asylum of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church was laid on Sunday afternoon, October 18th. The services were conducted by Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, and Rev. H. W. Ducachet, of St. Stephen's. The site on which the buildings were afterward erected was a lot of ground situated on Market Street, in Delaware County, about three and a half miles from the Schuylkill. There were four buildings, connected by inclosed corridors, and all in the Gothic style of architecture. The material used was stone quarried on the ground. The entire front, including the main building, wings, and corridors, was two hundred and sixty-one feet. The depth of the wings, exclusive of the piazzas, was one hundred and one feet. The chapel connected with the asylum was capable of seating four hundred persons, and the dining-room two hundred.

—By the explosion of a steam-boiler on the 19th of October, at the engine-works of I. P. Morris & Co., at Richmond and York Streets, Patrick O'Neill and Thomas Hibbert were killed and John Parker seriously injured.

—William W. Smith, one of the Confederate prize-crew from the privateer "Jeff Davis," who was captured on board the schooner "Enchantress," was put on trial in the United States Circuit Court before Judges Grier and Cadwalader, on a charge of piracy, on the 22d of October, and was convicted.

—An election for assistant bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania, in place of Right Rev. Samuel Bowman, D.D., deceased, was held at St. Andrew's Church on the 23d of October. The convention of the diocese which assembled for this purpose was opened with the usual service, after which Rev. Dr. Stevens, rector of St. Andrew's, delivered a eulogy of the dead bishop. A series of resolutions expressing the regret of the members at Bishop Bowman's sudden death and condoling with the family were adopted. The first ballot taken by the clerical delegates resulted as follows: Revs. James May, 53; A. C. Coxe, 29; William Bacon Stevens, 24; H. J. Morton, 27; M. A. DeWolfe Howe, 6; D. R. Goodwin, 4; G. E. Hare, 2; S. H. Weston, 2; D. W. C. Morris, 1; George Leeds, 1; Charles Mason, 1;

blank, 3; making a total of 153 votes cast; necessary to a choice, 77. On the third ballot, taken on the following day (October 24th), Dr. May having withdrawn, Rev. Dr. William Bacon Stevens [1861 received 85 votes and Rev. Dr. Leeds, 50; scattering, 14. Dr. Stevens was confirmed by the lay delegates by the following vote: for approval, 84; against, 37; divided, 2. Bishop Potter then declared Dr. Stevens elected assistant bishop.

—Col. James Page, Col. Philip S. White, John Thornley, and Jacob Seitzinger, a committee appointed for the purpose, visited Washington on the 23d of October, and presented a handsome flag and pair of pistols to Col. Williams, commanding the Thirty-first Pennsylvania Regiment.

—The body of Lieut. Joseph D. Williams, of Company A, California Regiment, who was killed at Ball's Bluff on the 21st of October, reached the city on the 24th, in charge of his brother, a guard detached from the company acting as escort. The remains were conveyed to the late residence of the deceased at Frankford, and were buried on the 27th at Cedar Hill Cemetery. During the same engagement Col. E. D. Baker, commander of the California Regiment, was killed, and Lieut.-Col. Wistar and Capt. Markoe, of Philadelphia, were wounded, the latter being taken prisoner. Charles C. Ferguson, of the same regiment, was mortally wounded, dying within a few hours. His remains reached Philadelphia on the 25th. A number of other Philadelphians were more or less seriously wounded. Capt. Wm. Otter was shot and drowned in endeavoring to escape by swimming the river.

—The United States steamer "Keystone State" arrived on the 25th of October, having in tow the blockade-runner "Salvor," a valuable steamer laden with contraband goods, and captured while on her way from Havana to Tampa Bay. Her cargo consisted of six hundred pistols, five hundred thousand percussion-caps, six hundred dozen felt hats, eight cases of shoes, four hundred thousand cigars, four hundred bags of coffee, cases of dry-goods, etc.

—On the 26th of October the bodies of A. J. Hooper, of Company A, and James Cogswell, corporal of Company C, of the California Regiment, arrived. John Johnson and Henry Booth were also killed at Ball's Bluff.

—The following dispatch was received by telegraph from the mayor of San Francisco, Cal., by Mayor Henry on the 26th of October:

"TO THE MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA:

"San Francisco to Philadelphia sends greeting, and congratulates her on the completion of the enterprise which connects the Pacific with the Atlantic. May the prosperity of both cities be increased thereby, and the projectors of this important work meet with honor and reward.

"H. S. TESCHNER,

"Mayor of San Francisco, Cal."

The following reply was sent by Mayor Henry:

"OFFICE OF THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA,

"October 26, 1861.

"TO THE HON. H. S. TESCHNER, Mayor of San Francisco :

"Philadelphia reciprocates the kindly greetings of San Francisco. May the Pacific Telegraph ever interchange between the two cities messages of loyalty and good-will.

"ALEXANDER HENRY,

"Mayor of Philadelphia."

—An application for a new trial for W. W. Smith, convicted of piracy, was filed in the United States Circuit Court on the 28th of October. On the same day, in the same court, Thomas Quigley, Edward Rockford, and Daniel Mullins were placed on trial on a bill charging them jointly with Smith and Lane with piracy, and were convicted.

—In the latter part of October, Merrick & Son received a contract from the United States government to build an iron-clad frigate of three thousand five hundred tons, the hull to be constructed by Cramp & Son, Kensington. The vessel was two hundred and forty feet long, fifty-eight feet beam, and thirty feet deep. The plates of iron with which she was protected were twenty feet long, eighteen inches wide, and four and a half inches thick. The spar-deck was of iron, and the guns were placed on the lower deck. The hull was of the most substantial character, the timbers being very heavy and placed close together. The machinery was constructed by Merrick & Son. Her armament consisted of sixteen rifled cannon of the largest size. This ship was afterwards known as the "New Ironsides."

—On the 30th of October, Craig's woolen-mills, at Twelfth Street and Washington Avenue, were destroyed by fire, involving a loss of one hundred thousand dollars. Several buildings in the vicinity were damaged.

—Eben Lane, one of the crew of the Confederate prize "Enchantress," was tried in the United States Circuit Court, before Judges Grier and Cadwalader, October 29th and 30th, and acquitted, on the ground that as navigator of the "Enchantress" he had endeavored to steer the vessel so that she would not reach a Southern port, in the hope that in the mean time she would fall in with a United States cruiser, which eventually happened. Lane alleged that at night he navigated the vessel north, and in the daytime south.

—The hospital of the Cooper-Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon, situated immediately north of the saloon, the entrance to which was on Otsego Street, below Washington, was dedicated on the 31st of October, in the presence of several hundred ladies and gentlemen, who had assembled in the large mission-room over the saloon. Rev. Mr. Perry, pastor of the Mission Church, presided, and a choir, under direction of Professor Warden, rendered a number of vocal selections. Addresses were made by Rev. Dr. John Chambers, Dr. Brainerd, Hon. William D. Kelley, and others. The hospital was a two-story frame structure.

—A number of the employés of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company signed a paper in the latter part of October and early in November to the effect that they would devote every month a dollar or more of their wages in subscribing to the new government 7-30 loan, the interest accruing to be reinvested in the same way, the whole investment, principal and interest, to be sold as soon after the termination of the war as might be decided on, and the proceeds to be divided among the subscribers in proportion to the amounts and duration of their subscriptions. The president and treasurer of the road acted as trustees. On the 4th of November it was announced that five thousand four hundred dollars had already been subscribed through Jay Cooke, the government agent, by one thousand out of the fifteen hundred employés in the transportation department. In the roadway department five hundred had given notice of their intention to subscribe.

—When Capt. Perry and Lient. Harvey, of the Confederate privateer "Petrel," were arraigned for trial in the United States Circuit Court on the 4th of November, Judge Grier said he could not understand why the regular court business should be interrupted any further with the trial of such cases. It seemed to him that as the rebellion had assumed the proportions of a civil war, humanity dictated that captives taken at sea should be treated like those taken on land. He could not understand why these men, captured at sea, should be hanged while other prisoners were held or discharged as prisoners of war. He was tired of it, and did not think he could give any more of his time, which was required elsewhere, to these trials.

—In view of the frauds alleged to have been committed in taking the votes of Philadelphia soldiers in camp at the October election, the Democratic convention of the Third Senatorial District, at a meeting held on the 5th of November, resolved that "we will not submit to our constitutional rights being trampled under foot by political villains who choose to make false returns of elections purporting to emanate from the army, frauds so glaring that if we submit thereto we do not deserve to be freemen; but we will not submit to such outrages, and we call upon the freemen of Philadelphia opposed to such frauds to rally, and meet in Independence Square on Friday evening, November 8th, and if we are trampled under foot, it will be at the precincts of Independence Hall, battling unto death for our rights." In accordance with this recommendation, an immense assemblage collected at Independence Square on the night of November 8th. Charles Ingersoll presided, and addressed the meeting. Speeches were also made by Hon. William H. Witte and John C. Bullitt, and a series of resolutions offered by E. R. Helmbold, in which the alleged frauds were specified and denounced, were adopted, after which the meeting adjourned.

—By an explosion of fulminating powder at the Bridesburg arsenal on the 5th of November, P. Coney and Joseph Nail were instantly killed and F. Bilhart was seriously injured.

—Up to November 7th the following Confederate prizes had been brought to the city: ship "General Parkhill," captured by the United States steamship "Niagara;" ship "Amelia," by gun-boat "Union;" brig "Herald," by frigate "St. Lawrence;" steamer "Salvor," by steamer "Keystone State;" schooner "Abbie Bradford," by frigate "Powhatan;" schooner "Fairwind," by frigate "Minnesota;" schooner "Prince Alfred," by steamship "Susquehanna;" schooner "Harmony," by gun-boat "Gemsbok;" schooner "Albion," by ship "Seminole;" bark "Maco," by sloop-of-war "Brooklyn;" schooner "G. G. Baker," by frigate "Minnesota;" schooner "San Juan," by gun-boat "Union;" schooners "Ocean Wave," "Susan J. Nevis," and "Harriet Ryan," by sloop-of-war "Pawnee;" schooner "Mary Wood," by gun-boat "Gemsbok;" schooner "Extra," by gun-boat "Daylight;" schooner "Specie," by sloop-of-war "Dale." The first prizes brought in, as heretofore stated, were the "Delaware Farmer," "Mary Willis," and "Emily Ann," which were released by Judge Cadwalader on the ground that they had not violated the blockade, and are, therefore, not included in the foregoing list.

—The remains of Col. E. D. Baker, who was killed at Ball's Bluff on the 21st of October, reached Philadelphia on the 7th of November, in charge of M. E. Flanagan, of San Francisco, W. H. Wallace, of Washington Territory, and E. M. Barnum, of Oregon. Preparations for their reception had been made by the civil and military authorities, and a large number of citizens had assembled at the depot, Col. Baker being well known and highly esteemed. As the train entered the depot the City Guards, Capt. Barney, formed in line upon the platform. The body was conveyed from the train to the hearse in waiting by eight members of the California Regiment, which Col. Baker had organized mainly in Philadelphia; Maj.-Gen. Patterson, Brig.-Gens. Patterson, Reilly, Miles, Cadwalader, and Pleasanton, and Col. Dare and Maj. C. W. Smith acting as honorary pall-bearers. The funeral procession passed over the prescribed route in the following order: one hundred policemen, band (playing a dirge), Second Regiment Home Guard, First Regiment Home Guard, a battalion of Col. Gregory's regiment, about a dozen officers and men who were in the engagement in which Col. Baker was killed, the hearse drawn by six black horses, officers of a number of volunteer companies, carriages containing the mayor and other representatives of the city government, the officers of the Gray Reserves on foot, and a platoon of policemen bringing up the rear. On reaching Independence Hall, which had been tendered for the purpose by special resolution of City Councils, the remains were placed

on a bier. The face was then uncovered, and citizens admitted to view it. The remains had been embalmed, and the face retained much of its natural appearance. A constant stream of [1861] people passed into the hall up to nine o'clock in the evening, when the doors were closed and the remains left in charge of a military guard. On the following morning the doors were reopened, and the remains were viewed by thousands during the day. At eleven o'clock both branches of the City Councils met and paid an official visit to the hall. On Saturday morning, November 9th, the body was taken to New York, accompanied by Capt. Barney, two corporals and two privates of the City Grays, and Lieut. Newkumet, of the Second Regiment of Home Guards, in addition to the committee which had come on from Washington.

—The Councils Committee on the Safety and Defense of the City determined early in November to put the battery, consisting of six brass cannon, into the hands of the artillery companies attached to the Home Guards. These companies were under the command of Capts. M. Hastings, C. Biddle, and J. M. Biddle, of Germantown.

—Hon. Joel B. Sutherland died at his residence, 1716 Pine Street, on the 15th of November, in the seventieth year of his age. He was educated for the medical profession, but gave up practice early in life and engaged in politics. After holding a seat in the State Legislature for several years he was elected to Congress as the Democratic candidate from the First District, and continued to represent that district until 1837. He also held the position of associate judge in the Court of Common Pleas, and for a short time was resident physician at the Lazaretto. He took an active part in the war of 1812, and subsequently interested himself in the effort to secure pensions for those who enlisted in the service of their country at that time. He was prominently identified with a number of local enterprises, and was one of the originators of the Lafayette Cemetery. During his career in Congress he published a work on parliamentary proceedings, which was almost universally used as a work of reference.

—The side-wheel steamer "Miami," intended for the service of the United States government, was launched at the navy-yard on the 17th of November. The "Miami" was two hundred and twenty feet in length, thirty-three feet beam, and twelve feet hold, with a rudder at each end to obviate the necessity of turning her, and was provided with a heavy battery, the object being to use her both as a transport and war vessel.

—On the 9th of November J. P. Benjamin, Acting Secretary of War of the Confederate States, issued an order to Brig.-Gen. Winder, who had charge of the Union prisoners at Richmond, instructing him to choose by lot from among the prisoners of war of the highest rank one who was to be confined in a cell

appropriated to convict felons, and who was to be treated in all respects as if he were such convict, and to be held for execution in the same manner as W. W. Smith, of the Confederate privateer "Jeff Davis," who had been convicted of piracy in Philadelphia, and was then in Moyamensing under conviction. On the 10th Gen. Winder made the selection, the prisoners drawing a ticket from a can. Col. Corcoran, of the Sixty-ninth New York Regiment, was selected as the hostage for Smith. Thirteen other prisoners of war, the highest in rank, were ordered by Mr. Benjamin to be selected by lot and kept in close confinement, to be treated afterward as the Confederate privateersmen then in prison in New York were treated. The list of thirteen drawn comprised the names of Cols. Lee, Cogswell, Wilcox, Woodruff, and Wood; Lieut.-Cols. Bowman and Neff; Majs. Potter, Revere, and Vodges; and Capts. Ricketts, McQuade, and Rockwood. Smith occupied a cell with his companion, Rockwood, on the second corridor in the "untried department" of the county prison, and was treated in all respects like the other prisoners in the same department. He was allowed to see any of his friends, and was permitted to receive any articles from them except such as the rules of the prison prohibited. In accordance with the custom in Pennsylvania he was treated as though he were an untried prisoner, although he had been convicted, because sentence had not been passed upon him.

—On the 21st of November City Councils passed an ordinance making a further appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars for the relief of families of volunteers then in the service of the United States. Up to the 16th the sum expended was two hundred and fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and forty-two dollars. The weekly expenditures amounted to about eleven thousand dollars, distributed among nearly eleven thousand persons.

—In the latter part of November five cavalry regiments were in process of formation in Philadelphia,—the Curtin Hussars, Col. Frismuth; the Irish Dragoons, Col. Gallagher; Col. R. Butler Price's regiment, and Col. Rush's regiment.

—At a meeting of the Board of Trade, held on the 25th, it was resolved that "the river and bay defenses are entirely inadequate and need to be immediately and largely increased;" that "it is the duty of the United States government to superintend and effect such an increase at such points as a competent corps of engineers may indicate with the least possible delay," and that "the ardent patriotism and efficient services of Pennsylvania in the work of suppressing the Southern Rebellion give her the right to demand from the national government adequate protection to her seaport, Philadelphia."

—On the 26th of November the question as to who should enter security as sheriff, and as clerk of the Orphans' Court, was decided by the Court of Common

Pleas in favor of Messrs. Ewing and Lawrence, Democratic candidates for the respective offices. Petitions contesting their election were filed on behalf of Messrs. Thompson and Stevenson, the opposition candidates.

—St. Paul's Catholic Church, Christian Street below Tenth, was destroyed by fire on the 26th of November. It was one of the largest and handsomest religious edifices in the city, and cost about seventy-five thousand dollars. Its erection was commenced in 1843, but was not finished until several years later. During the anti-Catholic riots of 1844 fears of its destruction were entertained, and a military company guarded it for several days.

—At a meeting of officers of the Home Guard, held on the 26th of November, the commander, Gen. A. J. Pleasonton, stated that about four thousand men had been enrolled as active members, and that the money expended on their account for parades, advertising, etc., amounted to only one dollar and forty-one cents per man. Being under the control of the city, and entirely independent of the State, the Home Guard had received no benefits from the latter. Both Gen. Pleasonton and Col. J. Ross Snowden advocated making an application to the City Councils for an appropriation for the maintenance of the Home Guard. In accordance with these suggestions a series of resolutions were adopted requesting that three hundred dollars be furnished each company for armory rent and expenses; that uniform coats, overcoats, and army hats be furnished the active members; that suitable halls be provided by the city for regimental and battalion drills; that a sum equal to the amount allowed by the State be paid to each company for expenditure for parade; and that measures be taken at the next session of the Legislature to change the name of the force to that of the City Guard of Philadelphia.

—A resolution from Select Council complimenting Capt. Charles Wilkes for his courage and determination in arresting Messrs. Mason and Slidell, the Confederate commissioners, was adopted by the Common Council on the 27th of November.

—At the annual meeting of the Central Republican Club of Philadelphia, held on the 27th of November, it was resolved that "whereas there has existed for some time a civil war within the jurisdiction of the United States, caused by the slave power," it was the deliberate opinion of the club that "the surest method to crush the Rebellion would be for Congress, at its next session, to pass a law embodying the policy of the Fremont proclamation, to wit: That the slaves of all persons taken in arms against the authority of the United States shall by law be declared free."

—Thanksgiving-day (November 28th) was observed this year by the usual services in the churches and by a parade of the Reserve Brigade, Gen. Francis E. Patterson, in the morning, and of Col. Rush's cavalry regiment in the afternoon. Company B, Capt.

Hastings, of the First Regiment of Artillery, also paraded in the morning with a battery of six pieces.

—Col. John G. Watmough died at his residence in Germantown on the 28th of November, at an advanced age. Col. Watmough took an active part in the war of 1812, and was wounded during the attack on Fort Erie. In 1830 he was elected a member of Congress, and subsequently was made high sheriff of Philadelphia. At one time he also held the position of surveyor of the port.

—Robert Ewing, the Democratic candidate, received his certificate as sheriff of Philadelphia from Governor Curtin on the 29th, and took charge of the office on the following day.

—The schooner "Fannie Lee," captured off Darien, Ga., arrived in charge of a prize-master on the 24th of November. Another prize, the British schooner "Mabel," was brought into port on the 1st of December. The "Mabel" had sailed from Havana for Savannah, Ga., with a cargo consisting of blankets, cloths, saddles and bridles, coffee, pistols, and cavalry swords.

—The sloop-of-war "Hartford," flag-ship of the East India Squadron, arrived from the Cape of Good Hope on the 4th of December. On the same day Lieuts. W. F. Glassel, A. M. Dubree, and Julian Myers, of the "Hartford," and D. A. Forest, of the sloop-of-war "John Adams," who had been transferred to the "Hartford," were arrested on the charge of disloyalty, in having refused to take the oath of allegiance, and sent to Fort Warren. Three of them were natives of Virginia and one of Georgia. On the 7th the United States steamer "Keystone State," Commander LeRoy, sailed under sealed orders, and the sloop-of-war "Tuscarora," Capt. A. M. Craven, left for New York to receive a portion of her armament.

—Early in December an organization known as the "Soldiers' Relief Association of the Episcopal Church" was formed, for the purpose of providing articles for the relief of sick soldiers not supplied by the government.

—The colored residents of the city about this time petitioned the managers of city passenger railways for the privilege of riding in the street-cars. They represented that they suffered great inconvenience and hardship in being excluded from the cars; that in all the principal Northern cities except Philadelphia the colored people were permitted to ride in them, and that they paid more taxes than the same class in any Northern city.

—Two interesting flag presentations occurred on the 6th and 7th of December. On the 6th the Philadelphia regiments commanded by Cols. Gregory, Rush, Lyle, Staunton, and Jones assembled in a field opposite the Odd-Fellows' Cemetery to receive from Governor Curtin the flags purchased with the State appropriation and the fund provided by the Society of the Cincinnati. A platform was erected for the

Governor and staff and members of the society and invited guests. Among the prominent military men present in uniform were Gen. Robert Patterson, Gen. George Cadwalader, Gen. Francis E. [1861] Patterson, and Gen. A. J. Pleasonton. The regiments to which the colors were presented were drawn up in the following order in front of the platform: Ninety-first Regiment, Col. Gregory; Sixty-seventh Regiment, Col. Staunton; Ninetieth Regiment, Col. Lyle; Fifty-eighth Regiment, Col. Jones; and Sixth Regiment Cavalry, Col. Rush. In order to receive the colors the colonels of the different regiments rode up in front of the platform, and were addressed by Governor Curtin, who then handed each the flag belonging to his command. Dr. McEuen, vice-president of the Society of the Cincinnati, also delivered an address. On the 7th a flag made by the sailors and marines of the United States vessel "Hartford" was presented to the city of Philadelphia at Independence Hall. The sailors and marines formed in line at the navy-yard and marched to the hall, bearing the flag spread out. Their spokesman, a sailor named Samuel H. Adams, presented the flag to Mayor Henry, accompanying the act with a brief and patriotic speech, which was responded to in suitable terms by the mayor.

—The new gun-boat "Itasca," Capt. C. H. B. Colwell, left the navy-yard December 7th. On the following day the steamer "Delaware," built at Wilmington, Del., and purchased by the government, sailed.

—On the 5th of December it was announced that the United States government had leased for hospital purposes the railroad depot at the southeast corner of Broad and Cherry Streets, the large manufactory corner of Twenty-second and Wood Streets, a building at Twenty-third and Lombard Streets, and Dunlap's carriage-factory, Fifth Street and York Avenue. These hospitals were fitted up under direction of Dr. John Neill, surgeon United States army, who had previously established a hospital at Moyamensing Hall, which at this time was in active operation.

—The regiment of cavalry or lancers commanded by Col. Richard H. Rush paraded on the 10th of December, preparatory to their departure for the seat of war. The men were armed with lances in addition to their pistols and sabres, each lance having a small red flag or pennon near the end, presented by lady friends of the regiment.

—Horn R. Kneass, a well-known member of the bar, died on the 12th of December. He had for many years been an active member of the Democratic party, and was twice nominated for district attorney. The first time he was declared elected, but the opposing candidate successfully contested the election. At one time Mr. Kneass held the office of Grand Master of the Independent Order of Odd-Fellows in Pennsylvania, and also Grand Sire of the order throughout the Union.

—December 14th it was announced that Christ Church Hospital, on Forty-eighth Street below Cumberland, which was commenced in 1856, had **1861]** been entirely finished. The grounds attached to the building covered an area of one hundred and eighteen acres. The edifice was of solid gray stone, covered by a heavy slate roof and surmounted by handsome towers and steeples.

—Capt. Wilkes, of Mason and Slidell fame, arrived here on the 12th of December. Seated nearly opposite Capt. Wilkes at the supper-table in the Continental Hotel on the following evening was Hon. Charles J. Faulkner, of Virginia, ex-minister to France, who had just been released from Fort Warren, where he had been confined as a prisoner-of-war. Mr. Faulkner during his stay in the city visited Moyamensing prison, in order to examine into the condition of the privateersmen imprisoned there. He afterward stated that the prisoners had expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied with the treatment they had received.

—William Sharkey, of the crew of the Confederate privateer "Petrel," was released in two thousand dollars bail about December 15th on account of the delicate state of his health. He was quite young, and claimed to have been impressed into the service.

—In the latter part of December the construction of the iron submarine battery presented to the United States government by E. A. Stevens, of Hoboken, was completed. The battery had originally been the iron steamer "Quinnebaug," but after Mr. Stevens' offer had been accepted by the government the vessel was brought to the ship-yard of Neafie & Levy, where her engines were overhauled and new boilers placed in her. At Bordentown, N. J., to which place she was taken from Neafie & Levy's yard, bulwarks of white cedar were added, two feet thick outside the hull and one foot thick inside, extending three feet ten inches above the deck and four feet below. The bulwarks were covered with plates of wrought iron, and the bow of the vessel was protected by a mass of timber and iron four feet thick and four feet above deck, placed at such an angle that a ball, if it struck this part of the vessel, would glance off without doing material damage. By means of water-tight compartments, into which water could be introduced, the vessel could be submerged until there was seventeen inches of water over the deck, so that nothing was visible to the enemy but the outline of the hull, marked by the bulwarks unsubmerged and the single gun which constituted the vessel's only armament. This gun, a one-hundred-pounder of the Parrott patent, was placed in the centre of the vessel upon a dais, surrounded by a high combing to prevent the water from reaching it. The gun-carriage, which was the design of Mr. Stevens, was so arranged that the gun recoiled on a centre-piece, upon which was placed gutta-percha sufficiently heavy to receive the whole

force of the concussion, permitting the gun to move only a trifling distance. The gun was loaded by men standing in the hold; the muzzle being lowered to the combing and the ammunition put in and rammed home. The gun was then elevated and fired by the man on deck. The vessel had two engines, each working independently and each giving power to a screw-propeller, so that by reversing one engine and moving the other ahead the vessel was turned round almost within her own length.

—Up to December 23d the following war-vessels had been built at Philadelphia since the commencement of hostilities: at the navy-yard the sloop-of-war "Miami" and "Tuscarora," finished, and the "Juniata," nearly ready for launching; at private ship-yards the gunboats "Wissahickon" (built by John W. Lynn), "Scioto" (built by Jacob Birely), and the "Itasca" (built by Hillman & Streaker), a bark built by Charles Williams, purchased by the government, and fitted out as a gun-boat, and the "Stars and Stripes," built by Simpson & Neill, and transformed into the gun-boat "Kittanning." The keel of the sloop-of-war "Monongahela" had also been laid at the navy-yard.

—In reply to a letter from Mayor Henry inquiring what provision could be made by the State authorities for strengthening the defenses of the city, Hon. William M. Meredith, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, stated that besides the arms which in the course of the previous summer had been distributed among the border counties, and those with which portions of the State's quota of volunteers had been supplied, the State had still about nineteen thousand muskets and rifles, and it was thought that probably some ten thousand more could be collected. Five thousand of these, he added, would be promptly furnished to volunteer organizations formed in Philadelphia on a basis approved by the Governor. Of artillery the State had still fifty-seven pieces, varying from twenty-eight-pounders to six-pounders, of which as many as might be needed would be sent to the city. A sufficient supply of fixed ammunition could be furnished from the arsenal at Harrisburg. With regard to the defense of the maritime and harbor approaches of the city, he stated that it was the intention of the Governor to visit Washington to urge an increase of the appropriation by Congress, and an extension of the plan for such defenses. On the 27th of December, Mayor Henry received a letter from Attorney-General Meredith stating that Governor Curtin had obtained a promise from Gen. Totten, at the head of the Engineer Department at Washington, that one hundred and thirty-five large guns and twenty flanking twenty-four-pound howitzers would be mounted on Fort Delaware and forty-seven large guns on Fort Mifflin.

—The market-house and hall at Seventeenth and Poplar Streets was completed in the latter part of December. The building had a front of fifty-four feet on Poplar Street, and a depth of ninety-three

feet to Seventeenth Street. The lower story was used as a market, and the upper story as a hall.

—On the 27th of December, Col. Mulligan, of the Missouri Irish Brigade, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Lexington, Mo., on the 12th of September, delivered a lecture at National Hall describing that engagement, for the benefit of St. John's Orphan Asylum. He was enthusiastically received.

—The banks of Philadelphia, in common with those of New York and Boston, suspended specie payments on the 30th of December.

1862.—Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., was consecrated assistant bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania on the 2d of January, at St. Andrew's Church. The sermon was preached by Bishop Clark, of Rhode Island, and the bishop-elect was presented to the presiding bishop by the bishop of Pennsylvania, Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., and the bishop of New York, Right Rev. Horatio Potter, D.D.

—On the 6th of January the drug-store of G. W. Lewis, 45 South Fourth Street, and the establishment of William Mann, stationer and blank-book manufacturer, were damaged by fire to the extent of seventy-five thousand dollars.

—Gen. James Shields arrived on the 6th of January with three companies of regular troops from the Pacific coast. He supped at the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon, and at the invitation of the managers inspected their hospital.

—The new City Councils, which met on the 6th of January, organized by electing Theodore Cuyler president of Select, and Wilson Kerr president of Common, Council. In the latter body two sets of officers were elected at first, the Democrats choosing Wilson Kerr, and the People's party J. A. Freeman, as president. The double election resulted from a disagreement as to the result of the election for councilmen in the Nineteenth Ward. The members of the People's party had the certificates of election, but the Democratic members claimed the seats as having been legally elected, with the fraudulent army vote thrown out. A proposition was finally adopted by which the claimants from the Nineteenth Ward withdrew and allowed the organization to be perfected by the election of the Democratic nominees, with the understanding that the question as to who were entitled to the seats should be referred to a committee for its decision; the claimants decided against reserving the right to contest their claim under the act of Assembly. This committee subsequently reported in favor of the Democratic claimants, who were admitted.

—Two bomb-boats for the United States service, the "George Maughan" and "Adolph Hugel," were fitted out at the navy-yard, and received their mortars and stores early in January.

—At a meeting of the survivors of the war of 1812, held on the 8th of January, William T. Elder pre-

siding, Col. Childs presented the heading of a muster-roll of a company of volunteers to be formed out of the surviving soldiers of that war. It was stated that a number of signatures had been obtained, and several members of the association expressed their willingness to shoulder a musket and march wherever their country needed their services.

—In a report of the work accomplished by the Union Volunteer Refreshment Committee, which was published on the 14th of January, it was stated that meals had been furnished to over one hundred thousand soldiers, and that five hundred sick and wounded had been cared for. The report was signed by Arad Barrows, chairman, and J. B. Wade, secretary.

—The train from Baltimore that reached Philadelphia at noon on the 15th of January brought about two hundred and thirty released prisoners, captured by the Confederates at Bull Run. The men were met at the depot by a committee from the two volunteer refreshment saloons, to which they were escorted, and where they were entertained.

—Owing to a reduction of wages ordered by Congress, the ship-carpenters and other mechanics at the navy-yard struck on the 16th of January, but resumed work on the 22d.

—The United States gun-boat "Rhode Island," S. D. Trenchard, lieutenant-commander, which sailed from New York on the 5th of December on a cruise to the Gulf of Mexico, arrived at the navy-yard on the 17th of January. The "Rhode Island" had captured, off Galveston, the Confederate schooner "Venus," the crew of which she had on board, together with her passengers. A number of United States naval officers came on the "Rhode Island" as passengers, having been transferred from other vessels. A number of invalids—soldiers and sailors—were sent home on the "Rhode Island" in care of Dr. W. Lamont Wheeler, United States navy.

—The Philadelphia Associates of the Sanitary Commission, about the middle of January, adopted a series of resolutions urging the reorganization of the Army Medical Department, so that in addition to the proper regulation of a well-selected corps of surgeons, the military rank of the superior medical officers might be elevated and an adequate staff of hospital and camp inspectors of suitable standing and authority provided. Senator Wilson's bill, then before Congress, was indorsed as being a move in the right direction, and a committee was appointed, consisting of Morton McMichael, J. I. Clark Hare, Dr. John H. McClellan, Dr. F. Gurney Smith, John Welsh, and Dr. Alfred Stillé, to proceed to Washington with a copy of the resolutions and submit them to the proper authorities.

—The Fifty-eighth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. J. R. Jones, was filled up to the standard by consolidating with it the regiment commanded by Col. Curtis. The other Philadelphia regiments, or-

ganized by Cols. Gregory, Lyle, Staunton, and Price, were filled up with troops from other commands by order of Governor Curtin.

1862] —The sloop-of-war "Hartford" sailed for the Gulf of Mexico on the 19th of January, under the command of Capt. R. Wainwright, as the flag-ship of Commodore Farragut's squadron.

—On the 23d of January it was announced that a reward of five hundred dollars would be paid by Mayor Henry for the discovery of the persons implicated in the murder of John Connelly, who was fatally stabbed on the night of January 8th at the corner of Twenty-fourth and Biddle Streets. On the 12th of February, John Malloy was arrested on the charge of being concerned in the murder.

—The Count of Paris, one of the Orleans princes, who was serving on the staff of Gen. McClellan, visited the city on Sunday, January 26th, in company with Hon. William H. Seward, Secretary of State, and remained several days. During his stay he visited the grave of Benjamin Franklin, in Christ Church burying-ground.

—The first train passed over the new bridge of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company at Gray's Ferry, and down to Washington Street wharf, on the 27th of January.

—The United States steamer "Miami" sailed on her trial trip on the 29th of January. The vessel carried a heavy armament, one of her guns being an eighty-pound rifled cannon and another an eleven-inch-shell gun. Her broadside battery consisted of four twenty-four-pound howitzers. The commander of the "Miami" was Lieutenant-Commander A. D. Harrall.

—William Gilchrist, who was arrested in September, 1861, on the charge of having sold munitions of war to the South and sent to Fort Lafayette, and afterward to Fort Warren, and upon his release by order of the government rearrested in Boston and committed for trial, was before Judge Cadwalader on the 29th of January on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Gilchrist was remanded to stand his trial at the following term of court.

—In his annual message to City Councils, submitted on the 30th of January, Mayor Henry stated that the sum of \$138,506.36 had been expended during the year for the purchase of arms, ammunition, and other requisites of military service, and that the entire disbursement from the relief fund amounted to \$356,612.78. With regard to the finances of the city, the mayor stated that at the beginning of the year 1861 the loans of the city were readily sold at a small premium, but as national disorders became more imminent their market value depreciated, particularly when forced into competition with a United States loan yielding seven and three-tenths per cent. interest. An ordinance approved June 8th gave authority to borrow \$1,000,000 to make provision for the defense of the city, and for the relief of the families of vol-

unteers, without the usual limitation to a par value, and of such loan \$498,500 was sold as needed at the average rate of ninety-two and one-tenth per cent., producing \$459,690 net avails. A further loan of \$42,500 was enacted by ordinance of May 3d, to be borrowed at not less than par, and by ordinance of December 14th, a loan of \$1,200,000 was created; \$117,000 thereof for the construction of Chestnut Street bridge, and the remainder for the payment of deficiencies without restriction of price.

—In a report to Mayor Henry in January, Gen. A. J. Pleasonton, commander of the Home Guard, stated that the organization then numbered some four thousand men, comprising three regiments of infantry of the line, two battalions of rifles, three companies of artillery, and one squadron of cavalry. With regard to the artillery arm of the service Gen. Pleasonton said, "Two batteries of Parrott's rifled cannon, each of six guns, have been purchased by the committee, one battery being of ten-pounders, the other of twenty-pounders. Both these batteries can take the field at once. There are also two cast-steel Prussian rifled guns, which were presented to the city by Mr. James Swaim, gun-carriages and caissons for which have been bought by the committee. James McHenry, of Liverpool, also generously presented to the city a cast-steel rifled gun of the Blakely pattern, the carriage and caisson for which Henry Simons patriotically tendered as a gift to the city."

—The United States sloop-of-war "St. Louis," Capt. Matthias C. Marin, went into commission on the 31st of January, and left the navy-yard for Fort Mifflin, where she took on her powder, preparatory to sailing for the Mediterranean, there to cruise for the protection of American shipping.

—Governor Curtin, Hon. Simon Cameron, and Senator Cowan arrived on the night of Friday, January 31st, and took quarters at the Continental Hotel. On the following evening Governor Curtin was present by invitation at the Commercial rooms to meet a number of merchants and leading business men, who had assembled there to receive him. There were no formal ceremonies, but the Governor was introduced to those persons with whom he was not previously acquainted, and, in response to a toast proposed by the president, William B. Hart, made a brief speech, chiefly in reference to the existing Rebellion and the means which Pennsylvania had adopted to aid in its suppression. Addresses were also delivered by Charles Gibbons, Thomas Smith, Morton McMichael, Charles Gilpin, William J. Wainwright, Henry D. Moore, Craig Biddle, William S. Smith, Thomas Webster, William Devine, Dr. H. G. Smith, Col. Chambers, and others. All the speakers bore the strongest testimony to the zeal, diligence, ability, and success with which the Governor had discharged his duties.

—On the 3d of February, United States Marshal Millward received orders from the Secretary of State

for the removal of the crews of the privateers "Petrel" and "Jeff Davis" from Moyamensing prison to Fort Lafayette, where they were to be treated as prisoners of war. George M. Wharton, counsel for the prisoners, sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, and they were taken before Judge Cadwalader, who asked whether any of them objected to the transfer. All of them answered that they did not object, and nothing further was done under the writ of *habeas corpus*. On the 5th they were taken to Fort Lafayette. There were thirty-eight in all, three less than were captured. One of them, a young foreigner named Francis Alba, died during his imprisonment, another, William Sharkey, was in the hospital, and a third, Eben Lane, had been released.

—On the 5th of February about two hundred and fifty sick soldiers arrived from the South, and were taken to the government hospital at Broad and Cherry Streets, previously the depot of the Reading Railroad Company. The hospital was capable of accommodating five hundred patients.

—The lager-beer brewery of John Lips, in the rear of Seventeenth and Buttonwood Streets, was damaged by fire on the 5th of February to the extent of seventy thousand dollars.

—The United States steamer "Suwanee," one of the transports of the Burnside expedition, arrived from Fortress Monroe on the 8th of February, bringing the bodies of Col. Joseph W. Allen and Surgeon F. S. Weller, of the Ninth New Jersey Regiment, who were drowned in the storm off Hatteras. The vessel was badly damaged in the storm.

—J. Murray Rush, son of Richard Rush, and a prominent member of the bar, died on the 7th of February. Before the passage of the law providing for the election of district attorneys Mr. Rush held the position of assistant under Attorney-General Kane, and discharged its duties with marked ability. He was in his forty-ninth year.

—The fitting up of the different military hospitals was completed early in February. The surgeons and their staffs were: General Hospital, Broad Street,—Surgeon in Charge, Dr. John Neill; Assistant Surgeons, Drs. Yarrow, Woodhouse, Harrison Allen, and H. M. Bellows; Medical Cadets, George W. Shields, E. R. Corson, J. W. Corson, James Tyson, and W. R. D. Blackwood; Hospital Stewards, John Patterson and William H. Evans.

General Hospital, Fifth Street,—Surgeon in Charge, Dr. Meredith Clymer; Assistant Surgeons, Dr. R. J. Duglison, Dr. William M. Breed; Medical Cadets, J. A. McArthur, C. M. King; Hospital Stewards, Lea Nichols and Frederick Brown.

General Hospital, Christian Street,—Surgeon in Charge, Dr. John J. Reese; Medical Cadets, R. Kelly, Edward Brooks; Hospital Steward, Benjamin Hollowell.

The medical cadets were students of medicine, who were provided with quarters and rations, and were required to assist in dressing wounds, etc.

—On the 8th of February a delegation from the City Councils visited Washington, and, accompanied by Gen. Pleasanton and Hon. William D. Kelley, waited upon Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, [1862] Secretary of War, in relation to the comparatively defenseless condition of Delaware Bay and River. The Secretary stated that the subject had already received the attention of the War Department, and urged the delegation to address themselves to the task of arousing the capitalists of their city and State to the importance of upholding the credit of the government, with the assurance that every dollar placed at the disposal of the War Department would be invested in arms and ammunition for the defense of the Delaware and the Union.

—The company organized by the veterans of the war of 1812 was known as the Pennsylvania Veterans. The first meeting of the company was held on the 11th of February, at the armory of the Philadelphia Grays. Col. John S. Warner presided, and Charles Lombard acted as secretary. A committee was appointed to draft by-laws for the regulation of the company. There were then seventy-six names on the roll.

—A sword to be presented to Maj.-Gen. N. P. Banks was manufactured by Lambert & Mast. The scabbard, of silver, heavily plated with gold, bore the inscription, "Presented to Major-General Banks by Col. J. K. Murphy, Major M. Scott, Captain L. C. Kinsler, of the 29th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers." The hilt was of solid silver, and bore the initials "N. P. B."

—Early on the morning of February 17th news was received of the surrender of Fort Donelson. Extras were issued, and great excitement prevailed throughout the city. In the Court of Quarter Sessions Judge Allison had the news read by Mr. Dare, the court crier, remarking that he felt justified in interrupting the regular proceedings, as every loyal man would be glad to know that the Union arms were victorious. The announcement was greeted with cheers by those present. In the District Court also Judge Hare directed that the news be announced, and a similar scene of enthusiasm followed. On the 19th salutes in honor of the victory were fired at the navy-yard and at Broad and Spring Garden Streets.

—The Bridesburg arsenal was damaged by fire to the extent of about five thousand dollars on the 18th of February.

—The One Hundred and Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. Charles Angeroth, was filled up early in February, and was awaiting marching orders at its camp, near Camden, N. J.

—Washington's birthday was celebrated this year with unusual spirit and *éclat*. The morning opened with the ringing of bells and discharges of artillery, which continued at intervals until sunset. At eleven o'clock the members of City Councils proceeded to Independence Hall, where Governor Curtin and

members of the Legislature were in waiting. On arriving at the hall, Mr. Cuyler, president of Select

Council, delivered an address to the Governor and members of the Legislature, welcoming them to the historic spot. Lewis

W. Hall, Speaker of the Senate, responded, after which the Governor and suite and the members of the Legislature and City Councils were escorted to a platform erected in front of the Academy of Music, from which they witnessed the military review. The line of the First Division, Pennsylvania Militia, was formed on Broad Street, the right resting on Walnut, and the volunteer regiments recruited for active service were assigned the right of this position. When the whole column was formed it extended from Market Street to Prime, a distance of more than a mile. The volunteer regiments (recently recruited) in line were Col. Price's cavalry, Col. Angeroth's Heavy Artillery, and Cols. Lyle's, Staunton's, and Stainbrook's infantry regiments. The First Division proper comprised the First Brigade, Gen. Cadwalader; Second Brigade, Lieut.-Col. Dennis Heenan commanding; Third Brigade, Capt. H. Rogers commanding; Reserve Brigade, Brig.-Gen. Francis Patterson; Home Guards, Brig.-Gen. A. J. Pleasonton; and the First, Second, and Third Regiments infantry of the line, together with various minor organizations. The park of artillery secured by the city by purchase and gift attracted much attention. There were fourteen guns in the line. As the troops filed past the platform on which Governor Curtin was seated they honored him with the usual marching salute. Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson, who was the chief in command, was frequently cheered along the route. After the review the Governor, members of the Legislature, Mayor Henry, members of the Councils, and invited guests entered the Academy of Music and took seats upon the stage, after which the building was thrown open to the public. Mayor Henry opened the proceedings with the announcement that for the first time in the history of the nation the President of the United States had issued a special proclamation, inviting the people to meet together for the purpose of observing the birthday of the father of his country, and of listening to the reading of his Farewell Address. Prayer was then offered by Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania, after which Washington's Farewell Address was read by Professor Allen, and the audience dispersed. At six o'clock the Governor and members of the Legislature were entertained at dinner at the Continental Hotel by the City Councils. Theodore Cuyler presided, and among the toasts were,—"The Memory of Washington;" "The President of the United States," which, on motion of Gen. Patterson, was greeted with nine cheers; "The Governor of the State of Pennsylvania," responded to by Governor Curtin, who stated that Philadelphia had already

furnished twenty-seven thousand three hundred and fifty men in addition to the eight thousand well-equipped troops whom he had reviewed some hours before; "Gen. George B. McClellan, the pride of our city and our State, the master-spirit of the campaign," a sentiment that was received with nine hearty cheers; and "The army of the United States," responded to by Gen. Robert Patterson. Gen. Kelly, of the army of Western Virginia, was called upon at this point, and made a brief address, after which Mr. Cuyler proposed "General Kelly,—may his honorable wound soon be healed," a toast which was drank amid much enthusiasm. Mr. Cuyler now broke in upon the regular order of toasts to say that they had among them a representative of loyal Virginia,—Mr. Frost. The latter, being called for, expressed his gratification at a compliment intended not for him personally, but for the loyal men of whom he claimed to be a representative. The other toasts with the names of those who responded were: "The Navy of the United States," Senator McClure; "Pennsylvania,—the Keystone of the Federal Union," Mr. Clymer, of Reading; "The Union,—traitors cannot destroy,—patriots will ever uphold it," Hon. William H. Witte; "The Constitution,—the great guarantee of our liberties; it shall ever be maintained inviolate so long as the sons of Pennsylvania have an arm or a dollar," Judge Woodward; "The Legislature of Pennsylvania," Hon. John Cessna; "The volunteer soldiers of Pennsylvania;" "The press;" and "Woman,—to her arms only do we surrender."

In addition to the observance of the day by the city authorities and military, the survivors of the war of 1812 met at Independence Hall, Maj. B. H. Springer presiding, and adopted resolutions referring to the anniversary and the victories which had recently crowned the army of the Union, after which the veterans proceeded to the Continental Hotel and paid their respects to Governor Curtin. At night the newspaper offices and many stores and private houses were brilliantly illuminated.

—On Monday, February 24th, the schooner "Alexander," of Port Richmond, sank during a storm in the Patapsco River and two sons of Capt. Shelhorn, aged fourteen and sixteen, were frozen in the rigging. The captain and Joseph H. Shropshire, one of the crew, were also badly frozen.

—A number of Philadelphians on Western gunboats participated in the attack upon Fort Donelson. A letter received in Philadelphia on the 25th of February from Benjamin S. Edgar, Jr., one of the crew of the gun-boat "Carondelet," stated that himself and three or four other townsmen were at a gun that burst, and that Solomon Elwell, a young man named McBride, William Rorey, and himself were more or less injured. The only Philadelphians killed on the "Carondelet" were William Duff and J. G. Leacock, both of whom had their heads crushed by the same ball which took off the arm of another comrade

named McFadden. The remains of Duff and Leacock, with those of Charles W. Baker, also one of the crew of the gun-boat "St. Louis," were buried near Fort Donelson.

—The One Hundred and Twelfth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers (heavy artillery), under the command of Col. Angeroth, which had been encamped for some months near Camden, struck tents on the 25th and crossed the Delaware on the way to the seat of war.

—On the 27th of February a large meeting of ladies was held at the hall of the German Library, Seventh Street above Chestnut, for the purpose of forming an association in aid of the German Hospital. The society, which was designated "The Ladies' Aid for the German Hospital of Philadelphia," was organized by the election of the following officers: President, Mrs. Dr. Henry Tiedemann; Vice-President, Mrs. Charles Wilhelm; Secretary, Mrs. Oswald Seidenstricker; Treasurer, Mrs. I. Kohn.

—By an explosion in the Japan varnish manufactory of James L. Wright in the rear of Sixth Street, between Meetler and Diamond, on the 27th of February, Mr. Wright was killed, and Adam Herbott seriously injured.

—In 1740 five hundred acres of land in Bucks County were bequeathed by James Logan to the Philadelphia Library. In accordance with the terms of his will, it was leased at the rate of about twenty-two cents an acre for a term of one hundred and twenty-one years. The will provided further that, at the end of that period, the land should be valued by disinterested persons, and the interest calculated at six per cent., and that the rental for another term of one hundred and twenty-one years should be determined by adding the amount thus obtained to the rate previously paid. Charles H. Muirheid and David Landreth were appointed by the Library Company, and Benjamin S. Rich and William T. Rogers by the land-holders a committee to determine the rental, but up to March 1st several trials had been made without result. One of the tracts lying near New Hope contained about three hundred acres, the other tract at Paxson's Corner, Bucks Co., about two hundred acres.

—A number of members of the California and other regiments, who had been confined at Richmond, Va., arrived in the city on the 1st of March, and were enthusiastically greeted by relatives and friends.

—A meeting was held at National Hall on the evening of March 3d, to take into consideration the condition of the colored people at Beaufort, S. C., who were suffering for food and clothing. Bishop Potter presided, and made a brief address, urging immediate action for their relief and instruction. Addresses were also delivered by Rev. Dr. Stephen H. Tyng and Professor Lindsay, who had recently visited Port Royal, and who related his experiences at the South. Resolutions were adopted recognizing on the

score of humanity the claims which had been presented, and declaring that those present would co-operate with the government and with all benevolent people in efforts to provide for [1862] the wants, and to promote the welfare, of the colored people. A committee was appointed to receive contributions of clothing, etc., consisting of Stephen Colwell, Philip P. Randolph, James L. Claghorn, Rev. Thomas Brainerd, James A. Wright, Mordecai L. Dawson, Benjamin Coates, J. M. McKim, Rev. Dr. Newton, Ellis Yarnall, E. W. Clark, Rev. J. Wheaton Smith, Charles Rhoades, J. Huntington Jones, and Francis R. Cope.

—Commodore Samuel Mercer, United States navy, died in Philadelphia on the 16th of March, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

—Remington Ackley and Charles Hamell were killed on the 8th of March by the explosion of a bomb-shell at Parson & Smith's Hotel, Camden, N. J. The shell had been sent North by a member of a New Jersey regiment, who stated that it had been thrown into the camp of the regiment by the rebels on the Potomac, and that the load had been withdrawn. Just before the explosion Mr. Ackley placed a lighted paper in the shell, which burst, killing himself and his companion, and demolishing the walls of the room and the furniture.

—The United States frigate "St. Lawrence," Capt. H. Y. Purviance, which had been damaged in the naval engagement between the "Merrimac" and the Union fleet off Newport News on the 8th of March, arrived at the navy-yard on the 14th for repairs.

—On the 18th of March a meeting of the respective committees on Federal relations of the Legislatures of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with Governors Curtin and Olden, was held at the Continental Hotel, for the purpose of taking into consideration the subject of the defense of the Delaware Bay and River. Governor Curtin presided and S. Tuttle acted as secretary. Mayor Henry, Gen. Pleasonton, and the committee of Councils on the defense of the city were present. After several addresses, it was resolved that the Legislatures of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and the executive of Delaware should urgently memorialize Congress and the President to immediately provide suitable and sufficient defenses for Delaware Bay and the harbor of Philadelphia, and that, if necessary to induce and enable the government of the United States to enter upon that work immediately, Congress be requested to authorize a special loan for that purpose, the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware to take up the loan among them.

—During the annual session of the Methodist Episcopal Conference of Philadelphia, which commenced at the Union Church, Fourth Street, below Arch, on the 19th of March, the question as to whether the members sustaining superannuated relations were loyal to the Union was raised by Rev. William Bishop, and debated at length. It was finally deter-

mined to refer the subject to a committee to be appointed by the bishop.

—The United States steamer "Rhode Island" arrived at the navy-yard on the 19th of March, with a large number of Confederate prisoners from prizes and from the privateer "Beauregard," who were taken to Fort Lafayette. On the following day the United States sloop-of-war "Juniata" was launched at the yard, Miss Turner, daughter of the commandant, performing the ceremony of "christening." The dimensions of the "Juniata" were,—length, two hundred and five feet; beam, thirty-eight feet; depth of hold, sixteen feet.

—On the 26th of March the remains of Col. John S. Slocum, Maj. S. Ballou, and Capt. Levi Tower, of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, who were killed at Bull Run, reached the city, *en route* for Providence, R. I. They had been buried on the field, but were exhumed under the personal direction of Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, and members of the Second Rhode Island Regiment. They were met at the depot by Col. Staunton's regiment and escorted to Independence Hall, where they remained until the following day, when they were taken East.

—At the meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Conference, on the 28th of March, it was resolved, "That we not only declare our loyalty to the Constitution and government of these United States in the presence of Almighty God and these witnesses, but that we declare our willingness to swear or affirm the same whenever it shall be required by those who have the rule over us."

—On the 28th of March a party of ninety-one "contrabands," or negroes, freed by Union troops, arrived in Philadelphia from Eastern Virginia. They were furnished with breakfast by the Refreshment Committee, after which they were provided with temporary homes.

—An explosion in the cartridge manufactory of Professor Samuel Jackson, at Tenth and Reed Streets, on the 29th of March, resulted in the death of sixteen persons, and the more or less serious wounding of a number of others. Edwin Jackson, son of the proprietor, Yarnall Bailey, and Benjamin Whitecar were instantly killed, and the following persons died from their injuries: John H. Mooney, John Logue, Lovinia Norritt, Richard J. Hueston, Horace L. Sinnexson, Washington Black, John McDonald, Edwin Shaw, Allen Knowles, Lewis Brown, Ann McKernan, Rebecca Emerick, Ellen Lynch.

—Matthew H. Haggerty, who had been connected with the *Public Ledger* for six or seven years before his death, died on the 29th of March. Mr. Haggerty was a native of Ireland. Under President Taylor he was an officer of the customs, and was connected for some time with the *Episcopal Recorder*. He was also publisher of the *West Philadelphian*.

—The killed and wounded of the Pennsylvania regiments in the battle of Winchester were brought

to the city, April 2d, the Legislature having made an appropriation for that object. The bodies of the ten killed were embalmed in this city, and were then sent to their relatives in the interior of the State. The wounded, numbering fifty, were conveyed to St. Joseph's Hospital.

—The United States steamer "Bienville," Commander Charles Steedman, arrived at the navy-yard on the evening of April 4th, having on board the remains of Lieut. T. A. Budd and acting master L. W. Mather, who were killed at Mosquito Inlet March 23d. They were in command of the steamers "Penguin" and "Mary Andrew," and were instructed to establish an inside blockade. Exceeding their instructions, they exposed themselves to the fire of the Confederates, and, together with three of their men, were instantly killed. Both officers, though not residents, were generally known in the city. The "Bienville" remained at the navy-yard for repairs, having been damaged while ashore at Fernandina. She sailed again for Port Royal on the 9th.

—The grand jury in their final presentment at the close of the February term of the Quarter Sessions, on Saturday, April 5th, stated, in reference to the frauds committed in counting the vote of the army, that "they fear the law is powerless to punish such offenses or to reach and punish the offenders. . . . The grand inquest, in view of these practices, are so well satisfied of the impossibility of conducting elections among soldiers in camp with fairness and impartiality, that they are forced to call public attention to the law providing for such elections as fraught with danger to the best interests of the citizens, and highly injurious to public liberty.

"The elective franchise is too sacred a right, and its establishment cost our fathers too much to be thus disgraced and violated; and the best interest of society, in the deliberate opinion of the grand inquest, require that this law permitting elections in camps, far away from the participation and the supervision of the citizens, should be erased from the statute-book."

Judge Allison, referring to the matter set forth in their presentment, gave his reasons for sustaining the demurrer to the bill of indictment against a defendant for illegal voting on the ground of the unconstitutionality of the law, and expressed the hope that the Legislature would repeal it.

—A salute of one hundred guns was fired by a detachment of Company C, of the Reserve Brigade, at Broad and Locust Streets, in celebration of the Union victory at Corinth, Miss.

—The steam-engine and hose-carriage of the Hi-bernia Fire Company was taken on the 17th to Fortress Monroe, accompanied by Messrs. Peter Anderson, William Dixon, David A. Nagle, William J. Power, Richard Water, Henry Arenfeldt, John Bock, and James McShane, as a board of engineers to superintend the workings of the engine.

—On the 17th of April the Rev. W. G. Brownlow ("Parson Brownlow") arrived. The following morning he was escorted from the Continental Hotel to Independence Hall by a committee of Councils, where he was welcomed by Mr. Trego, and in response made a long and patriotic address to several thousand people who had assembled to see him.

—Religious services were held for the first time in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, on Easter Sunday, April 21st. The building was not yet completed, nor had it been consecrated, and consequently mass was not said. The services, however, were of the most impressive character. It was estimated that at least five thousand people were inside the building, while as many more were unable to gain access. The Right Rev. Bishop Wood was the celebrant, assisted by the Rev. Dr. O'Hara. Deacons of Honor, Rev. F. Barbelin, of St. Joseph's, and Rev. F. Strobel, of St. Mary's Churches; Deacons of Vespers, Rev. J. F. Brannagan and Rev. Mr. Kiernan; Masters of Ceremonies, Mr. Hennessey and Mr. O'Neil. After several addresses Bishop Wood bestowed the Papal benediction on those present.

—Lieut.-Col. W. Brooks, Second Artillery, was assigned to Philadelphia as military commander in the latter part of April.

—The body of Lieut. Orlando B. Wagner, who had been killed in a reconnaissance before Yorktown, arrived from Fortress Monroe, April 25th. His funeral took place on the 28th, and was largely attended.

—William H. Crump, long identified with newspaper work on the *Inquirer*, died at Camden, N. J., April 27th.

—A submarine iron propeller, built by Neafie & Levy, was launched at their works May 1st, and towed thence to the navy-yard. She was sixty-five feet long, six feet deep, and five feet broad, nearly cylindrical in form, but sharp at either extremity. Twelve propellers or paddles projected from each side, and she was intended to be hermetically closed, then sunk below the surface by water-ballast. By means of the paddles she could then be propelled in any direction. Mr. Villeroy was the inventor and designer.

—The remains of Maj.-Gen. Charles F. Smith, of Philadelphia, who died at Savannah, arrived in this city May 3d, and were received by a committee of Councils and the Girard Home Guards, who escorted them from the depot to Independence Hall. The funeral took place on Tuesday, the 6th, and was attended by all the regular military in the city.

—The iron-clad frigate "New Ironsides," the third model iron-clad that the Navy Department had ordered, was launched from the yard of its builders, Messrs. Cramp & Sons, on May 10th. This was the first large iron vessel that the firm had built. She was two hundred and forty-five feet long, fifty-seven feet six inches breadth of beam, and twenty-five feet depth of hold. In spite of her heavy armor she

was calculated to draw but fifteen feet of water. Her sides, above water, were at an angle of about forty degrees, in order to deflect projectiles, and she was armed with a powerful ram com- [1862 posed of her armor-sheathing prolonged from the bow. The launch was witnessed by thousands of people, every available point being crowded with spectators. The ceremony of "christening" was performed by the venerable Commodore Charles Stewart ("Old Ironsides"), assisted by Commodores Marston and Montgomery, Capts. Turner and Fairfax, and Chief Engineers Wood, Danby, Stewart, and Newell.

—On Monday, May 11th, the schooner "E. W. Pratt," loaded with coal-oil, accidentally took fire while lying at Lombard Street wharf. For a while the blazing oil threatened a general conflagration, but with the exception of damaging the ship "Gray Eagle," it was confined to the "Pratt." Freeman T. Robins, steward of the "Pratt," was drowned while attempting to escape the flames. The prize steamer "Bienville," loaded with gunpowder, lay adjoining the "Pratt," but fortunately escaped damage.

—On the 13th the propeller "Whilden" arrived at Philadelphia with one hundred and seventy-five sick and wounded soldiers from Fortress Monroe. The soldiers were in charge of Surgeon-General Henry H. Smith, assisted by a delegation of Philadelphia surgeons. Under their care they were conveyed to St. Joseph's Hospital.

—Hon. Charles Jared Ingersoll, one of the most prominent members of the Philadelphia bar, died May 14th, in the eightieth year of his age. He had represented the city in Congress in 1812, was United States district attorney under President Madison, and was nominated minister to France by President Polk. Owing to political reasons this last appointment was not confirmed. He was well known in the literary circles of Philadelphia.

—City Councils, at a meeting May 15th, passed an ordinance leasing to the Pennsylvania Railroad the City Railroad on Market Street, from the bridge to Broad Street, for thirty years, at an annual rental of one thousand dollars.

—The transport steamer "John Brooks," Capt. Layfield, arrived May 20th, with seventy-six wounded soldiers and sixty prisoners. The prisoners were lodged in Fort Delaware, and the sick and wounded soldiers removed to the United States Hospital at Broad and Cherry Streets.

—A detachment of six hundred and forty sick and wounded soldiers were brought to the city May 21st, from Yorktown, Newport News, and Williamsburg. The men were conveyed to the hospitals at Broad and Cherry and Christian Streets. On the following day two hundred and fifty more passed through Philadelphia to New York, the hospital accommodations being exhausted.

—The well-known comedian John Drew died suddenly May 21st, at his residence. Mr. Drew was born

in Dublin, Ireland, Sept. 3, 1827. He appeared at the Bowery Theatre, New York, in 1845, as *Doctor O'Toole*. On the 27th of July, 1850, he married Mrs. Mossop, who made her appearance when a child under her maiden name, Louisa Lane. Mr. Drew opened at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Aug. 28, 1852, as *Trapani* in "She Would and She Would Not." He became a great favorite. With William Wheatley he became lessee of the Arch Street Theatre in August, 1853. Two years afterward he went to England. He first appeared in San Francisco in December, 1858. He was in Australia in the succeeding year; came back to the United States in 1862; made his last appearance on the stage May 9, 1862.

—The funeral of Col. J. P. Vanleer, of the Sixth New Jersey Regiment, took place May 22d, with military honors.

—Judge Woodward, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, rendered a decision on an appeal declaring the law allowing the vote of soldiers in camp to be counted at their homes to be unconstitutional. The results of the election for two officers, that of the clerk of Orphans' Court and that of the sheriff, were affected by this decision, and steps were taken to have the contest in both cases reopened. In the case of Lawrence against Stevenson, candidates for the clerk of Orphans' Court, the judge decided, after a long debate, that they still had jurisdiction, and on June 9th rendered a decision excluding the army vote, and giving the office to Mr. Stevenson.

—On receipt of the news of the retreat of Gen. Banks from the Shenandoah Valley, Governor Curtin issued an order on May 26th to all military organizations of the State to hold themselves prepared to move to Washington at once. This order produced great excitement, especially among the military and their relatives. The Committee of Defense and Protection passed a resolution on the following day offering the Home Guard, fully equipped, to the service of the State, and another authorizing the purchase of horses for the artillery. The National Guard and the State Fencibles both filled up their ranks and prepared to leave the city on the receipt of orders. The alarm, however, subsided with Jackson's retreat and McClellan's successes.

—The Protestant Episcopal Convention of the Diocese of Pennsylvania was opened May 27th in St. Andrew's Church, Bishop Potter presiding.

• —The prize steamer "Cambria" arrived at the navy-yard June 1st. She was a fine iron propeller, and was laden with Enfield rifles and other valuable war material. She had been captured by the United States ship "Huron" off Charleston.

—Augustus De Kalb Tarr, a well-known member of the Philadelphia bar, died June 1st, aged fifty-four years.

—On the 4th of June the "Whillden" again arrived from Fortress Monroe with one hundred and sixty-six Pennsylvania soldiers wounded at the battles on the

Chickahominy. The detachment was in charge of a delegation of Philadelphia surgeons. Two dead bodies, those of Lieut. William B. Kenny and of Private Washington Agar, were also brought upon the steamer. Four days later the transport "R. S. Spaulding" arrived with three hundred and thirty-four wounded soldiers from the battle of Fair Oaks.

—One of the most peculiar and boldest attempts at jail delivery recorded in Philadelphia history occurred June 3d. United States Marshal Millward received a letter purporting to come from the War Department at Washington, and written on the official paper of that department, signed by the Assistant Secretary of War, directing him to prepare an application for a pardon, and have it signed by the proper officials, for Col. J. Buchanan Cross, a well-known forger then in the penitentiary, as the department had urgent need of Cross in a military capacity. He was directed to perform this duty secretly and expeditiously, and then personally present the application to Governor Curtin, who would be directed how to act. Governor Curtin received a similar letter, and on the marshal's presentation of the application a pardon was immediately issued and delivered to the marshal. No suspicion was entertained of the genuineness of either letter, but on account of the urgent character and apparent gravity of the necessity for Cross, the marshal did not deliver the pardon to him, but took personal charge of him, and guarded him carefully until they reached the war-office at Washington. Here it was quickly ascertained that both letters were forgeries, and that neither the Secretary of War nor his assistant had ever heard of Cross. It was believed that he himself had forged the letters in the penitentiary. How he had obtained the official paper remained a mystery. Cross, with the boldest effrontery, finally admitted that the letters were forgeries, but protested against being returned, on the ground that the pardon was genuine.

—Mayor Weightman, of Boston, on behalf of the city of Boston, presented a sword to Capt. Wilkes, of Mason-Slidell fame, at the Continental Hotel.

—On the same date the various State hospitals were formally transferred to the United States. This change was effected to simplify the routine of admissions, and did not affect those in charge of the hospitals. Dunlap's carriage-factory, at Fifth and Buttonwood Streets, was used as a United States army hospital for sick and wounded soldiers from Feb. 16, 1862, to Jan. 31, 1863.

—The steamship "Norman," long of the Boston line of steamers, was launched June 11th.

—The thirteenth annual meeting of the Pennsylvania State Medical Association was held at the Pennsylvania University June 11th. Dr. E. Wallace, of Reading, was president.

—The United States transport "Louisiana" arrived from Fortress Monroe June 12th, with three hundred and sixty-four sick and wounded soldiers.

—"Parson" Brownlow was given a reception by a number of prominent citizens at the Academy of Music on the 12th. Mr. Brownlow made a characteristic speech.

—A special meeting of Councils was called by the mayor, on June 17th, to consider the advisability of the purchase of League Island by the city, and of presenting it to the government for the purpose of a navy-yard. The island was offered to the city by the Pennsylvania Company for Insuring Lives and Granting Annuities and a private individual for the sum of three hundred and ten thousand dollars. After considerable debate an ordinance was passed, directing the mayor and a committee of both branches of the Councils to accept the offer. Another ordinance was then passed, directing the mayor to make a conveyance and grant of League Island to the government, on condition that it should be accepted for the location of a navy-yard.

—The apparatus of the Hibernia Fire Company, which had been in service for three months at Fortress Monroe by the order of the Secretary of War, returned June 24th, and the engineers who had accompanied it were given a reception by the other members of the company.

—Dr. Owen Stillé, surgeon of the Twenty-third Pennsylvania Regiment, died at Fortress Monroe June 22d. Alderman Hugh Clark died June 20th.

—Four hundred Confederate prisoners passed through the city June 25th *en route* for Fort Delaware.

—The funeral of Col. Ellet, commander of the rams on the Mississippi, occurred June 27th. The Keystone Artillerists acted as body-guards.

—On June 28th the transport steamers "State of Maine" and "Whillden" arrived with about six hundred sick and wounded soldiers from White House Landing. They were distributed among the various military hospitals.

—On the 2d of July the President, by the advice of the Governors of eighteen of the States (of which Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, was one), issued another call for three hundred thousand men. Much excitement was, however, caused by the proclamation. Recruiting began at once and continued through the summer. The news of the six days' fight before Richmond was not received until July 3d, and the account was so meagre as to cause considerable anxiety and excitement.

—Large numbers of Pennsylvania troops were wounded in the six days' fighting before Richmond. The first hospital boat to arrive in Philadelphia with the wounded was the "Daniel Webster," which reached the city July 7th, with about two hundred and fifty wounded, under the charge of assistant-surgeons A. G. B. Hinkle and H. C. Eckstein.

—The new United States sloop-of-war "Monongahela" was launched July 10th at the navy-yard, in the presence of a large number of spectators. She

was christened by Miss Emily Virginia Hoover. The "Monongahela" was two hundred and twenty-five feet long, thirty-eight feet beam, and seventeen feet two inches depth of hold. She was [1862 about fifteen hundred tons burden, and was pierced to carry six guns.

—On the 10th another detachment of two hundred and fifty-four wounded and invalid soldiers were brought on the propeller "John Brooks," under the charge of Dr. Lloyd W. Hixon. Five deaths occurred on the passage. The following day sixteen members of the Weccacoe Fire Company, volunteers in Baxter's Fire Zouaves, arrived, and were taken to the Cooper-Shop Hospital.

—Hon. John Foulkrod, for many years State representative and senator, died at Frankford July 11th, of apoplexy.

—Governor Curtin issued a proclamation on July 21st, apportioning the quota of companies to be raised in each county of the State. The quota of Philadelphia was placed at fifty companies of one hundred men each. The new regiments were to enlist for nine months, those joining old regiments to serve one year.

—A meeting of citizens was held at the Board of Trade room July 24th to take into consideration the best means of assisting the State government in providing the contingent of troops from Pennsylvania. Mayor Henry presided. The greatest enthusiasm was manifested, and on a call for subscriptions to a fund to be used as a bounty to volunteers, forty-three thousand one hundred dollars was at once subscribed. A general mass-meeting to further the object was ordered to be called at Independence Square on the 26th. On the same day City Councils appropriated five hundred thousand dollars to a bounty-fund; the Pennsylvania Railroad subscribed fifty thousand dollars; the Reading Railroad, twenty-five thousand dollars; and the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, three thousand dollars. By the following day the total private subscriptions had reached one hundred and fifty-eight thousand eight hundred dollars. On Saturday one of the largest mass-meetings that had ever been held in the city took place in Independence Square. Three stands were erected from which speeches were delivered. Mayor Henry presided over the mass-meeting and made an address, appealing to the citizens to strengthen the hands of the government by their services or money. Resolutions were adopted, demanding that the war should be prosecuted with all the power and means the executive could command, thanking the President for recent exercises of authority, approving the call for troops, repelling foreign intervention, and finally ratifying the proceedings at the meeting at the Board of Trade. Hon. William D. Kelley, Ex-Governor Pollock, Daniel Dougherty, J. Wheaton Smith, Capt. E. W. Powers, Rev. J. Walker Jackson, George H. Stuart, Edward C. Knight, Rev. J. W.

Jackson, Hon. Isaac Hazlehurst, Col. Small, James Chauncey, Dr. Morwitz, Hon. E. W. Davis, Rev. Mr.

Oliver, William B. Mann, John W. Forney, **1862]** Washington L. Bladen, and others made addresses. Additional subscriptions to the amount of about fifty thousand dollars were obtained. The effect on recruiting was very marked, the recruiting stations being filled with volunteers. The members of the Corn Exchange subscribed ten thousand dollars toward fitting out a special regiment to be known as the Corn Exchange Regiment.

—The transport steamer "Spaulding" arrived July 25th with two hundred and forty-three sick and wounded soldiers from City Point.

—The following day the transport "State of Maine" arrived with one hundred and twenty-five more wounded soldiers. She had disembarked two hundred and twenty-five invalids at the United States hospital at Chester. She was followed by the "Commodore" and the "Daniel Webster" bringing about four hundred more. The hospitals in Philadelphia were at this time taxed to their utmost capacity.

—Rev. Erastus De Wolfe, rector of St. Barnabas' Protestant Episcopal Church, died, August 4th, from the effects of exposure in camp.

—The three new turbine-wheels at the Fairmount Water-Works were set in motion for the first time in the early part of August.

—The United States transport "C. Vanderbilt" arrived, August 7th, with four hundred and fifty sick and wounded soldiers. The weather was extremely hot, and no less than thirty deaths occurred on the passage.

—War meetings continued to be held in various parts of the city and suburbs to encourage enlistments. One of the most enthusiastic was that of the Germans to fill up the regiments under Gen. Sigel, and a regiment of "Sigel Sharpshooters" was raised in the city and accepted by the government.

—The proclamation of the President for the first draft was issued Aug. 4, 1862. On the 8th of August proclamation was issued that no citizen of the United States liable to military duty should go abroad before the draft was made. In Pennsylvania the draft was made in the fall months of the same year. There was no draft in the city, in consequence of the raising of a bounty-fund. The men from the interior of the State commenced arriving at Camp Philadelphia, near Haddington, October 27th. The act of March 3, 1863, called the Conscription Law, authorized the enrollment of all male able-bodied citizens and all aliens who had declared their intentions, and who were between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years. If negroes were at that time, in any of the States, recognized citizens, they were liable to enrollment and conscription, if of the proper age. On the 10th of February, 1864, Congress put an end to all doubt on this subject by passing an amendment to the law, which declared that all able-bodied male colored persons

between twenty and forty-five years of age should be liable to enrollment for service. The recruiting of persons of African descent as soldiers was authorized by act of Congress of July 8, 1862, and two regiments of them were ready in the fall of that year in Massachusetts. In Pennsylvania black regiments were recruited many months before the close of the war, and colored men were recruited by the United States government for the regular army in 1862-63, in Maryland, in Missouri, and in Tennessee. In December, 1863, there were over fifty thousand colored soldiers in the United States service, and before the end of 1864 there were over one hundred and fifty thousand in the service, beside what were among the State troops. The Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States was not adopted until 1870, five years after the war was closed. The draft under the Conscription Act of March 3, 1863, began in the Fourth Congressional District July 15, 1863; draft in the First and Second Wards, Feb. 23, 1865; Third, Fourth, and Seventh Wards, February 24th; Fifth and Eighth Wards, February 25th; Sixth and Ninth Wards, February 27th; and Twenty-fifth Ward, March 22, 1865.

—On August 10th four transport steamers arrived, having on board over thirteen hundred sick soldiers. The majority of the men were suffering from camp fevers, dysenteries, and other diseases incident to camp life.

—The effort to evade the draft which was threatened unless Philadelphia's quota was furnished caused a curious scene at the sailing of the ship "Zerah" for Londonderry August 12th. The provost marshal and his guard, assisted by a squad of policemen, took possession of the wharf and vessel before the passengers embarked. No person was allowed to sail unless he was provided with a passport, and a large number of intended runaways were turned back.

—On the 12th three more hospital-ships, the "S. B. Spaulding," the "Elm City," and "St. Mark's," arrived with about eleven hundred more invalid soldiers from Harrison's Landing and Fortress Monroe. They were distributed among the various hospitals and in temporary quarters in every section of the city.

—The Norristown Railroad bridge over the Wissahickon Creek was destroyed by fire August 12th. The mill of Andrew Robinson, occupied by John Dobson, was also totally destroyed.

—The transport "Kennebec" arrived August 13th, with two hundred and eighty sick and wounded. Eight deaths occurred on the voyage.

—A championship sculling match took place on what is now known as the national course on the Schuylkill August 13th, between Joshua Ward and James Hammill. Hammill won by thirty yards. On the following day Hammill again won.

—The transport "Commodore" arrived on the 18th, with about two hundred invalid soldiers. Four deaths occurred on board.

—Brig-Gen. Corcoran, of the Irish Brigade, on his return from the South, where he had been held prisoner, was given a reception in every city from Washington north. Delegations of the City Councils met the general at Baltimore, and accompanied him to the city. The reception was most enthusiastic. He was met at the depot, and escorted to Independence Hall by the One Hundred and Fourteenth, the One Hundred and Sixteenth, and the One Hundred and Seventeenth Regiments, the Fenian Brotherhood, the Pike and Hurling Club, the Hibernia Society, and other organizations, together with members of City Councils and prominent citizens. He was welcomed at the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon by Dr. Andrew Nebinger, and again at Independence Hall by Mayor Henry. The general responded in a patriotic speech. In the evening he was serenaded.

—On the following day another exchanged prisoner, Col. John K. Murphy, reached the city, and though his arrival was unexpected, a spontaneous reception was given to him no less enthusiastic than that to Gen. Corcoran.

—Rear-Admiral George C. Read, commandant of the Naval Asylum, died at that institution August 22d, aged seventy-five years.

—A grand mass-meeting of the Democratic party was held at Independence Square August 22d, Peter McCall presiding. The gathering was one of the largest ever seen in Philadelphia. The meeting was addressed by Francis W. Hughes, Peter McCall, William H. Witte, Charles Ingersoll, Joseph A. Clay, and John Bell Robinson. The resolutions adopted denounced secession and abolition doctrines as equally subversive of the Constitution; denounced, likewise, the suppression of freedom of speech by the government and the abolition of the *habeas corpus* law in the loyal States as in violation of the Constitution; urged the prosecution of the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, and tendered the thanks of the party to the prominent generals and numerous members of the party in the ranks.

—On August 23d and 24th the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts, and the One Hundred and Eleventh and the One Hundred and Seventeenth New York Regiments passed through the city, in addition to numerous squads designed to fill the ranks of old regiments in the field.

—The day following the Democratic mass-meeting one of the speakers, Charles Ingersoll, was arrested by the provost marshal, on the affidavit of Edward Willard, for uttering treasonable language. The language as set forth in the affidavit was as follows:

"The despotisms of the Old World can furnish no parallel to the corruptions of the administration of Abraham Lincoln. They can imprison us as they like for the exercise of the right of free speech, as in the case of a citizen of the Twelfth Ward; but what does that amount to if they have to feed, clothe,

and lodge us; and in these hard times that is quite a consideration." Mr. Ingersoll was released on one thousand dollars bail to appear before the United States marshal.

[1862

—The funeral services of Rear-Admiral Read took place August 26th, in the United States Naval Asylum. The ships in the harbor had their flags at half-mast, and minute-guns were fired at noon by the "Princeton." The pall-bearers were,—Rear-Admirals Charles Stewart and Lavalette, Commodores Inman and Nicholson, and Gens. Montgomery, Crossman, Cadwalader, and Patterson.

—The Democratic nominating convention met August 26th, 27th, and 28th, and nominated a full city ticket, Daniel M. Fox being the candidate for mayor. On the 26th Amos Briggs declined the nomination of the Republican party for the mayoralty.

—Charles Ingersoll, after a preliminary examination before the marshal, was committed to the charge of Deputy Marshal Schuyler, who, however, was directed to accompany him wherever he chose to go. Mr. Ingersoll immediately prayed for a writ of *habeas corpus* in the United States District Court, which was granted forthwith. The marshal's deputy asked for delay, which was finally granted, the writ being made returnable on the following day. During the night of the 28th Mr. Ingersoll's mother died. By mutual consent it was agreed to defer the hearing until Monday following. On that day the writ of *habeas corpus* was obeyed. Mr. Ingersoll being produced, the marshal announced the receipt of orders from the Secretary of War ordering Mr. Ingersoll's release. As the plaintiff was thus at liberty, the marshal's return to the writ was accepted, and the proceedings ceased.

—The National Union party, without reference to the Republicans, nominated a full party ticket, headed in the city by Alexander Henry for mayor.

—On the 29th of August the deputy marshals, engaged in making the enrollment of citizens liable to the draft, were attacked by a crowd of men and women on Milton Street above Eleventh. The marshals succeeded, after some difficulty, in arresting one man, Patrick Blue. A file of soldiers was detailed to guard the street and disperse the mob.

—At a meeting of the Republican convention, which had adjourned after nominating Amos Briggs for mayor to await the action of the National Union party, a speech was made by Dr. Gregg, strongly condemning the action of Judge Briggs in declining the nomination of the party. A resolution was passed denouncing the action of the National Union party in refusing to co-operate with the Republicans, and especially a resolution passed by the former appointing a committee to wait upon the President to ask him to remove every employé of the United States who did not support the National Union ticket. No action was taken on the proposition to nominate a third ticket.

—The movement and battles at Manassas Junction and the second battle of Bull Run caused a great deal of anxiety and excitement, the strict censorship exercised by the government over dispatches to the papers causing a paucity and delay in the announcement of news, and giving rise to numerous rumors and surmises. On the 1st of September the excitement culminated when the *Tribune* published a "special dispatch" announcing that Gen. Banks' army was cut to pieces, and that the President had removed Gen. McClellan and denounced him as a traitor. The city was in an uproar, which was pacified by a complete and circumstantial contradiction of the rumor, and the suppression of the *Tribune* by order of the government.

—Col. Prevost's and Col. Tippen's regiments left on the 1st of September, and Col. Ellmaker's followed on the same night. The Twenty-second New York Regiment, returning homeward, met the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York on their way south at the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon on the same day.

—On September 2d and 3d, Col. Heenan's regiment left for the seat of war. Before its departure a handsome sword was presented to Col. Heenan by some admiring friends.

—During September 3d about seventeen hundred sick and wounded soldiers arrived, and were distributed to the various hospitals. It was impossible to obtain sufficient accommodations for them all in the regular hospitals, and the National Guards' Hall, on Race Street, and the Weccacoe Engine-house, were temporarily fitted up for their accommodation. Four hundred had been left at the Chester General Hospital. The remains of Col. John A. Kolter arrived the same day. His body was escorted to Independence Hall, and thence to the grave, on Friday, by a guard of honor of the Seventy-third Regiment and a battalion of rifles.

—The enrollment of the city having been completed, it was announced that there were 99,701 men capable of bearing arms, of which 19,228 had already enlisted, which was much less than the actual number.

—The Twelfth New Jersey, One Hundred and Thirty-fifth New York, Thirty-ninth Massachusetts, and the One Hundred and Twenty-third New York Regiments passed through the city September 7th, beside numerous detachments, making in all about five thousand men. They were all entertained at the Volunteer Union and Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloons.

—Independence Square was converted September 8th into a grand recruiting camp. The interdiction placed by the United States marshal on travel, by demanding passports from all travelers, was removed by orders from Washington September 6th.

—Governor Curtin appointed commissioners to supervise the draft, under the provisions of the draft law, on September 8th.

—A double collision occurred September 9th on

the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, near Baltimore, by which three soldiers were killed and about twenty injured.

—The invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania by the Confederate troops created great excitement. Councils passed resolutions on the 11th to further enlistments, and to place the Home Guard on a better basis. On the same night the mayor issued an urgent appeal for volunteers, in obedience to a telegram from the Governor, stating that the Confederate army was already on the move for Harrisburg and Philadelphia, and begging for all available troops to be forwarded at once to Harrisburg. The mayor called for minute-men to assemble on Friday for the defense of the State. He also called a special meeting of Councils to consider the emergency. A terrible storm raged over the city on Friday, but it did not deter the assembling of the people. Great numbers of workmen and others offered themselves in bodies, as did likewise the various militia organizations. The employes of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, two hundred in number, offered themselves at once, as did those of Morris & Tasker, and other large establishments. Councils passed a resolution giving to the mayor and a committee of defense and protection full power to defend the city as might seem best to them, and appropriating five hundred thousand dollars for that purpose, to be drawn by the mayor as necessity required. Later in the day the news was more reassuring, which somewhat allayed the excitement.

—Nearly five hundred more wounded men arrived in the city on the 11th of September, but as there was not sufficient hospital accommodation here they passed on to New York.

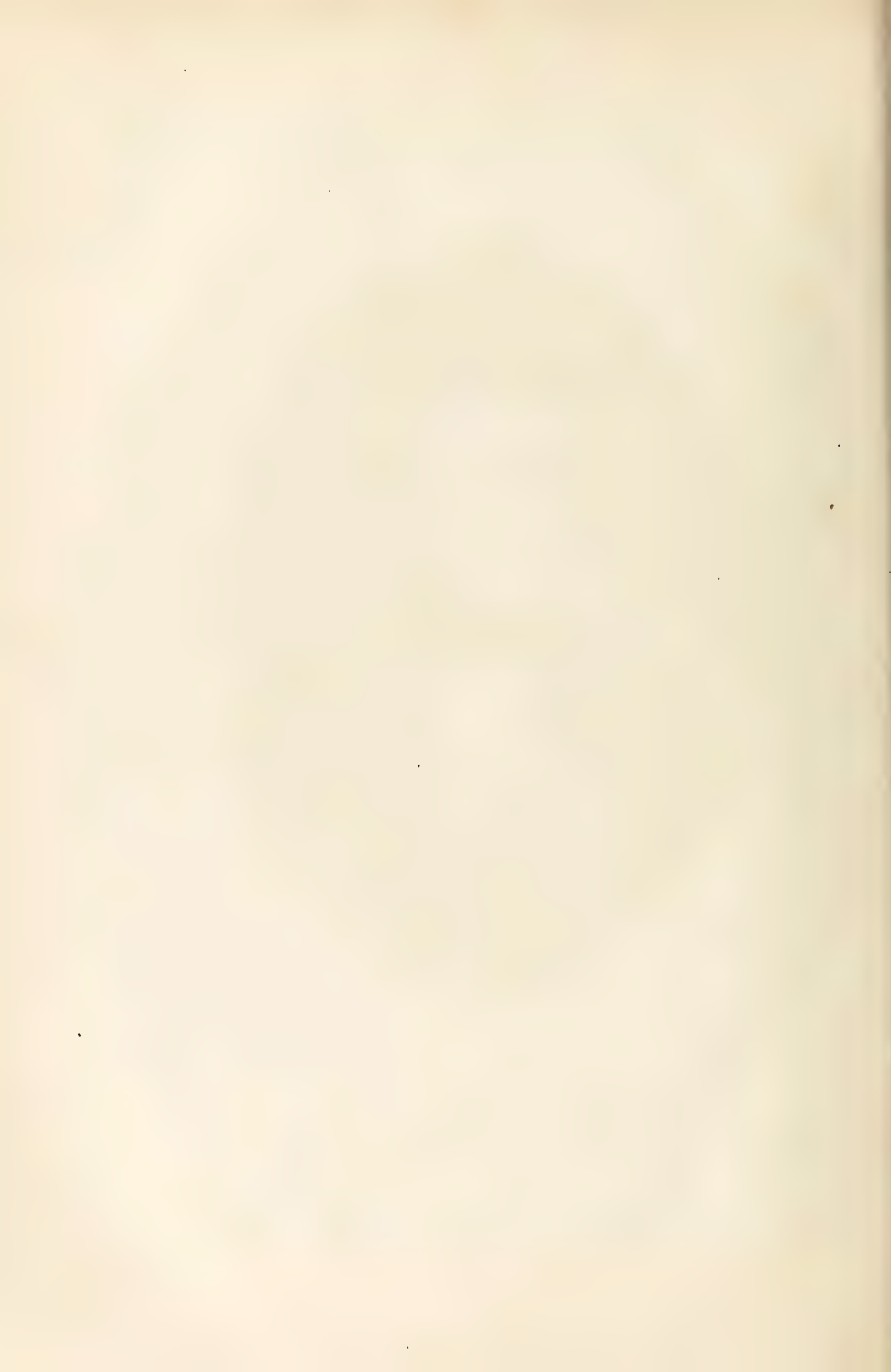
—In consequence of the storm, serious floods occurred in the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers and in several of the creeks, especially Cohocksink and Frankford. The Cohocksink Creek culvert burst during the height of the storm, destroying a large amount of property, flooding the neighborhood, and drowning five persons.

—The official enrollment figures were published September 14th, and showed a total liable to military service of 106,806 persons. Of these were in Pennsylvania regiments, 17,670; navy and marine, 1744; and in regiments of other States, 1489 men. According to the records of the War Department these figures were incorrect, 29,194 having been on the War Department rolls. This left but 4220 to fill the quota of the city.

—Throughout Friday, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday troops were moved to Harrisburg as rapidly as possible. By the 16th, four days after the call, it was estimated that fifty thousand men were encamped near that city. The howitzer battery at the navy-yard and the city battery of ten brass guns were also taken to Harrisburg. By the 16th the news of the defeat and retreat of Lee restored confidence.



Alex Henry



—The Hibernia Fire Engine was again called on by the Secretary of War to proceed to Washington to perform duty there. The apparatus, under the charge of William Dickson, chief engineer, and seven members of the company, left the city on the 17th.

—The Twelfth New York and the Eighty-seventh Ohio Regiments, which had been captured and paroled by the Confederates at Harper's Ferry, passed through Philadelphia on their homeward journey.

—News of the dangers and of the safety of the various Philadelphia organizations, alternately excited and relieved the city for several days after the battle of Antietam. The Corn Exchange Regiment suffered most severely, Col. Prevost being wounded and about two hundred and thirty men of the regiment killed or wounded. Col. Neill, Twenty-third Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Anderson, United States army, and Lieut.-Col. Hector Tyndale were among the wounded, and arrived in Philadelphia on the 22d. The militia who had gone to Harrisburg on the call of the Governor began to return on the 22d, their services not being required.

—A quarrel among some of the troops *en route* for Washington occurred September 23d on Washington Avenue, resulting in the wounding of some twenty soldiers. The provost marshal made some arrests and restored order.

—The President had issued a proclamation on the 24th of September, depriving persons arrested by military authority for treason of the protection of the *habeas corpus* law. The case of Isaac C. Thomas, arrested in Bucks County by the United States marshal, charged with discouraging enlistments, was brought before Judge Cadwalader on a petition for a writ of *habeas corpus*. The writ was granted and obeyed, but the marshal proposed to quash the indictment on merely proving the arrest under the President's proclamation. Judge Cadwalader, however, admitted the prisoner to bail and continued the case, in order to consider the question and give an opinion on the three points,—

1st. Has the marshal of the district any official authority to make a military arrest by virtue of his office as marshal?

2d. Has he any authority to make such an arrest as the agent of the Secretary of War in a place where the courts of the United States are open, and the course of justice unimpeded, or in a place where actual hostilities are not being waged, nor in actual military occupation?

3d. Has the President the power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* without legislative authority as to cases of persons arrested by an alleged military authority in a place where the courts of justice are unobstructed, or not in military occupation, or where actual hostilities are not pending?

On the 30th, before the judge had delivered any opinion on these points, the marshal announced that he had received orders to discharge the prisoner;

and so, without conceding that one under a military arrest by him for treason can be relieved of that arrest by a writ of *habeas corpus*, the proceedings ceased, and the case was dismissed. [1862

—Between four hundred and five hundred wounded soldiers arrived from the battle-field of Antietam, September 26th, and were taken to the military hospitals. An accident to a train containing a number of Philadelphia soldiers occurred on the Cumberland Valley Railroad near Harrisburg on the same day, causing seven deaths and injuring about forty men.

—The United States revenue-stamp law went into effect on the 1st of October. The supply proved insufficient for the demand, and much dissatisfaction resulted, especially as there was more or less doubt as to the special applicability of the law to certain cases.

—About two hundred and sixty wounded soldiers arrived from Hagerstown and Antietam on the 1st.

—The election on October 14th was very quiet and orderly, and resulted in a victory in the city for the National Union party. Mayor Henry had five thousand and eighty-eight majority, the remainder of the city ticket about three thousand majority. In the State the Democrats were successful, electing their State candidates by about five thousand majority.

Alexander Henry, who was distinguished during the war for his cool, careful, wise, and strong management of city affairs, was born in Philadelphia April 14, 1823. He was a son of John Henry, and a grandson of Alexander Henry, who, in his time, was a most prominent and honored citizen. Mr. Henry received an academical and collegiate education. He graduated with distinguished honors from Princeton, his preliminary training having been derived from local schools. After leaving college he began the study of law, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar April 13, 1844. He speedily established a remunerative law practice, and in 1856 and 1857 represented the Seventh Ward in Councils. In 1858, nominated as the standard-bearer of the People's party, composed of Whigs and Republicans, Mr. Henry became a candidate for the mayoralty. Richard Vaux was the Democratic nominee. The election, as we have seen, in May, 1858, resulted in a victory for Mr. Henry, the vote being: Henry, 33,772; Vaux, 29,039. In 1860 he was again elected, defeating John Robbins, Jr., by the following vote: Henry, 36,658; Robbins, 35,776. In 1863 he defeated Daniel M. Fox, the vote being,—Henry, 37,249; Fox, 32,161. In 1866 he declined a renomination, taking the ground that it was wrong for one man to serve in such a position too many terms, and Morton McMichael succeeded him.

During the civil war, as we have seen, he managed the city affairs with consummate ability, and under his administration the efficiency of the police force was raised to a high standard, and the reserve corps, which had been organized under his prede-

cessor, Mayor Vaux, was made an effective arm of the service.

Mr. Henry at various times held the following additional public and semi-public positions. He was trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, member of the Park Commission, director of the Fidelity Insurance, Trust, and Safe Deposit Company, and of the Philadelphia Saving-Fund Society, and inspector of the Eastern Penitentiary, which latter office he had held at the time of his decease twenty-eight consecutive years.

As a member of the State Board of Centennial Supervisors, he was an active factor in the preparatory work of the great International Exhibition as chairman of the Executive Committee; and on May 29, 1874, upon the resignation of ex-Governor Bigler, to take a seat in the Centennial Board of Finance, Mr. Henry became president of the Board of Supervisors. In this latter position he labored with great vigor and efficiency, materially aiding to secure the distinguishing success which characterized the magnificent exposition, particularly so far as Pennsylvania's exhibits and interests were concerned.

The most recent mention of Mr. Henry's name in connection with a political office occurred during the memorable struggle for the United States senatorship, which terminated in the election of John I. Mitchell. Upon several occasions Mr. Henry received a number of complimentary votes.

About four years ago, Mr. Henry's son and only child died, and the shock greatly impaired the father's health. In the spring of 1883 he visited Europe, and remained there until late in the succeeding fall. He returned from abroad much benefited in health. On Nov. 28, 1883, however, within a month from the date of his return from his European trip, he became ill, and died early in the morning of December 6th, the immediate cause of death being typhoid pneumonia.

As a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the flags on Independence Hall, the mayor's office, and a number of business establishments were placed at half-mast. Mayor King addressed a message to Councils, notifying them of the death of ex-Mayor Henry, and expressing his high appreciation of the character of the deceased. Resolutions of respect were passed by both chambers, and a joint committee was appointed to make arrangements for attending the funeral. The obsequies took place on the following Saturday at the late residence of the deceased, in Germantown, the interment being made in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Mr. Henry was a man of sterling character, commanding the respect of his fellow-citizens, and the hearty affection of his numerous friends. In early life he was married to a daughter of Comegys Paul, who survives her husband.

—Rev. William Metcalfe, said to be the oldest ordained resident minister in Philadelphia, died October 16th.

—In the contested election case of *Thompson vs. Ewing*, for the office of sheriff, the judge delivered an opinion October 18th, giving the office to Mr. Thompson. Mr. Ewing obtained a writ of *certiorari* in the Supreme Court, and in the mean time retained his office. In accordance with the decision of the lower court, Governor Curtin issued a commission to John Thompson, which was read, October 22d, in the Court of Quarter Sessions, and Mr. Thompson took the oath of office the same day. Mr. Ewing declined to give him possession of the sheriff's office until the case should have been decided by the Supreme Court, and applied to that court for an injunction to restrain Mr. Thompson from taking possession. The judges not having time to hear the case, the proceedings ceased by mutual consent to allow the case to be heard on the writ of *certiorari*.

—A new military hospital, capable of accommodating about one hundred and fifty patients, was opened at Twelfth and Buttonwood Streets on October 22d. A flag-raising was held, and the hospital was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.

—Camp Philadelphia, near Haddonfield, was selected as the mustering ground for the drafted men of Pennsylvania's quota, and on October 25th one hundred and fifty men from Bucks County went into camp there. The camp comprised thirty acres, which was afterward increased to seventy, and was very beautifully situated. By the end of the month there were nearly seven thousand men in camp. Col. McClure's regiment of volunteers being encamped on a portion of the ground. The camp was a favorite resort for Philadelphians.

—The Democrats held a jubilee in Independence Square over their recent victories in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana on October 30th. Charles J. Ingersoll was present, and addresses were made by Francis Hughes, Robert E. Monaghan, of Chester, and John O'Byrne and Samuel J. Randall, of Philadelphia.

—The commissioners for supervising the draft held a meeting on the 2d of November, at which it was decided that under the law Philadelphia's quota had been filled by voluntary enlistments, and that consequently no draft was necessary at this time. This result was received with much satisfaction by every one.

—On November 7th, Commodore Pendergrast, commandant of the navy-yard, died, aged sixty-two. He had been in the United States navy nearly fifty years. His funeral occurred on the 10th, and was attended by all the officers of the navy in port and a company of marines. The pall-bearers were Commander Ramman, Maj. Zeilin, and Capts. Adams, Ingle, and Rolando.

—The announcement, on the 9th of November, of the removal of Gen. George B. McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac created great excitement, which in the evening centred at the

Continental Hotel, where it was expected the general would arrive. It caused almost universal dissatisfaction even among those who had been considered his opponents. Newspaper comments at the time were cautious, on account of the strict censorship exercised by the government. On successive days large crowds gathered about the railroad stations when it was rumored that he was to arrive in Philadelphia, but on both days met with disappointment. Resolutions complimentary to his services were passed by Councils, and by a meeting of non-commissioned officers and privates of veteran regiments in Philadelphia.

—The fly-wheel of the large engine at the rolling-mill of William Rowland & Co., on Frankford Creek, burst November 10th, wrecking the building and killing Samuel Hamilton, an employé.

—By general agreement among the various street railways the fare was raised to six cents. It had previously been five, but the cost of materials required by them had so increased, on account of the war, as to justify this increase in fare.

—Rear-Admiral Elie A. F. Lavalette died November 18th, in his seventy-third year. He had joined the United States navy in 1812, and had consequently been in active service over fifty years. His funeral took place on the 22d.

—Brig.-Gen. Frank E. Patterson, son of Maj.-Gen. Patterson, died in camp at Fairfax Court-House November 21st, and his body was removed to Philadelphia. He was a brave and accomplished officer, had served with the United States army in the Mexican war, and was one of the first to take to Washington the regiment he then commanded. His funeral took place on the 26th, and was attended by the First Regiment Infantry Reserve Brigade, two companies of the One Hundred and Fifty-seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, the Washington Grays, a battery of two guns, Home Guard Artillery, the First City Troop, and convalescent soldiers. Many officers of the army and navy also accompanied the funeral.

—The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania quashed the writ of *certiorari*, and dissolved the injunction in the case of Thompson *vs.* Ewing for sheriff of Philadelphia on November 25th, thus affirming the decision of the lower court, and giving the office to Mr. Thompson.

—The One Hundred and Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. John Nyce, left Camp Philadelphia for Washington November 27th. It was followed by the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth and the One Hundred and Seventy-sixth on the following day.

—Capt. Benjamin Snell, the oldest shipmaster in Philadelphia, died November 29th, in his eighty-sixth year.

—On December 5th the wall of the North Broad Street Presbyterian Church fell while masons were at

work upon it, killing Jeremiah Burke, and injuring Thomas Mackney.

—The Corn Exchange Association held a [1862 meeting on December 8th, to devise measures to raise funds to relieve the suffering poor of Lancashire and other manufacturing districts of England. The destitution there was frightful, on account of the shutting down of the cotton-mills, caused by the American war. A subscription-list, which was started, received fourteen thousand dollars before the meeting adjourned. It was concluded to send, in conjunction with the cities of Boston and New York, a ship-load of provisions to be distributed among the poor.

—The United States sloop-of-war "Shenandoah" was launched at the navy-yard December 8th. She was two hundred and forty-three and one-half feet over all, thirty-eight feet four inches beam, and seventeen feet depth of hold.

—On three successive days, December 12th, 13th, and 14th, a total of fifteen hundred sick and wounded soldiers arrived.

—The strict government censorship over the news caused so little to be known concerning the battle of Fredericksburg that the wildest rumors circulated on December 14th. The excitement was intense as the news became gradually known of that disastrous battle. Col. Dennis Heenan, Lieut.-Col. St. Clair, A. Mulholland, and Lieut. S. G. Willauer, of the One Hundred and Sixteenth Regiment, who had all been wounded in the battle, arrived on the 16th, and brought partial tidings of the Philadelphia soldiers. Five hundred and twenty-five sick and wounded arrived on that day, followed by a large number on the 18th, and eight hundred and fifty on the 20th. As the Philadelphia hospitals were now crowded, all but thirty of this last detachment continued their journey to New York.

—The steamer "Niagara," with five companies of the Fiftieth Massachusetts Regiment, forming a portion of the so-called "Banks expedition," arrived in Philadelphia December 16th. The officers stated that the steamer which had been purchased by the government was in a totally unseaworthy condition. In spite of perfectly calm weather, it was so leaky that they put into the Delaware breakwater, where a slight breeze damaged her upper works and compelled her to come to Philadelphia. Her timbers were entirely rotten, and her upper works excessively frail. The United States inspector condemned her on the following day, and the men were given temporary quarters at the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon.

—On December 23d over three hundred wounded soldiers arrived. On the following day one of the new monitors, which had been built at Wilmington, arrived at the navy-yard to take in stores; and her appearance caused much curiosity.

—On the 30th of December, James Cox, for nineteen years president of the Lehigh Navigation Company, died.

—Schofield's large woolen-mill, on Willow below Thirteenth Street, was destroyed by fire on the last day of the year, causing a loss of eighteen thousand dollars. Mrs. McCauley was burned to death.

1863] —On the organization of Councils, Jan.

5th, both political parties claimed a majority. In Select Councils the Democrats, with the assistance of Mr. Brightly, elected the president, Mr. Lynd (Brightly's candidate), and officers after a prolonged dead-lock. In Common Council each political party organized, both claiming a quorum, and electing officers. Both these bodies sent messengers to the mayor, but he refused to recognize either of them on the ground that some of the seats in each of these bodies were contested, and that omitting these neither of them had a quorum of members. It is unnecessary to attempt to unravel the legal complication to which this action of the Councils gave rise. For several days both parties met at the same hour, and a ridiculous farce of two presidents and two bodies, both claiming to pass resolutions and appoint committees, was indulged in. By the decision of the court the matter was finally adjusted, and Mr. Kerr (Democrat) elected president.

—An explosion occurred at the Bridesburg arsenal, on January 7th, by which eleven men were seriously burned.

—The body of Maj. Thomas Hawskworth of the Sixty-eighth Regiment, who died on the 6th from the effects of wounds received at Fredericksburg, lay in state at Independence Hall. He was buried on the 11th with military honors.

—On January 10th Col. C. Buchanan Cross, whose bold attempt to escape from the penitentiary has already been described, applied to the courts for a discharge on the ground that the Governor's pardon was legal, although issued on fraudulent grounds, and that therefore his detention was illegal. The pardon, however, had never been delivered, and was recalled by the Governor. The court held the matter under advisement, but finally refused the application.

—A bold robbery of five thousand dollars in gold was perpetrated by a beggar at the office of Jay Cooke & Co., bankers, on the 19th of January. The thief was captured the same day, and all but one hundred and sixty dollars recovered.

—The new Chestnut Street Theatre, on Chestnut Street near Twelfth, was opened for the first time on the evening of January 26th. Edwin Forrest played "Virginius," with McCullough as "Icilius." The house was crowded, the manager having received over eight thousand dollars in premiums for reserved seats.

—On January 28th the provost-general caused the arrest of Albert D. Boileau, publisher and editor of the *Evening Journal*, and took him to Fort McHenry, Baltimore, where he was confined. The provost guard seized the office, and the afternoon edition of the paper was suppressed. On the following day Judge

Ludlow charged the grand jury concerning the "abduction," directing them to make inquiry as to the cause and legality of the arrest. The grand jury summoned the provost, Gen. Montgomery, and his marshals, who made the arrest, and other witnesses. On January 30th they made a special presentment detailing all the particulars of the affair. By this it appeared that the *Evening Journal* had been suppressed and its editor arrested by command of Maj.-Gen. Schenck, transmitted to Provost-Gen. Montgomery, and executed by Howard Livingstone, and to Gen. Montgomery and Lieut. Michael Coster, of the provost guard, on account of an editorial headed "Davis' Message." This editorial, it was alleged, was highly eulogistic of the Confederate President's message to the Confederate Congress as well as of Davis himself, and drew unfavorable comparisons to President Lincoln. Judge Ludlow directed the district attorney to examine the presentment and frame such bills of indictment as he might find necessary to prevent infraction of the laws of Pennsylvania and of the Constitution of the United States. On the following day Judge Allison, in charging the grand jury of the February term, reviewed Judge Ludlow's actions, which he described as surpassing his powers. He did not touch upon the merits of the original charge, but held that Judge Ludlow had no power to charge the grand jury to examine into a matter not brought before its notice by a regular channel. He therefore directed the grand jury to ignore all bills of indictment concerning the case. On the 1st of February, however, Mr. Boileau wrote an apologetic letter promising to conduct his paper more moderately in the future, and was thereupon released.

—Hon. Hopewell Hepburn, for many years associate judge of the District Court at Pittsburgh, died February 14th. After retiring from the bench he practiced law up to the time of his death.

—Washington's birthday was celebrated on Monday, February 23d, with appropriate ceremonies. The new post-office building, on Chestnut Street below Fifth, was opened on that day for public inspection, and taken possession of by the post-office authorities. There were present Postmaster-General Blair, Governor Curtin, Mayor Henry, Justices Strong, Read, and Thompson, members of the Corn Exchange, and others. A. J. Cattell, of the Corn Exchange, presided. Mr. Blair made an address on receiving the building, and was answered by Mr. Cattell, who returned the thanks of the city to the Post-Office Department for the improvement. Late in the afternoon a banquet was given at the Girard House. The post-office was opened for the transaction of business on the 27th, and was the first owned by the United States in the city, the department having previously rented apartments in the Exchange building and elsewhere. It was a brick building faced with marble, and continued in use until 1884, when

the building at Ninth and Chestnut being finished, it was taken possession of.

—On the 27th of February Dr. R. Bournonville, a native of Lyons, France, but for thirty-five years a resident and practitioner of the city, died at an advanced age.

—Congressmen Vallandigham and Pendleton, of Ohio, arrived March 6th, and were serenaded at the Girard House. Mr. Vallandigham attempted to deliver a speech in support of his opinions concerning arbitration and peace, but was very frequently interrupted by the mixed political character of his audience.

—On the 7th an important seizure of contraband goods was made by the chief of police, at the Adams Express Company's office.

—The National Union Club of Philadelphia was organized March 11th, and the event was made the occasion of a grand Union festival. Governor Curtin presided, and many prominent men were present. Addresses were made by Governor Curtin, Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, H. B. Wright, B. H. Brewster, and Governor Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee.

—On March 14th, Charles J. Ingersoll delivered the first of a series of lectures on politics before the Democratic Club, on the subject of "State Rights."

—A boiler in the forge-shop of the boiler-works of Richard Norris & Sons exploded March 16th, killing William Rodgers, the engineer.

—The chief of police, Benjamin Franklin, sent to Fort Delaware W. Crawford, on the 1st of April, charged with attempting to smuggle contraband goods into the rebellious States. Four cases were captured at the Adams Express office filled with contraband articles.

—A "signal-train" of six cars, fitted up with the newest telegraphic instruments and apparatus for signaling, which had been built in Philadelphia, was dispatched to Gen. Rosecrans on the 8th.

—On the 9th of April, Philip Huber, Augustus F. Illig, Gabriel Filbert, and Harrison Oxensider were brought before the United States Commissioner on complaint of William Y. Lyons, charged with belonging to a secret organization for the purpose of opposing the government of the United States. All the parties were well known in and about Reading, Pa., where the alleged meeting was said to have occurred. The testimony elicited was very doubtful as to the intent of the organization, and after a prolonged examination all but Huber were released. The trial excited a great deal of bitter feeling and much excitement.

—The new Ericsson monitor built at Chester made her trial trip the following day, and returned for her stores.

—A fire at Allison & Murphy's car-factory, at Ninth and Market Streets, May 2d, resulted in a loss of one hundred thousand dollars.

—Mr. Cyrus W. Field arrived, and addressed a

meeting of prominent citizens at the Board of Trade rooms, May 11th, on the feasibility and advantages of an Atlantic cable. He was listened to with much interest, and a committee appointed to aid the project. [1863]

—The United States transport steamer "Wyalusing" was launched from Cramp's ship-yard May 12th. On the 16th the United States gun-boat "Pontiac" was launched at the yard of Birley, Hillman & Co.

—On the 1st of June the Democrats held a mass-meeting in Independence Square to protest against the violation of the Constitution witnessed by the arrest and court-martialing of Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, on the charge of "implied treason." The assembly is reported as one of the largest ever seen in that inclosure. Ellis Lewis was elected chairman. The speeches were very bitter, and the resolutions denounced the arrest as a violation of the Constitution. They declared, however, the proper and legal remedy to be in an appeal to the ballot-box, and deprecated any violence or appeal to force of arms as likely to do more harm than good. Col. Charles J. Biddle declared the arrest to be on a charge, the trial by a tribunal, and the verdict of a character never before known to the laws of the United States. Among the speakers were ex-Governor William Bigler, Col. Charles J. Biddle, Peter McCall, George W. Biddle, and Charles Buckwalter. The meeting was undisturbed, but some slight disturbance occurred after it adjourned.

—Col. J. Richter Jones, Fifty-eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, was buried June 3d, after lying in state in Independence Hall, with appropriate military ceremonies. The First Regiment Reserve Brigade, Companies A, C, and D of the First Regiment Artillery, the Philadelphia Home Guard, the Provost Guard, the Invalid Corps, and a squadron of Connecticut Cavalry served as an escort.

—On June 3d the great grain-elevator of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company at the foot of Washington Avenue was put in operation for the first time.

—F. M. Drexel, the founder of the great banking-house, was run over June 5th by the cars on the Reading Railroad, and died the same day.

—What was described as the longest train of passenger cars that ever entered the city arrived June 9th with two thousand four hundred Confederate prisoners; seven hundred and sixty-six more arrived on the 14th under proper guard. The prisoners were conveyed to Fort Delaware by steamer.

—The Democrats of Ohio had nominated Vallandigham for Governor in the ensuing election, and this news, which was published on the 12th, created much excitement in Philadelphia, as it was regarded by some as a direct assault upon the United States government which had sentenced him to exile, and by others as a courageous vindication of the rights of free speech to which he was held to be a martyr. The *Public Ledger*, commenting on this "martyr-

dom," says, "It was a great political blunder such as a military man might commit heedlessly, but into which a shrewd politician ought not [1863] to have fallen; to raise a new popular issue when the administration had possession of the popular feeling, and one so repugnant to the feeling of a free people as the suppression, by military authority, of free speech and trial by jury for offenses against the civil law." The issue was fortunately shifted to the support or opposition to the general government in the prosecution of the war. Vallandigham was badly defeated, and thus a most unfortunate complication which might have involved the whole country was prevented from interfering with the question of the day.

—The news that Lee was advancing into Maryland arrived simultaneously with the proclamation of President Lincoln calling for one hundred thousand men, and apportioning fifty thousand as Pennsylvania's quota, and created intense excitement. Governor Curtin issued a proclamation June 15th calling for fifty thousand volunteers for six months, which was afterward modified to a call for volunteers for the emergency. A special meeting of Councils was called, and they immediately passed a resolution granting five hundred thousand dollars to be used by the mayor, with the assistance of the Committee of Defense and Protection, to defend the State, and asking the Governor to proclaim martial law. The mayor issued a proclamation calling upon business men to close their places of business, and with their employés to connect themselves with the various military organizations. At three P.M., on the receipt of urgent telegrams from Governor Curtin, the State-House bell rang out a general alarm. In a very few minutes Chestnut Street was packed with an excited crowd, centring at the State-House. The courts were adjourned, business places deserted, and every one crowded to the State-House. Such a scene of apprehension and alarm was never before witnessed in the city. An impromptu meeting was at once organized, and from a table on the State-House pavement the crowd were addressed and the situation explained to them by Col. Small, William B. Mann, Col. Neff, and others. Minute-men were called for, and the transportation to Harrisburg of those willing to go was commenced at once and continued through the night. News was received during the progress of the meeting that two of the New Jersey regiments, which had just returned home, had re-enlisted for the emergency and were on their way. At eight P.M. the Seventh New York Regiment arrived from New York on their way to Harrisburg. The excitement on the following day was unabated, and the news was scarcely less alarming. By the 18th the excitement had in a measure subsided, but the recruiting of minute-men continued. From that time until the battle of Gettysburg it is impossible to describe the state of anxiety that existed. The fact that the Confederates were on Pennsylvania

soil and actually threatening the State capital, that the Army of the Potomac was far away in Virginia, that neither natural ramparts nor any considerable or veteran forces existed between the Confederates and our city, conspired to produce a feeling of depression and alarm scarcely to be conceived. The optimist, who hoped that the Confederate advance was not so serious as it was made to appear, was confronted everywhere with tangible signs of the gravity of the situation. One of the curious sights which confounded the hopeful man was the appearance of a tremendous concentration of the rolling-stock of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which was hurried from the West to Philadelphia as rapidly as possible.

In the mean time the passage of troops homeward from the seat of war continued. Some effort was made to detain them, but it succeeded only in a few cases. The Fifteenth New York and the Thirtieth and Thirty-first New Jersey passed through on the 17th, the Sixty-ninth, Seventy-eighth, and Fifty-second New York on the 23d, the Sixth and the Thirtieth New York on the 24th, and the Fifty-fifth New York on the 25th. Two regiments, the Twenty-second and Twenty-third New Jersey, and the Seventh New York went at once to Harrisburg.

As the Confederate approach became more and more imminent, the mayor issued a proclamation on the 29th of June for all citizens not able to leave the city to enroll themselves for home defense. The famous "fortifications," which served so long not for the defense but for the ridicule of the city, were commenced on the northern and western approaches. Maj.-Gen. N. J. T. Dana was appointed to take charge of the defenses and to organize the Home Guard. By the 1st of July all the principal places of business were closed, and the preparation for the defense and protection of the city was the only business of the hour. Governor Curtin arrived on the 1st to stimulate the citizens to renewed exertion, and made perhaps the most stirring appeal uttered during the war from the balcony of the Continental Hotel. His entreaty was not unsuccessful, as over five thousand men enlisted for the emergency on that day.

The rumors of the great battle of Gettysburg began slowly to arrive, and their contradictory and uncertain character roused excitement and alarm to a pitch never before seen. The 4th of July passed in gloomy uncertainty, the wildest rumors prevailing. Of course there could be no public celebration of that usually joyous anniversary. Only enrollment and enlistment continued, and now and then a fresh bulletin from the very unreliable "reliable correspondent" from the seat of war. Indeed, these bulletins were most depressing, for they began to tell now of the particulars of Reynolds' repulse on the first day of the battle. But on the 5th of July the news of the retreat of Lee's army was made certain by the official dispatches of Gen. Meade, and by the arrival of many of the wounded from the battle-field. The relief from the suspense now gave rise

to feelings of thankfulness mingled with great anxiety for the safety of the Philadelphia soldiers engaged in that great struggle. On the 5th Maj.-Gen. W. S. Hancock arrived, having been wounded in the leg, and with him five hundred wounded soldiers. They were followed on the 6th by another detachment of five hundred, and the wounded continued to arrive daily in great numbers for nearly a week. On the 9th over two thousand arrived, and on the 12th eight hundred more.

On the 7th came the news of the fall of Vicksburg, and caused a revival of the excitement and joy. At two o'clock the State-House bell rang out merrily, cannon were fired, and the steam whistles and hose-carriage bells combined to express the people's joy at this additional victory. An immense crowd surged before Independence Hall cheering and rejoicing. The remainder of the day was given up to holiday rejoicing. The *Public Ledger* of the 8th says, "Never since the commencement of the Rebellion were the people of Philadelphia so excited and filled with joy as yesterday on the receipt of Admiral Porter's official announcement of the surrender of Vicksburg. The news following so soon on the brilliant victory of Gen. Meade electrified everybody. In addition to the spontaneous celebration at the State-House, at two o'clock, when the bells were rung and the cannon fired, there were exhibitions of the joy of the people all over the city, the news having spread with wonderful rapidity." At five o'clock occurred a most interesting ceremony. About five hundred members of the Union League assembled at their headquarters, and, headed by Birgfeld's band, marched to Independence Square. A large crowd were soon attracted, and the Rev. Dr. Boardman invoked the blessing of Almighty God, and recognized His hand in the recent glorious victories. Charles Gibbons followed with a patriotic address. At the conclusion of Mr. Gibbons' speech the band, which had been stationed in the steeple, gave "Old Hundred," and the enormous crowd joined in singing it, producing a most impressive effect. Rev. Kingston Goddard dismissed the people with a benediction. In the evening a number of establishments were illuminated.

—On the 9th the President issued a proclamation for a draft of three hundred thousand men to serve for three years. On the 15th the draft, under the President's proclamation, commenced in the Fourteenth Ward. A great deal of interest was excited, but there was no trouble of any kind. The drawing was made in the open air at Broad and Spring Garden Streets, and was finished in about three hours. The draft continued daily, until August 5th, in the various wards of the city, and was never interrupted by the slightest disturbance. Occasionally incidents would occur to cause considerable merriment, as when, as occurred in one case, the drawer unfolded his own name.

—The emergency troops from New Jersey and New

York commenced to pass through the city for their homes on July 16th. Some had been called on by the government to suppress the draft riots in New York City on July 11th. These with [1863 Philadelphia troops and others from Washington whose terms of service had expired, filled the city with soldiers for several days. On the 18th the Forty-sixth Pennsylvania, the Tenth New Jersey, and the One Hundred and Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania arrived. On the 19th the Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh, and the Twenty-second New York, and the Fifty-first Massachusetts, and Fourteenth Vermont Regiments passed through. On the 20th the Forty-third and Forty-sixth Massachusetts and the Sixth New York, and on the 22d the Sixty-ninth New York followed them.

—Col. William B. Thomas' regiment, with the Gray Reserves and the Blue Reserves, which had all enlisted for the emergency, returned to the city on the 27th, and were enthusiastically received. Stands of regimental and national colors were presented to each of the last-named regiments in Independence Square, with appropriate addresses and ceremonies.

—On August 1st the One Hundred and Seventy-fifth Pennsylvania, the Fifth Wisconsin, the Twentieth Indiana, and the One Hundred and Seventy-fourth Pennsylvania arrived, and all but the last regiment passed through for their homes. It was impossible to procure railroad accommodation for the last regiment, and it remained at the Volunteer Refreshment Saloon until the following day.

—The Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul was opened for public inspection on August 6th, and Bishop Wood made an address to the visitors, numbering about two thousand. The cathedral was unfinished, but it presented a most imposing appearance.

—On the 9th of August, William Wright, for many years a member of the firm of Wright & Hunter, and the president of the West Philadelphia Passenger Railway, died.

—The Keystone Battery returned to the city on the 14th, followed a week later by the Second Keystone Battery.

—A collision occurred at Frankford road and York Street between a train on the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad and a Second Street Railway car on the 9th, by which A. J. Clay was killed and several persons injured.

—The German Volksfest was held at Washington Retreat on August 24th, and was the largest for many years.

—On August 27th a conflict occurred between some of the conscripts at Camp Philadelphia and some of the neighboring farmers, on whose lands they had been trespassing. One of the farmers, William Baines, was shot and instantly killed.

—In a suit brought to claim exemption from the draft, Judge Cadwalader, in the United States Dis-

trict Court, affirmed on September 9th the constitutionality of the conscription act.

—A destructive fire broke out in the store-houses at the navy-yard on the 13th, which destroyed one hundred thousand dollars of government property.

—The President had issued a proclamation suspending the operation of the *habeas corpus* law in the case of all drafted men. In a case brought before the United States District Court, on September 18th, Judge Cadwalader affirmed its constitutionality, and its application to all drafted men, even though not yet summoned by the provost marshal.

—Francis J. Grund, a well-known journalist and politician, died suddenly on the evening of September 29th. Mr. Grund had been the editor of the *Age*, a Democratic paper, but on account of not agreeing with the publishers in politics, resigned. Mr. Grund was a highly educated man, was our representative in Havre and Antwerp for many years, and was universally respected.

—The rebel ram "Atlanta" and her captor, the steam-frigate "Powhatan," Capt. Steadman, arrived at the navy-yard October 2d.

—The State election held in October was for State senator, representatives, mayor and city officers, and councilmen. The contest was altogether on national issues, and was marked by some curious features. Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, had in 1861 issued an address in favor of the right of slavery. This document was circulated in pamphlet form as a "campaign document" by the Democrats, and called forth a protest signed by Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, and about thirty Philadelphia clergymen. This in turn called forth a response from Bishop Hopkins, and all were utilized by the respective party leaders.

—On the 10th of October, Governor Curtin arrived, and was escorted by about fifteen hundred horsemen and two thousand foot of the Union League from the railroad depot to Independence Square, where he made an address. After the meeting the League made a torchlight procession, ending in a display of fire-works at Penn Square.

—The election on the 13th was comparatively quiet, although there were many arrests. The city gave a larger majority than ever to all the Union candidates except in a few wards, the majorities ranging from 6000 to 7200. The Unionists had a majority in both branches of Councils, and elected the State senator and thirteen out of the seventeen representatives.

—Dummy-engines commenced to run for the first time on November 7th from Berks Street to Frankford. They proved very satisfactory.

—On November 11th the Supreme Court rendered a decision in the case of three drafted men, who had prayed for an injunction to prevent the provost marshal and the draft commissioners from taking them to the army, on the ground that the conscription act

was unconstitutional. The decision was rendered on four points, and affirmed,—

1st. That the power of Congress to raise and support armies does not include the power to draft the militia of the States.

2d. That the power of Congress to call out the militia cannot be exercised in the form of this enactment.

3d. That a citizen of Pennsylvania cannot be subjected to the rules and articles of war until he is in actual military service.

4th. That he is not placed in such actual service when his name has been drawn from the wheel and ten days' notice thereof has been served upon him.

Chief Justice Woodward's decision continues: "The Constitution of the United States defines how the militia is to be called forth to repress insurrection and to repel invasion, and requires that they shall be officered by the respective States. The act of Congress does not call forth the militia under the above provision, but drafts them into the military service of the United States. . . . When a State is called upon for its quota of militia it may determine by lot who of the whole number of enrolled militia shall answer the call, and thus State drafts are quite regular, but a Congressional draft to suppress insurrection is an innovation that has no warrant in the history or text of the Constitution. Either such a law or the Constitution must be set aside. They cannot stand together."

Justices Woodward, Lowrie, and Thompson affirmed the decision, Justices Read and Strong dissenting. It was expected that the case would be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, but such was not its termination.

—November 19th was observed as a fast-day on account of the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg. The flags were half-masted throughout the city, and very many citizens were present at the ceremonies.

—Thanksgiving-day was celebrated with more than usual joy on account of the fall of Chattanooga, which was announced on that day.

—The President's message, which was received on the 10th, occasioned a good deal of comment, especially the clause referring to the manner of reconstruction to be allowed in the rebellious States.

—The Twenty-ninth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers returned home December 23d on thirty days' furlough, having re-enlisted for three years. Their reception was most enthusiastic. They were escorted to the National Guards' Hall and given a collation before being dismissed.

—On the same day the western end of Gray's Ferry bridge was destroyed by fire. The loss was about five thousand dollars.

—On December 30th, Townsend Sharpless, a well-known and much-respected member of the Society of Friends, died, aged seventy-one years. He was the

founder of the firm of Sharpless & Sons, and a director of the Apprentices' Library Company.

1864.—The Sixty-seventh New York Regiment arrived on its way home on the 5th of January, and was escorted to the Refreshment Saloon by the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. McLean, and Birgfeld's band. On the 8th the Ninety-first Pennsylvania, which had re-enlisted and returned on furlough, arrived. The military of the city served as escort, and the reception was very hearty. They were followed by Col. Geary's old regiment, the Twenty-eighth, which had also re-enlisted, on the 10th. Owing to a misunderstanding, no formal reception was given them, but an immense crowd welcomed them home.

—On the 12th of January, Gen. Meade, who was on a visit to the city, was serenaded, and responded in a brief speech. Admiral Dupont, who was with him, refused to speak, saying he was a man of action rather than words.

—A destructive fire occurred on January 14th, which totally destroyed the New Market drug-mill, belonging to N. S. Thomas, at Germantown road and New Market Street. The loss was over fifty thousand dollars.

—A meeting of merchants and manufacturers was held on January 15th to consider the subject of a transatlantic steamship line between Philadelphia and Liverpool. The Pennsylvania Railroad promised to give wharfage and accommodations free if five hundred thousand dollars were subscribed to the project, and to enter into a mutual arrangement with the steamship company in regard to carrying passengers and freight. A resolution was adopted accepting the proposition of the railroad company, and to appoint a committee to solicit subscriptions to the desired amount. One hundred and one thousand dollars was subscribed on the spot.

—On Dec. 30, 1863, a motion had been made before the Supreme Court to dissolve the injunction placed by the court on the draft commissioners in November. The draft commissioners were represented by Judge Knox, who argued for the constitutionality of the conscription act. In the mean time Justice Lowrie had resigned, and his place was filled by Justice Agnew. On January 16th the court rendered its decision dissolving the injunction and affirming the constitutionality of the law. Each of the judges delivered an opinion, Justices Strong, Agnew, and Read in the affirmative, Justices Woodward and Thompson dissenting. Judge Agnew, reviewing the constitutionality of the law, held "that these United States are a nation and sovereign in the powers granted them. They possess all the functions of a nation in the law-making, executing, and judging powers. A nation carries with it the inherent power to carry on war. The power to declare war necessarily carries with it the power to carry it on, and this implies the means. The right to the means carries [with it] all

the means in the possession of the nation. But the power to carry on war and to call the requisite force into service inherently carries with it the power to coerce or draft. A nation with-
[1864] out the power to draw forces into the field, in fact, would not possess the power to carry on war. The power of war without the essential means is really no power,—it is a solecism. Voluntary enlistment is founded on a contract. A power to command differs essentially from a power to contract. The former flows from authority, the latter from assent. The power to command implies a duty to obey, but the essential element of a contract is freedom of assent or dissent. It is clear, therefore, that the power to make war without the power to command troops into the field is impotent; in point of fact, [it] is no governmental power, because it lacks the authority to execute itself."

Chief Justice Woodward, in his decision, reiterated his views as to the unconstitutionality of the law as given in his previous decision, and also reviewed the legal points in reopening a case without further testimony before a court which had already adjudicated concerning it.

—The Eighth Regiment Colored Volunteers left the city January 16th for the seat of war.

—The Seventy-fifth Regiment returned from the West on the 24th, and was given a reception at the Turner Hall, on Third Street. It was followed on the 26th by the Seventy-third Regiment, which had re-enlisted. At the reception given them at Turner Hall they were formally welcomed by Dr. Uhler, of Select Council. The Curtin Light Guards, One Hundred and Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, returned on the 30th, and on the 4th of February the Ninety-eighth Regiment, Col. John F. Ballier, reached the city. Both these regiments had re-enlisted, and had returned to recruit. Col. Ballier's regiment was composed of Germans, and their reception in the Northern Liberties was very enthusiastic.

—On the 1st of February, President Lincoln issued a proclamation increasing the draft ordered in July to five hundred thousand men. By this order Philadelphia's quota was over thirteen thousand. Vigorous efforts were made by citizens in the various wards to raise this number by volunteering, and with considerable success.

—A public reception was given to Maj.-Gen. Meade by the Councils of the city on February 9th. He was welcomed by Mayor Henry in a suitable address, to which the general briefly responded. Many thousands pressed to see him, but his health being still delicate, it was necessary to bring the ceremonies to a conclusion.

George Gordon Meade, descended from an old Philadelphia family, was, by his military education, almost a stranger in Philadelphia until after the civil war had demonstrated his remarkable ability in the line of his profession. His father, Richard W. Meade,

was American consul and navy agent at Cadiz, in Spain, and there George was born on Dec. 31, 1815.

After the return of his parents to Philadelphia, he was sent to a school in Georgetown,

1864] D. C., then taught by Hon. S. P. Chase, afterward chief justice of the United States. He was afterward a student at Mount Airy military academy near Philadelphia, and in 1831 entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, where he graduated on July 1, 1835. He entered the army as brevet second lieutenant in the Third Artillery, and served in the Seminole war in Florida. He was promoted to a full lieutenant at the end of a year. During the service his health became seriously impaired, and on Oct. 26, 1836, he resigned his commission in the army. After

his recovery he went into the civil service of the government as engineer, surveying the Mississippi Delta, the Texas boundary, and the northeastern boundary of the United States, in 1837 and 1838. On May 19, 1842, he re-entered the army as second lieutenant of topographical engineers, and was employed in the great survey from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico. When the Mexican war broke out he was on the staff of Gen. Taylor, in Texas, and participated in the earlier battles of that war, and distinguished himself in the actions of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey. He afterward served on the staff of Gen. Scott. For his gallant services at Monterey the government promoted him to the brevet rank of first lieutenant, dating from Sept. 23, 1846, and upon his return home the citizens of Philadelphia presented him with a fine sword. After the war he was engaged as an engineer on several public works, always using much skill and judgment. On Aug. 4, 1851, he was made first lieutenant, and May 19, 1856, promoted captain for fourteen years' continuous service.

At the time hostilities commenced Capt. Meade was in charge of the surveys of the Great Lakes, with headquarters at Detroit, Mich., and was immediately ordered to Washington. On August 31, 1861, he was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers, and took command of the Second Brigade of the Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps. His life then became one of incessant activity and most

valuable service until the end of the war. In the battles of the Virginia Peninsula, in June, 1862, he was conspicuous, and was severely wounded at Glendale, June 30th. At the terrible battle of Antietam, on September 17th, he commanded Gen. Hooker's corps of the Army of the Potomac. On November 29th of that year he was commissioned a major-general of volunteers. He was active in the campaign in Virginia late in the year, and in the battles at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville he commanded the Fifth Corps. At Frederick, Md., on the 28th of June, 1863, when the Union army was falling back before the advance of Gen. Lee, he was placed at the head of the Army of the Potomac, and three days thereafter the great battle of Gettysburg opened, which

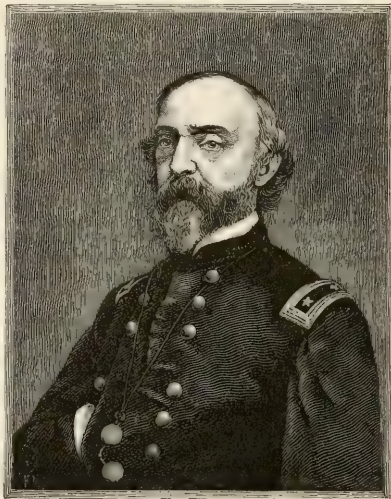
he gained, and turned the tide of war in favor of the Union. On June 18, 1862, he was promoted to major of the United States army, and on July 3, 1863, to brigadier-general, and on Aug. 18, 1864, to major-general.

He continued in command of the Army of the Potomac after April, 1864, under direction of Gen. Grant as commander-in-chief of the armies, until the close of the war, showing great skill and courage in the battles from the sanguinary one in the Wilderness until the surrender of Gen. Lee, April 9, 1865.

After the close of the war he was assigned to the command of the Military Division of the Atlantic; but in 1868 he was transferred to that of the Third Military District, comprising Georgia, Florida, and Ala-

bama. In the following year he returned to the command of the Atlantic Division, with headquarters at Philadelphia. He then lived in a house on Delancey Place, presented to his wife—a daughter of Hon. John Sergeant—by his fellow-citizens, in grateful recognition of his eminent ability and services devoted to the welfare of his country.

For several years before his death, which occurred on Wednesday evening, Nov. 6, 1872, he was an efficient commissioner of Fairmount Park. The funeral took place at St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church on Monday, the 11th of November. The public and private honors paid to the remains of the deceased were most conspicuous. General-in-chief William T. Sherman officially announced his



Gen. G. Meade

death to the army, and directed Gen. McDowell to make arrangements for his funeral at the public expense, consulting Mrs. Meade in everything, "whose wishes," Sherman said, "shall be sacred." All business in the city was suspended. There was an immense military and civic procession. The President of the United States, with several of his cabinet ministers, were present, so also was the Governor of Pennsylvania and his staff, the mayor and Councils of the city, and a very large number of army officers and distinguished citizens. The pall-bearers were Lieut.-Gen. Sheridan, Maj.-Gens. Humphreys, Parke, and Wright, of the army, and Rear-Admirals Turner and Lardner, and Commodores Scott and Mullaney, of the navy. The pastor of General Meade (Rev. Dr. Hoffman) officiated. Bishops Whipple, Odenheimer, and Stevens, and about twenty local clergymen were present, and a funeral dirge was played by bands of musicians. The body was deposited in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

—The captured rebel ram "Atlanta," which had arrived October 2d, having been fitted up at the navy-yard, sailed February 11th as the United States gun-boat "Atlanta."

—On the 12th the Ninety-ninth Regiment, Col. Leidy, and the Eighty-eighth, Col. Wagner, arrived, and were given a cordial welcome.

—The Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives visited League Island and Chester on the 13th, to examine the relative advantages of sites for a naval station for the building of iron-clads. The committee were entertained at a banquet in the evening.

—The furlough of the Ninety-first Regiment having expired, they left the city on the 16th.

—George A. Coffey, United States district attorney, died on February 20th. Mr. Coffey was a native of Indiana, had studied for the ministry, but had taken up law later in life. He had been district attorney for about two years.

—Washington's birthday was celebrated with more than usual enthusiasm. A parade was made by all the military of the city, including the Blue and the Gray Reserves and other Home Guard organizations, the veteran troops home on furlough, the invalid corps, and the newly-recruited soldiers. The parade was reviewed by Maj.-Gen. Hancock and his staff. On the same day the veterans of 1812 held their usual reunion.

—On the following day the One Hundred and Eighty-third Regiment, Col. McLean, left for the war.

—Maj.-Gen. Hancock, having recovered from his wound, was given a public reception by Councils in Independence Hall. The general was welcomed by Mayor Henry, and made a brief reply.

—On the 14th, Frederick Brown, druggist, died. He had been established at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets for more than forty years.

—The time-honored custom of ringing the State-House bell for alarms of fire was abolished by Mayor Henry on the 1st of March.

—About one thousand rebel prisoners, on [1864] their way from Camp Chase, Ohio, to Fort Delaware, passed through the city on March 2d.

—The Sixty-ninth Regiment, having re-enlisted for the war, returned home on March 7th, on furlough, to recruit their ranks. Only about one hundred and fifty men remained in the regiment, which had served for three years through most of the battles in Virginia. The regiment was entertained in the Refreshment Saloon, and afterward dismissed at Independence Square. The Twelfth Pennsylvania Cavalry, which had also re-enlisted, returned on the 10th. They were welcomed home by Mr. Hoffman, of the committee of Select Council, and entertained at the Refreshment Saloon. They were followed on the 13th by the Fifty-sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, which had been recruited from all over the State. The Fifty-sixth made its headquarters in this city, and was given a reception on the day after its arrival, before the departure of the various companies to their homes. This regiment also re-enlisted.

—The Supreme Court rendered, on March 14th, two decisions in two cases where money was sought to be recovered from the city for services ordered by departments of the city government which had been issued without the order or sanction of Councils. The court decided in both cases that the expenditures were illegal, and that Councils, and Councils alone, had the right to legally appropriate the city's money, and that consequently the city was not liable for those debts.

—On the 15th the President issued a proclamation for a draft of two hundred thousand men as soon after April 15th as possible. An uncertainty existed as to the extent of Philadelphia's quota under this call, but recruiting was stimulated in the hopes of avoiding it.

—Several hundred Confederate officers passed through the city from Camp Chase, Ohio, to Fort Delaware on the 17th. They formed a marked contrast to the squalid condition of the captive privates as usually seen.

—The gun-boat "Yankee," five hundred tons burden, was launched at the navy-yard March 19th. She was one hundred and eighty feet long, twenty-nine feet beam, and twelve feet depth of hold.

—The furlough of the Seventy-third Pennsylvania Regiment having expired, it left the city in detachments on the 19th.

—On the same day Dr. Franklin Bache, the learned author of the "United States Dispensatory," and one of the oldest physicians in the city, died. Dr. Bache was a descendant of Benjamin Franklin. He had occupied for many years the chair of Chemistry in the Jefferson Medical College, had been president of the American Philosophical Society, and was con-

nected with many of the learned and charitable societies of Philadelphia and other cities.

—In a few days after Dr. Bache's death, **1864** on March 24th, Dr. John Redman Coxe, also a famous and aged physician, died, aged ninety-one years. He had been port physician, physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and professor of chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Coxe's name is illustrious as having been one of the first to introduce vaccination into this country. Perhaps "Coxe's Hive Syrup," so familiar to domestic medicine, has done more to make his name remembered than his scientific achievements.

—About five hundred rebel prisoners passed through the city on March 21st, from Indianapolis, Ind., for Fort Delaware. On the journey some of the prisoners attempted to escape by cutting through the floor of the car. The guard fired upon them, dangerously wounding one.

—The Twenty-fifth Ohio Regiment passed through the city, on March 21st, for the seat of war, followed by the Fifty-sixth Massachusetts, on the 22d, and the Twenty-fourth Maine on the 23d. While the Massachusetts regiment was being entertained at the Refreshment Saloon, some of the men obtained liquor from a neighboring tavern. The colonel of the regiment thereupon raided the tavern, destroyed the stock of liquor, and carried the proprietor, Henry Brown, and his bar-tender, in irons to Baltimore. They were there released by the provost marshal and allowed to return home.

—The Sixty-seventh Regiment, Col. Staunton, returned from the war on April 5th, and were given a reception at the Refreshment Saloon.

—A boiler exploded at Merrick & Son's foundry, at Fifth and Federal Streets, on the 6th, killing Daniel McLaughlin, the engineer, Patrick Brennan, fireman, John Webb, John Dougherty, James McGowen, Jabel Wisner, Edward Bannen, and Alexander Ferris, and wounding thirteen others. The boiler was a new one, built at the foundry.

—The monitor "Saugus," Capt. Calhoun, arrived on the same day from Wilmington, Del., where she had been built, and came to the navy-yard to receive her stores.

—The Twelfth Pennsylvania Cavalry, Col. L. B. Pierce, and the Forty-third United States Colored Regiment, both left the city on the 18th.

—The candle- and oil-factory of Grant & Co., at Twenty-third and Hamilton Streets, was destroyed by fire on the 20th. Loss seventy-five thousand dollars.

—A committee of Councils, appointed to visit Washington to ascertain the proper quota of men due by Philadelphia under the last drafts of the President, made a report on the 21st, by which it appeared that while some of the wards had more than filled their quota, others were slightly deficient. The committee recommended that the wards be requested to transfer the excess to the deficient wards, so that the

entire city might avoid the draft. This arrangement being accepted by the government, it was adopted by all except the Twenty-fifth Ward in the Fifth Congressional District, where a draft for three hundred men was held on June 1st. The Fifth Congressional District included a portion of Bucks County as well as the Twenty-fifth Ward.

—On April 23d the Thirty-second Colored Regiment, the Fourth and Eighth Regular Infantry, the Fourteenth Heavy Artillery, and a company of the Invalid Corps passed through the city, and were entertained at the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon.

—A terrific boiler explosion occurred at the chandeller and gas-fitting establishment of Cornelius & Baker at Eighth and Cherry Streets, which literally demolished the boiler-house, damaged several buildings, and killed Thomas H. Albertson, William Bartholomew, Albert Shaffner, John Fry, Samuel Davis, George Scanlan, and John Porter, and wounded several others. Porter was at work at Eleventh and Cherry, but was struck by a portion of the boiler, about twelve feet in length. Another huge piece was hurled to Filbert above Eighth, where it crushed through the roof of a stable of the William Penn tavern, falling into the cellar, killing a horse and wounding a man in its passage.

—The following day the Ninety-seventh Regiment, Col. Guss, and the Sixty-seventh, Col. Staunton, left the city for the army. The news of the terrific struggle of the Wilderness began to arrive, and aroused intense excitement from the large number of our troops who were with Grant, and from the terrible loss of life involved. Dispatches were slow and indefinite until Grant's famous dispatch that he "intended to fight it out on that line if it took all summer," and giving fuller accounts of his operations. The wounded began to arrive on the 11th, when five hundred were received at the hospitals. On the 15th one thousand arrived, and on the 18th nine hundred and seventy-eight more.

—The city was somewhat agitated by the bold forgery published in the *New York World* on the 18th, purporting to be a call by the President for four hundred thousand men, but the denial of its authenticity was so prompt that it had the intended effect but partially. The provost guard took possession of the office of the Independent Telegraph Company on Chestnut Street above Fourth.

—The funeral of Lieut.-Col. Thomas Kelly, of the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, took place from the Cathedral Chapel on May 19th, Bishop Wood officiating. A firing party was composed of the provost guard.

—Wounded soldiers continued to arrive in great numbers from the battle-fields: on the 20th about one thousand, on the 27th six hundred, on the 29th five hundred, and on the 31st one thousand and five, making, including small detachments, nearly five thousand men during the month of May.

—On the 29th the sixty citizens of Fredericksburg, held as hostages for the soldiers betrayed into the Confederate hands by the mayor of that city, arrived in the city and were conveyed to Fort Delaware.

—On the 31st of May the Twenty-seventh Regiment returned from the war, and were escorted from the depot by a cavalcade of German citizens.

—The great central fair of the Sanitary Commission of the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware was opened on the 7th of June with appropriate ceremonies. The project of a fair similar to those held in other cities had been on foot for about six months, and the arrangements were very elaborate and the contributions correspondingly generous. Many of the large establishments in the city set aside "one day's receipts" as a contribution, as did all the street railway companies and many private individuals. By this means the commission was able to build an enormous temporary building covering Logan Square. This space was arranged in corridors corresponding to the four streets and the walks in the square, on the sides of which were arranged booths, picture-galleries, etc. In the interior space was arranged a smoking divan, a horticultural exhibition, a refreshment saloon, and a brewery, and every portion was tastefully and appropriately decorated. The main avenue through the centre of the square, from Eighteenth to Nineteenth Streets, was covered by arches in a gothic form, and was known as Union Avenue. From it branched corridors to the other portions of the buildings. The contributions embraced every variety of object, either of curiosity, use, or artistic value, and included both articles for sale and merely for exhibition. The gross receipts were turned into the fund of the Sanitary Commission for the use of the sick and wounded of the army and navy.

The fair was opened on the 7th of June. President Lincoln was unable to be present at the opening ceremonies, and deputed Bishop Simpson to act for him. A large stand was erected at the western extremity of Union Avenue for the speakers and the committees of the commission. There were present Governor Packer, of New Jersey, Governor Cannon, of Delaware, and Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, Chief Justice Woodward, and Justices Strong, Read, and Thompson, representing the State judiciary, Maj.-Gen. Cadwalader and staff, representing the army, and Admiral Dupont, representing the navy, as well as many members of Councils, and many prominent men.

Mayor Henry presided, and, on taking the chair, said, "We enter to-day upon the realization of the zealous efforts which humanity and patriotism have alike invited, and as we stand upon the threshold of an enterprise rarely equaled in extent, never sur-

passed in the grandeur of its purpose, we may rejoice at the rich promise of its success, while we are yet mindful of the sad urgency that called it forth. Gratitude and sympathy have before [1864] them full scope for their most generous and untiring exertions. No claims more sacred, no appeals more powerful were ever addressed to a loyal people than come to us this hour from the maimed and suffering defenders of our Union. The gigantic contest that is now being waged between loyalty and rebellion is as pre-eminent in magnitude as are the rivers and plains that behold its deadly strife.

"No military resources, however well directed, can adequately provide relief for the thousands of brave men who have sunk under the fatigue and privation of the march, or have been stricken down upon the many fields of battle. In this emergency the noble, heaven-prompted associations of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions offer to you wide channels through which the oil and wine of soothing kindness



SANITARY FAIR BUILDINGS.

and of strengthening cheer may flow from the plenty of your homes to the need of the sick or wounded soldiers. Of these organizations the Sanitary Commission is the chosen dispenser of the liberal offerings which the people of our own and of two sister States have brought hither in this holy cause. Enlarged views, refined taste, and unflagging energies have originated, planned, and matured this grand undertaking. All that may delight the senses and gladden the heart has been gathered into this spacious temple, dedicated to loyal benevolence, or has been stored in its numerous courts. The eye will wander with pleasure over each attractive scene and brilliant group, the ear will drink in the surging melody of the joyous voices with which these arches will reverberate while yet each passing moment may add new claimants of your benefactions from among the heroes who even now are assailing treason in those last strongholds which, by God's blessing and man's valor, shall witness the death-throes of the Rebellion."

Bishop Stevens followed with a prayer. The build-

ings were then formally transferred by John C. Cresson, of the committee of arrangements, to the executive committee. Mr. Cuyler, on behalf **1864** of the executive committee, accepted the buildings, and presented them to Bishop Simpson as the representative of President Lincoln. Bishop Simpson then made a short address apologizing for the President's absence as unavoidable, and accepting the buildings on his behalf to be dedicated in the name of the people to the use of the sick and wounded of the Union army and navy. Addresses were also made by the Governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, and the exercises concluded by the entire audience singing the "Star-Spangled Banner." A large flag was at this moment raised upon the central flag-staff, and was saluted with thirteen guns. An accident caused by the breaking of a platform slightly marred the exercises.

President Lincoln and his wife visited the fair on June 16th, on which day the crowd was so great that it was almost impossible for him to pass through the various departments. He was entertained by the committee, and responded to a toast in his usual felicitous manner.

The fair was the great object of attraction for not only Philadelphia but all the surrounding country from its opening until its close, on June 28th. It realized for the commission over one million eighty thousand dollars. After it closed the remaining articles were sold at auction, which drew large crowds, until finally on July 6th, at midnight, the auctioneer sold the last article, an oil painting of the famous "Sanitary Fair."

The main building was five hundred and forty feet long and sixty feet wide, with an elevation from the floor to the point of the arch of fifty feet. The architect of this building was Strickland Kneass, the builders Messrs. Burton & Quigley. The other buildings were erected by B. H. Shedaker, under the direction of John Welsh, chairman of the executive committee, and J. C. Cresson, chairman of committee of general arrangements. Henry E. Wrigley was the architect for several of the buildings. The aggregate length of the fair-buildings was six thousand five hundred feet, or more than a mile, and one million five hundred thousand feet of lumber was used in their construction. The work was completed within forty working days.

The following is a summary of the receipts and expenditures of the Philadelphia agency of the United States Sanitary Commission to Jan. 1, 1866:

The total amount in cash contributed to the treasury of the Philadelphia agency, including the proceeds of the Great Central Fair.....	\$1,186,546.14
The total amount in cash contributed to the Relief Committee of the Women's Pennsylvania Branch, including \$2,651.69 received from the treasurer of the Philadelphia agency, and \$1,681.51 received by them from contractors for work done.....	29,744.00
Total amount of cash received by the Philadelphia agency.	\$1,216,289.14

Cash value of hospital supplies, clothing, etc., received by the Philadelphia agency.....	\$306,088.01
Cash value of four hundred tons of coal, received by the Relief Committee of the Women's Pennsylvania Branch.....	3,000.00
Estimated value of volunteer labor, and railroad and other facilities rendered free of charge.....	40,000.00
Total contributions of all kinds to the Philadelphia agency..	\$1,565,377.15

This sum was distributed as follows:

For the support of the work of the Sanitary Commission in Philadelphia and its vicinity, including cash remaining in the hands of the treasurer of the Philadelphia agency.....	\$303,554.63
For the general work of the Sanitary Commission.....	1,261,822.52
	\$1,565,377.15

—The Twenty-sixth Regiment arrived from the war on the 6th of June, and was received by a committee of Councils and the Home Guard, and entertained at the Refreshment Saloon. On the following day the First, Second, and Ninth Regiments Pennsylvania Reserves returned after three years' service. They were received by a tremendous crowd and were escorted from the depot by a committee of Councils, the Invalid Corps, One Hundred and Eighty-sixth Pennsylvania Reserves, discharged officers and men of the division, the Hibernia, Moyamensing, and Northern Liberties Engine Fire Companies, and ambulances for the disabled. The reception was very enthusiastic, fire and church bells being rung and cannon fired along the route of the procession. They were followed on the 8th by the Third and Fourth Regiments of the same division, but, owing to a misunderstanding, these received no general celebration.

—About one hundred and thirty-five men, all that were left of the Seventy-first Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, formerly known as the First California Regiment, arrived in the city June 16th. The regiment, which was raised in the city, left for the seat of war fifteen hundred strong, but five hundred were afterwards transferred to another regiment.

—Governor Curtin called for twelve thousand volunteers on the 5th of July, as it was supposed a new invasion was contemplated by the Confederates. He asked for one hundred days' men, and as the emergency became more urgent he increased the number necessary to twenty-four thousand. Liberal volunteering began at once.

—The excitement concerning the Confederate raid through Maryland increased steadily, though it never reached the proportions it did the previous year. On the 11th a party of guerrillas penetrated nearly to Havre de Grace, and cut the telegraph wires and tore up the Baltimore railroad, severing all communication with Washington. As it was now uncertain what might follow, Mayor Henry issued an urgent call for minute-men. In response an enormous war-meeting was held on the 12th in Independence Square. Judge Knox served as chairman, and the meeting was addressed by Judge Kelley, Frederick Fraley, J. M. Scovel (of New Jersey), and Col. Montgomery (of Vicksburg). A large number immediately enrolled themselves. The Confederates soon retired and the excitement subsided.

—The President's proclamation for five hundred thousand men was issued July 18th. Philadelphia's quota under the call was estimated to be thirteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, of which about four thousand had already enlisted voluntarily.

—An accident caused by the falling of a portion of the building used as the Female Insane Department of the Blockley Almshouse resulted in the death of fifteen of the inmates and the wounding of twenty more, on July 20th. The coroner's inquest developed the fact that some workmen, about sixteen years before the accident, in putting in boilers for heating, had cut away the brick piers supporting the chimneys, which was the cause of the disaster.

—A disastrous fire at Second and Huntingdon Streets destroyed the wagon-works of Henry Simons on July 22d, with a loss of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

—The re-enlisted Twentieth Regiment, under command of Col. W. B. Thomas, left for Washington July 23d, being the first regiment to leave under the one hundred days' call. The regiment was drawn up opposite the custom-house previous to its departure, and was addressed by Professor Saunders. Col. Thomas responded in a brief speech, and afterward the regiment was entertained at the Refreshment Saloon.

—The destruction of Chambersburg, Pa., by Confederate raiders at this time, aroused great feeling in the city.

—The Fifth Union League Regiment (National Guards), Col. Harmanus Neff, left Philadelphia July 28th. Previous to their departure they made a street parade, and were presented by the Union League with a stand of colors. The presentation was made by Col. Cressman on behalf of the League, and Col. Neff made an appropriate response.

—A special election was held August 2d for the purpose of confirming three amendments to the State Constitution. They were,—

1st. Whenever any of the qualified electors of this commonwealth shall be in actual military service, under a requisition from the President of the United States, or by authority of the commonwealth, such electors may exercise the right of suffrage in all elections by citizens, under such regulations as are or shall be presented by law, as fully as if they were present at the usual place of voting.

2d. No bill shall be passed by the Legislature containing more than one subject, which shall be clearly expressed in the title, except appropriation bills.

3d. No bill shall be passed by the Legislature granting any power or privilege in any case where the authority to grant such power or privileges has been, or may hereafter be, conferred upon the courts of this commonwealth.

The election was exceedingly quiet, little or no interest being excited. The vote on the two last was

almost unanimous, and the first received a majority of 17,281 in the city.

—John Grigg, a well-known merchant, [1864 died August 2d, of apoplexy. He founded the firm of Grigg, Elliott & Co., booksellers, which became by his retirement, in 1850, the present well-known firm of J. B. Lippincott & Co.

—On August 3d a public meeting was held at the Board of Trade rooms, to devise means of relief for the suffering people of Chambersburg. A. G. Cattell was chairman, and introduced the Rev. Mr. Warner, who stated that eighteen hundred persons were homeless, and of these fourteen hundred were utterly destitute, their entire property having been destroyed. Mr. Shriver, of Chambersburg, John W. Forney, and O. W. Davis also addressed the meeting. A committee was appointed to procure subscriptions.

—Governor Curtin, upon receiving intelligence of another rebel raid, issued a call for thirty thousand militia on August 5th, but they were never ordered into service.

—Baxter's Philadelphia Fire Zouaves returned August 12th, after three years' service, and were given a magnificent reception by the firemen. The streets along the route of the parade were crowded with people. The regiment numbered only two hundred and ten men, although it left the city at the breaking out of the war fifteen hundred strong. It was received at the depot by members of Councils, who escorted it to the Refreshment Saloon. In the afternoon they paraded with the volunteer firemen, making one of the largest turnouts ever witnessed in the city. As the procession passed St. Peter's Church the chimes played "Auld Lang Syne." At Independence Hall they were formally welcomed by Dr. Uhler, of Select Council.

—A portion of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry returned after three years' service, August 14th. The remainder of the regiment had re-enlisted.

—Col. Benjamin Chew, a veteran of the war of 1812, died at the old Chew house at Germantown, August 18th.

—The Twenty-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers returned to the city August 25th. This regiment, known as Birney's Zouaves, was a very strong and popular regiment, and was given a reception by the committee of Councils and the military. They made a street parade to the National Guards' Hall, where they were formally welcomed and dismissed. By an unfortunate accident, James McGinnis, private, was killed just as the train was entering the city.

—The One Hundred and Sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers returned August 29th, and was received by a committee of Councils, who escorted it to the Refreshment Saloon. Here it was received by Col. Baxter's Fire Zouaves and the Henry Guards. It made a street parade to National Guards' Hall, where it was formally welcomed by Mr. F. A. Wolbert and Col. Small.

—The proceedings of the Democratic national convention in Chicago aroused great interest in the city.

It was generally believed before the convention met that Gen. McClellan would be the Democratic nominee for President, and his nomination was received with great satisfaction in the city of his birth.

—A national salute was fired in the First Ward on September 5th, on the receipt of the news of the fall of Atlanta. The President issued a proclamation on the same day announcing the victories, ordering a national thanksgiving on Sunday, September 11th, and requesting the thanks of the nation to Farragut, Canby, Granger, and Gen. Sherman and his army.

—The reception of the Eighty-second Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, Col. Bassett, was held September 7th. The escort consisted of the committee of Councils, the Twenty-third Regiment, the Henry Guards, and the South Penn Hose Company. They made a street parade to National Guards' Hall, where they were welcomed and the regiment dismissed.

—The National Union party held a mass-meeting in Independence Square, September 10th, to ratify the nomination of Lincoln and Johnson. Hon. Simon Cameron presided.

—Two trains arrived September 12th containing nine hundred and ninety-seven wounded soldiers, who were distributed to the Germantown, Chestnut Hill, and Nicetown hospitals.

—The Democrats held their ratification meeting September 17th in Independence Square. Four stands were erected, and speeches were made from each. The meeting closed with a display of fire-works.

—The Sixth Union League Regiment, Col. H. G. Sickel, left for Baltimore September 18th.

—On September 22d the Two Hundred and Third Pennsylvania Regiment, known as Birney's Sharpshooters, commanded by Col. John W. Moore, left Camp Cadwalader for the seat of war.

—The National Union party made a torchlight procession September 24th, ending with a display of fire-works at Independence Square.

—On September 24th a series of iron rafters, which were being placed in position at the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad Depot, Sixteenth and Market Streets, fell before they had been properly secured. Two men, William Young and John Kane, were killed, and five others injured.

—The One Hundred and Ninety-ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. Lechler, which had been recruited in the interior of the State, left Camp Cadwalader for the front September 31st.

—The Italian frigate "Principe Umberto" arrived at the navy-yard October 3d, and was received with a national salute. She carried fifty-two guns, and her crew numbered six hundred men, including eighty-four midshipmen.

—The Philadelphia and Erie Railroad was formally opened on October 4th.

—On October 5th, Commodore Stribling, commandant of the navy-yard, left this port on the steamer "Neptune," to assume command of the East Gulf Squadron as rear-admiral. The United States steamer "R. R. Cuyler" sailed on the same day.

—The Keystone Battery returned from Chambersburg on October 7th, having filled their one hundred days' service under the State call.

—The National Union party held a grand torchlight procession and mass-meeting at Independence Square, Mayor Henry presiding. As the procession reached the square there was a grand display of fire-works.

—The State and county elections were held on October 11th, and resulted in this city in a sweeping victory for the National Union party. The importance of the election hinged on its influence on the Presidential election held a month later. The citizen vote (as distinguished from the soldiers' vote) resulted as follows:

Congressional.

1st Dist.,	Randall (Dem.),	maj. 2167	over Butler (Nat. U.).
2d "	O'Neill (Nat. U.),	" 4169	" Riley (Democrat).
3d "	Myers "	" 1105	" Buckwalter "
4th "	Kelley "	" 3279	" Northrop "
5th "	Thayer "	" 955	" Rose (Dem.), in city portion.

County.

State Senator,	C. M. Donovan,	Democrat,	Third District.
Representatives,	National Union,	16;	Democratic, 2.
Sheriff,	Howell (Nat. U.),	majority	7726.
Register of Wills,	F. M. Adams (Nat. U.),	majority	7571.
Clerk of Orphans' Court,	Merrick "	"	7572.
Receiver of Taxes,	C. O'Neill "	"	7610.
City Commissioner,	T. Dixon "	"	7148.

In Select Councils the National Union party elected 10 members, the Democratic party 2.

In Common Councils, National Union 18, Democratic 7, and Independent 1.

It required several days to receive and count the army vote, but it was finally announced October 29th. The general result was not affected. The city majorities were increased, and varied from 8946 for sheriff to 8313 for city commissioner. State Senator Donovan's majority was reduced by the army vote to 257. There were only changes in the vote for representatives.

—On October 13th the United States frigate "Chatanooga" was launched from the ship-yard of Messrs. Cramp & Sons. This was the largest vessel built at Philadelphia up to this time, measuring three hundred and thirty-six feet over all, forty-four feet breadth of beam, and twenty-one feet depth of hold. She was christened by Miss Turner, daughter of Commodore Turner.

—Maj.-Gen. David B. Birney died in Philadelphia October 18th. Gen. Birney was born in the city, and previous to the breaking out of the war practiced law. He had been connected with the militia during this time, and immediately on the breaking out of the war volunteered in the Twenty-third Regiment, of which he was elected lieutenant-colonel.

Returning at the end of his term of service he raised the regiment known as Birney's Zouaves, one of the largest that ever left for the seat of war. He was soon given more important command, serving with marked distinction in the Army of the Potomac, in which, for some time, he commanded the Tenth Corps. He returned on sick-leave, and, after remaining only one week, died at his home. Councils passed appropriate resolutions of regret, and placed Independence Hall at the disposal of the family for a public funeral. The funeral was conducted, however, from his own house. Detachments of the One Hundred and Eighty-sixth and One Hundred and Eighty-seventh Regiments Pennsylvania Volunteers, two corps of the Gray Reserves, and a company of marines, with the First City Troop, served as the military escort. Besides these a large delegation of the recently returned Twenty-third Regiment and many officers of the army, including the general's personal staff, attended the funeral.

—The largest torchlight procession probably ever seen in the city up to this time was made by the members of the Democratic party on October 29th. The number of men in line was unknown, but it is said it was six to seven miles long. A slight disturbance in the course of the parade occurred at Sixth and Chestnut Streets, in which an old man, James Campbell, was knocked down. In falling he received a concussion of the brain, from the effects of which he died in a few minutes.

—Seven companies of Col. Thomas' regiment returned on the 30th of October. Their coming was unexpected, and there was no escort. The remainder of the regiment returned on the following day with Col. Neff's Union League regiment and made a street parade. Both regiments were composed of one hundred days' men.

—The emancipation of the slaves of Maryland was celebrated November 1st by the Committee on Recruiting Colored Troops, and two salutes were fired. The committee exhibited, in front of their rooms on Chestnut Street, a very large transparency containing appropriate designs and mottoes. In the evening a meeting was held at which addresses were made by Judge Kelley, Mr. Trimble, of Tennessee, and others. Appropriate services were also held at all the colored churches.

—The Presidential election occurred on the 8th of November. The vote of the State showed an increase in the total number of votes cast, and a corresponding increase in the Union majority. In the city 9508 majority was given for the Lincoln electors, while the majority for Howell (sheriff) in October was 7726. The total citizens' vote was 93,602. The soldiers' vote brought Lincoln's majority up to 11,762.

—The Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul were solemnly blessed according to the ritual of the Catholic Church on November 20th. The ceremony was dignified by the presence of three archbishops, twelve

bishops, and several hundred clergymen, besides about five thousand spectators. After the usual ceremonies high mass was celebrated by Bishop Wood, and a sermon was preached by Archbishop [1864 Spaulding, from Ephesians v. 25-28.

—In the latter part of November a scheme was discovered to defraud the United States by carrying away and disposing of stores consigned to the navy-yard. Arrests were numerous, and great excitement was caused by the apparent completeness of the scheme and the prominence of some of the parties implicated. But few convictions were ever secured, many of the accused escaping on technical grounds and for want of evidence.

—Sixteen officers and twenty-six privates of the Ninetieth Regiment (National Guards) returned to the city November 30th, their term of service having expired. The remainder of the regiment had re-enlisted in the field. The returning men were received by a committee of Councils, the Henry Guards, the old members of the National Guard, the Southwark Hose, Franklin Engine, and Diligent Hose Companies, and escorted to National Guards' Hall, where they were dismissed.

—Capt. Winslow, of the "Kearsarge," was given a public reception at the Commercial rooms on December 13th, in honor of his victory over the "Alabama." In the evening he was given a dinner at the Continental Hotel by the Board of Trade. Morton McMichael presided, and many prominent men were present, including Maj.-Gen. Cadwalader, Gen. Cameron, and Cols. Olcott and Morgan.

George Cadwalader died Feb. 3, 1879, aged seventy-two years. He was a grandson of John Cadwalader of the Revolution, the second son of Maj.-Gen. Thomas Cadwalader of the war of 1812, and brother of Judge John Cadwalader of the United States District Court, who died Jan. 26, 1879. He was born in Philadelphia in 1806. He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1823, and assisted his father in the management of the Penn family estates in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. Subsequently he became the agent of those estates, and was in no other business for many years. He inherited the military tastes of his family, and at the age of eighteen years joined the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry. This was in 1824. In 1832 he was elected captain of the corps of Philadelphia Grays. In this position he attracted much attention by the thorough discipline in which he held that company. Being a man of wealth, he spent much money in promoting the equipment, drill, and efficiency of the corps. The Grays, under his auspices, were organized as a company of flying artillery. The drill and exercises of this company usually took place on the west side of the Schuylkill, on the hills beyond Harding's Upper Ferry Tavern, upon a large field, which has since been cut up and built upon, and is at this time one of the finest portions of West Phila-

delphia. The company was exercised with six or eight light artillery pieces, each of which, together with its caisson, was drawn by four horses, so that the company, upon parade, made a very formidable appearance. The officers and men became very proficient in unlimbering, loading and firing, advancing and retreating, with great quickness, and the drills of the Grays were usually witnessed by a large number of spectators. In 1842, Capt. Cadwalader was elected brigadier-general of the First Brigade, First Division,¹ and held that rank until after the commencement of the war of the Rebellion, still retaining for some years the captaincy of the Philadelphia Grays, to which he devoted much time. During the riots of 1844 Gen. Cadwalader was second in command of the volunteers whose services were necessary to put down those outbreaks. He was conspicuous at Kensington, and at the riots at Second and Queen Streets, Southwark. The merit of his services on that occasion was a matter of strong criticism and difference of opinion at the time. A number of citizens, who believed that his skill and gallantry were of value, subscribed a sufficient amount to procure an elegant silver vase, which was presented to him as a testimonial of approval of his conduct during those disturbances. The memorial was over two feet in height, decorated with military emblems, and a suitable inscription, with the motto, "The defense of the laws is the hero's highest glory." At the breaking out of the Mexican war Gen. Cadwalader was appointed brigadier-general of the regular army, his commission bearing the date of March 1, 1847. He commanded

a brigade composed of the Eleventh and Fourteenth Infantry and a company of voltiguers, of which Charles J. Biddle was captain. He served under Gen. Scott, in Mexico, in the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, San Cosme, and city of Mexico, and was brevetted major-general for gallant service at the battle of Chapultepec. In November, 1847, he was made military governor of the city and valley of Toluca. On his return from Mexico he was received at Philadelphia with a grand parade, and was presented with a sword by the city. At the conclusion of the war the United States government conferred upon him the full rank of major-general, dating from the battle of Chapultepec, Sept. 13, 1847. After his return to Philadelphia, in 1848, he was elected president of the Mutual Assurance (Green Tree) Company, which position he held until the time of his death. At the outbreak of the war of the Rebellion he was appointed major-general of the Pennsylvania troops, and accompanied the State volunteers to Baltimore, and commanded at Annapolis. He was in the Shenandoah Valley campaign under Maj.-Gen. Robert Patterson. On the 25th of April, 1862, he was commissioned by the United States government major-general of volunteers, and commanded the Second and Sixth Divisions of the Army of West Tennessee, in garrison at Corinth, Miss. At the close of the war he was honorably mustered out of service, and engaged in civil pursuits. In 1874 he was chosen president of the Society of Mexican Veterans, and was for some years commander of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Gen. Cadwalader's mother was Mary Biddle, daughter of Col. Clement Biddle of the Revolution, and his wife was a daughter of Dr. James Mease, of Philadelphia, a physician and writer upon historical, medical, and scientific subjects. She was a sister of Pierce Butler, who married Fanny Kemble, the actress, and of Col. John Butler. These sons of Dr. Mease had their names altered to Butler by act of Assembly, in compliment to their mother, a daughter of Pierce Butler, who was a patriot of the Revolution and United States senator from South Carolina. Mrs. Cadwalader survives Gen. Cadwalader, but they had no children.

—The Swedish frigate "Vanadis" arrived off the navy-yard December 18th, and was received with a salute from the "Princeton." She was a steam-frigate of about two thousand tons, and carried twenty-two guns.

—On December 20th the President issued the final call for three hundred thousand men, to be filled by draft, Feb. 15, 1865, if not provided for by voluntary enlistments. Under this call Philadelphia's quota was announced by the adjutant-general to be eleven thousand four hundred and eighty-six. The city's overplus on the previous draft and new enlistments amounted to nearly two thousand, leaving about nine thousand to be provided for by draft.

¹ By act of Assembly, 1793, the city and county of Philadelphia were constituted the First Division, with two brigades. The following were major-generals of the First Division: 1793, James Irvine; 1794, Walter Stewart; 1796, Thomas Proctor; 1800, Thomas Mifflin; 1800, Thomas Proctor; 1802, John Shee; 1807, John Barker; July, 1808, Isaac Worrell; 1824, Thomas Cadwalader; 1833, Robert Patterson; 1867, Charles M. Prevost; 1875, John P. Bankson; 1877, Russell Thayer, Robert M. Brinton. Brigadier-generals of the First Brigade were as follows: 1793, Thomas Proctor; 1796, William Macpherson; 1799, Francis Gurney; 1802, John Shee; 1803, John Barker; 1807, Michael Bright; 1812, Robert Wharton; 1814, George Bartram, Thomas Cadwalader; 1824, Robert Patterson; 1828, Andrew M. Prevost; 1842, George Cadwalader; 1865, John P. Bankson; 1875, Henry P. Muirhead; 1876, Robert M. Brinton, Russell Thayer; 1877, E. Wallace Matthews. Second Brigade (County Brigade) brigadiers: 1793, Jacob Morgan; 1802, Isaac Worrell; 1807, Michael Leib; —, William Duncan; 1814, Thomas Snyder; 1821, Samuel Ostroff; —, John D. Goodwin; 1842, Thomas W. Duffield, Augustus L. Roumfort; —, John Bennett; 1856, William F. Small, John Tyler, Jr.; —, John D. Miles; —, J. William Hofmann; —, Russell Thayer; 1877, Edward DeC. Loud. Third Brigade brigadiers: Horatio Hubbell, elected 1842; John Sidney Jones, William M. Reilly, De Witt C. Baxter. Fourth Brigade, Frank E. Patterson; Home Guard Brigade, Augustus J. Pleasanton. The First and the Second Brigades were dissolved by the National Guards act of Aug. 28, 1878. By order of Governor Hoyt, July 9, 1881, the five brigades in the State were reduced to three brigades, and the First Brigade was composed of Philadelphia, Chester, Montgomery, and part of Schuylkill Counties, Major-General (commanding the National Guard of Pennsylvania), John F. Harttraut; Brigadier-Generals (1881), First Brigade, George R. Snowden; Second Brigade, James A. Beaver; Third Brigade, Joseph K. Siegfried.

—A great deal of excitement was caused December 30th by the announcement of a heavy robbery in the custom-house. About eighty or ninety thousand dollars in gold and currency was abstracted.

—On the last day of the year, George M. Dallas, ex-Vice-President of the United States, died at his residence, aged seventy-two years. A meeting of the members of the bar was held January 3d, Chief Justice Woodward presiding, when addresses eulogistic of Mr. Dallas were delivered by Joseph R. Ingersoll, David Paul Brown, George M. Wharton, and Charles Ingersoll. Appropriate resolutions were adopted.

His funeral took place January 4th. In accordance with his request, it was as simple as possible. His body was taken to St. Peter's Church, Third and Pine Streets, where it was interred with the usual service of the Episcopal Church. The pall-bearers were William H. Seward, Secretary of State, George W. Woodward, chief justice of Pennsylvania, Joseph R. Ingersoll, John Cadwalader, Alexander Henry, Col. James Page, J. Pemberton Hutchinson, and Henry J. Williams.

George Mifflin Dallas, second son of Alexander James Dallas, was born July 10, 1792. His father was a noted lawyer and Secretary of the Treasury under President Madison. The son was educated at Princeton College, and after graduation commenced the study of law in his father's office. He volunteered in the war of 1812, but was allowed to resign to accompany Albert Gallatin to the mission to Russia, which resulted in the peace and treaty of Ghent. Dallas, however, returned to the United States before this occurred, bearing private dispatches to the President. In 1814 he again settled down to the study and practice of law in Philadelphia. He soon took a prominent part in politics, and became successively district attorney and mayor of the city, United States district attorney, and United States senator. At the close of his senatorial term he was appointed attorney-general of Pennsylvania, but resigned to become minister to Russia. Recalled, at his own request, in 1839, he was elected, in 1844, Vice-President of the United States. As Speaker of the Senate, he gave the casting vote in favor of the low tariff of 1846, explaining his action in an excellent review of the whole question of protection. During Buchanan's administration he was minister to England, returning to his native city on the breaking out of the civil war.

1865.—Four memorable "New Year's gifts" marked the liberality of citizens. On January 2d (which was celebrated as New Year's day) the Philadelphia Board of Underwriters presented a magnificent gold watch to Capt. John A. Winslow in recognition of his services in sinking the Confederate privateer "Alabama." On the same day a committee of private citizens presented to Mrs. Gen. U. S. Grant the furnished house No. 2009 Chestnut Street for her residence. The house was newly built, and was elegantly

and completely furnished. A few days later, January 6th, a house was presented to the widow of Maj.-Gen. Birney, on Kingsessing Avenue, in West Philadelphia. [1865]

Differing from these in its object, but redounding still more to the credit of the community, was the meeting held January 10th, to devise means of relieving the sufferers from the war at Savannah, Ga. Subscriptions were secured without difficulty, and a ship-load of provisions was sent to their relief.

—An explosion of fire-works in a small factory in West Philadelphia occurred January 25th, causing the death of Philip Flyhouse, a recently-discharged wounded soldier, John McCue, Joseph Kane, and Edward Colwell, and destroying the entire building.

—On the 2d of February the fare in the street-cars was further increased to seven cents. The admission of colored persons to ride in the cars was being agitated, and the passenger railway companies, in deference to the demand, put the question to the vote of its patrons. This proceeding was not acceptable to the agitators, and proved a farce. The great majority of the riders refused to vote at all. One railroad reported that only three hundred out of over four thousand votes were in the affirmative. The Fifth and Sixth Street line abolished the order, but at the end of four weeks' trial reported that the admission of colored people caused such a serious pecuniary loss that they were compelled to refuse them thereafter. To accommodate them, however, one out of every four cars was set apart for colored people, but they very generally declined to accept the privilege.

—One of the most frightful conflagrations ever known in the city occurred February 1st in an oil warehouse of Messrs. Blackburn & Co., at Ninth Street and Washington Avenue. There were over fifteen hundred barrels of petroleum stored in the warehouse, and the bursting barrels scattered the burning oil far and wide. In a very few minutes the streets in the vicinity were a sheet of living flame surrounding dwelling-houses, setting them on fire and cutting off the escape of the inmates. Fifty-one houses were destroyed, and at least eight or ten lives were lost.

—In accordance with the President's proclamation the draft commenced February 23d in the First and Second Wards. It was continued day after day until the Eleventh Ward was finished, on February 28th. At this point, on the personal application of Professor Saunders and other prominent citizens, it was stopped until an opportunity could be allowed for the wards to fill their quota by enlistments. An arrangement was made to provide a certain quota each week, and by means of liberal bounties offered by the city and wards the quota was provided and the draft prevented. A draft took place on the 22d of March in the Twenty-fifth Ward, just before the fall of Richmond, and was the last held in the city.

—Several of the volunteer fire companies attended

the second inauguration of President Lincoln. They returned to Philadelphia on the 6th of March, and were received by a number of companies, and **1865]** together made a large street parade.

—An accident occurred on the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad, near Bristol, on the 7th of March. An express train filled with a large number of Union soldiers, released from Libby prison, ran into a damaged train standing on the track. Five men were killed and forty-eight seriously wounded.

—The Seventh Union League Regiment and the Two Hundred and Thirteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers left on March 11th for the seat of war.

—“The 3d of April, 1865, will for all coming time,” says the *Public Ledger*, “be a memorable day in the local history of Philadelphia. The hopes and fears of four years were set at rest by the brief announcement at eleven o’clock, ‘Richmond is ours.’ Doubt and apprehension pervaded every mind early in the morning. The fact that our soldiers had been fighting for three days and had succeeded in securing substantial tokens of victory was satisfactory in part, but there was still a lingering fear that a blunder might yet occur to send the troops once more back to their intrenchments. Four years of war have taught even the most sanguine of the friends of the cause to moderate their transports over army intelligence, and there was a general disposition to be sure before giving vent to any public demonstration of rejoicing. When at last the official bulletin announced the probable evacuation of Richmond, men gathered in groups about the newspaper offices, anxious to hear the next dispatch confirmatory of the intelligence. In less than an hour came Gen. Weitzel’s dispatch announcing his entry into Richmond. Then all doubt vanished, the long pent-up enthusiasm of the people burst forth, and cheer after cheer went up from Third Street, to be sent along the line of Chestnut Street far up toward the public offices. Men in their joy clasped strangers by the hand and congratulated them on the consummation of Grant’s strategy. Those who were acquainted met each other and indulged in the most extravagant expressions of joy. Traveling up the street, the news soon reached the courts. Judge Allison, in the Common Pleas, had public announcement made of the fact, and the people, forgetting the court and its officers, gave hearty cheers. Judge Allison himself felt the impossibility of transacting business amid such excitement, and at once adjourned the court. In the other courts the news was received speedily, and soon the judges were left without juries, witnesses, and attorneys, and an early adjournment was a necessity.

“The spread of the news could be plainly mapped out by the display of bunting. From the State-House steeple the city could be seen gayly dressed out with American flags, as the local telegraph soon transmitted the news to every station-house, to be again spread by the people of each section of the

city. At twelve o’clock Mayor Henry received a dispatch from Secretary Stanton confirming the news, and immediately the mayor gave orders that the bell in the steeple should ring out the joyful intelligence. Men in the belfry were anxiously waiting for this signal, and soon a merry peal was rung out. The State-House bell was answered from almost every bell in the city,—Moyamensing Hall, Fairmount Engine, Spring Garden Hall, and Germantown Hall, with others, assisted to spread the news.

“The State-House bell had no sooner commenced ringing than an immense concourse of people gathered in front of Independence Hall. Those who witnessed the excitement attendant on the announcement of the capture of Vicksburg can form some idea of the scene, but the crowd and the demonstrations of joy at this time exceeded any former occasion. Cheer after cheer went up from the people on the sidewalks. The ringing of the bell was to them a confirmation of the news that had been circulating on the streets, and no man could then doubt that Grant had been successful. Ladies gathered at the windows of the American Hotel and the buildings in the neighborhood, and took part in the general rejoicings by waving handkerchiefs and small flags.

“The buildings opposite the State-House were gayly dressed with bunting, one store having hundreds of small flags streaming from the numerous windows. All the row-offices brought out their flags, and the officers hurriedly sent for additional bunting in order to make a fine display. In front of the sheriff’s office an excited officer appeared with a dinner-bell, and with mock gravity announced to the multitude a sale of the Southern Confederacy. Subsequently a placard at the same office announced that four cents per pound would be paid for Confederate bonds. These were but a few of the exhibitions of good feeling and general satisfaction over the news. As in the Vicksburg excitement, the ringing of the State-House bell soon brought the firemen to Independence Square. Curiously enough, the first hose-carriage on the spot was the ‘America,’ quickly followed by the ‘Columbia.’ It appeared as if the entire department had turned out to take part in the demonstration.

“The springing of the bells, the blowing of the steam-whistles, the clangor of the State-House bell, the cheers of the men, with the occasional booming of a cannon heard above the din, made up a scene to be remembered for a lifetime. For over two hours there was no intermission in the enthusiasm. After exhausting themselves in the demonstrations in front of the State-House, it was suggested that the firemen form in procession and pass over the city. Col. Neff aided to give this direction to the crowd, and a procession was soon formed by members of the companies and passed over a portion of the city.

“While the great demonstration was centred in front of Independence Hall, the citizens elsewhere

were not unmindful of the great event. Cannon of all sizes were brought out to the sidewalks, and salutes fired throughout the day. The *Evening Bulletin* proprietors had a cannon placed on top of their building, and salutes were fired until late in the afternoon. A large crowd of the citizens of the Second Ward formed in procession about two o'clock and, headed by file and drum, marched up Third to Chestnut Street, and from Chestnut through a number of the principal streets, cheering and making other demonstrations of satisfaction. The firemen kept up the bell-ringing and whistle-blowing while on their way back to their respective houses, and in this way aided to increase the excitement.

"The people generally appeared to have made the day a holiday. Shops and stores were deserted, and little business was transacted anywhere."

The navy-yard was closed, and the employés, two thousand five hundred in number, formed in procession, headed by the Marine Band, and marched over a large portion of the city. The Corn Exchange and Board of Brokers adjourned almost immediately, and the feeling at the Gold Exchange was intense.

The excitement in the evening had in no whit abated. The multitudes of people about the newspaper offices increased rather than diminished, and extra editions were sold by tens of thousands. Crowds thronged Chestnut Street until late at night. In different parts of the city bonfires were made, and the night was an admixture of New Year's eve, Christmas eve, and Fourth of July combined.

Sufficient time was not allowed to get up a general illumination, but there were very brilliant displays in various parts of the city. All the engine and hose-houses were brilliantly illuminated and decorated with flags.

—A meeting was held at the Merchants' Exchange under a call of Mr. George H. Stuart, chairman of the United States Christian Commission, to raise funds for the immediate relief of the wounded in the battles before Richmond, in the afternoon of the same day. The meeting was addressed by Rev. Dr. Patterson, who had just returned from the front, and who described the situation before Richmond, and made an eloquent appeal for help. Addresses were also made by Mr. Cattell, George H. Stuart, and others. Subscriptions to a very large amount were received, and an open air meeting brought a large additional amount of smaller contributions.

—The Union League celebrated the fall of Richmond by solemn ceremonies on April 4th, in front of Independence Hall. Addresses were made by Charles Gibbons and Rev. Dr. Brainerd. Prayer was offered by Rev. Phillips Brooks, and after the immense audience had sung the Doxology, the ceremonies closed with a benediction by Rev. Mr. Thomas.

—On April 7th nearly one thousand sick and wounded soldiers arrived from Washington. On the following day the Eighth Union League Regiment

left for the front. The regiment had been waiting orders several days.

—The Catholic Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul was opened permanently on Palm Sunday, April 9th.

—The news of the surrender of Lee's army was received in the city about nine o'clock Sunday, April 9, and created great excitement and joy wherever it became known. Immediately after the receipt of the official gazette a copy was sent to Fifth and Chestnut Streets, and by means of the local telegraph the news was at once sent all over the city. Dispatches were also sent to the churches within convenient reach, and the glad tidings announced from the pulpit. At the hotels, the Union League house, and the National Union Club house the news created intense excitement, and at once the crowds started for the newspaper offices to learn further intelligence. As the news spread over the city the citizens turned out *en masse* and congratulated each other upon the near approach of peace. In front of the State-House the scene of the previous Monday was repeated. The firemen came out with their apparatus, and by the ringing of bells and the blowing of steam-whistles increased the excitement. Most of the companies went over their districts spreading the news, and wherever a crowd was congregated the tidings were received with cheers.

The uproar continued until after midnight, and increased with each hour. An extra issued from one of the newspapers was eagerly bought from the newsboys at ten cents a copy, as each individual desired to read for himself the dispatch announcing the victory. Impromptu illuminations were gotten up in various parts of the city, and altogether the night was one never to be forgotten in Philadelphia. Men, women, and children came upon the sidewalks and took part in the grand demonstration. Every street was thronged with people on the way to Chestnut Street, and Chestnut Street itself never contained a greater crowd of pedestrians than it did at this time. By midnight the roar of cannon was added to the other demonstrations of joy, and it seemed as if every individual in Philadelphia felt called upon to add his voice to the general rejoicings. Gens. Grant and Meade were remembered everywhere, and the mention of their names was sufficient to bring forth cheer after cheer. Bonfires were lighted in various parts of the city, and long after midnight there was no appearance of a diminution in the vigor of the demonstration. The celebration continued on Monday, and business in great measure was suspended. In some places impromptu meetings were held to give utterance to the great joy that must have vent by speech. Cannons and pistols were fired, and a salute of two hundred guns was thundered forth by order of the Union League.

The Corn Exchange Association organized a patriotic meeting, and at the Board of Brokers it was al-

most impossible for business to be transacted. The courts adjourned on account of the excitement.

—The news of the assassination of President Lincoln followed closely upon the news of the success of the Union arms. The news was announced on the morning of April 15th, and created a consternation well remembered, but impossible to describe. The sudden revulsion of feeling, the horrible and treacherous character of the crime, and its total unexpectedness aroused the most mixed feelings of fear, horror, indignation, grief, and rage. A popular outbreak was feared, but none occurred. The various courts were adjourned, as were all the public offices. Spontaneously the work commenced of shrouding buildings of all kinds—theatres, hotels, stores, factories, and dwelling-houses—in black. It was a matter of surprise how rapidly this was done. The streets wore an unusual appearance of woe and regret. Councils passed appropriate resolutions ordering the State-House to be draped in mourning, postponing the illumination ordered for Monday night, and pledging the loyalty of the city to Vice-President Johnson as the legal successor of President Lincoln. Appropriate services were also held in every church in the city on Sunday.

On Monday meetings were held by the members of the bar, the Union League, the Board of Trade, the Board of Surveys, and various other organizations, at all of which appropriate resolutions were passed and addresses made.

The mayor issued a proclamation requesting business men to close their places of business on the 19th and attend their respective churches, where appropriate religious services would be held.

On April 19th the funeral services of President Lincoln began in Washington. Philadelphia was draped in mourning, and the day was one of fasting and prayer. The universal feeling was simply that of sorrow. The excitement had in great measure subsided, as it was seen that the plot included only a few individuals. All business was suspended, even the street-cars being stopped for a period of two hours. Appropriate services were held in all the churches, which were everywhere crowded. Salutes were fired by both the army and the navy at sunrise and sunset.

On Saturday, the 22d of April, the remains of President Lincoln arrived in the city. The ceremonies of their reception were grand, solemn, and impressive. The mournful spectacle was witnessed by a greater concourse of people than ever before assembled in the streets. The preparations had commenced as soon as it was known that the remains would pass through this city, and were most elaborate. Not a house in Philadelphia but was draped in mourning, until the gloom of the city was intense. Business of all kinds was suspended, and the highways were packed with people. On Broad Street the crowd was the greatest, but the adjacent streets were also fairly packed.

Away from the point of excitement the day was as quiet as a Sunday except as some organization marched on its way to join the procession. At half-past four the deep booming of the minute-guns announced the approach of the train with the remains of the dead President. Soon the answering toll of the State-House bell and the sound of the various church bells gave notice to all that the body of the President had entered the city. Christ Church, St. Peter's, and St. Stephen's chimed their bells, producing a most mournful effect.

The remains were accompanied by a few relatives and family friends, a guard of honor, a Congressional committee, a delegation from the State of Illinois, and the Governors of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, with their respective staffs.

The funeral was accompanied by the military of the city under Maj.-Gen. Cadwalader, and with the visiting delegations they escorted the hearse. They were followed by a civic procession several miles in length, and including all the United States, State, city and foreign officials, veteran and invalid soldiers, firemen, and almost all the social and beneficial societies of the city. The body was escorted from the Baltimore Depot at Broad and Prime Streets, to Independence Hall, where it lay in state in the room where the Declaration of Independence was signed. At ten o'clock, everything being in readiness, the hall was thrown open to such persons as had tickets issued by the committee of arrangements. The hall was closed at midnight, though there was no cessation in the vast crowd of applicants. At half-past four on the following morning there was a vast crowd assembled, although the doors were not opened until six o'clock. The crowd constantly increased from that time until in the afternoon, when a military guard had to be summoned to clear Chestnut Street from Fourth to Eighth Street to relieve the tremendous pressure. When the doors were closed at midnight there was yet a line of applicants several squares long. It was estimated by counting that eighty-five thousand persons passed through the hall in the eighteen hours during which it was opened.

At fifteen minutes of three, on April 24th, the remains were removed from the State-House and escorted to the Kensington Depot by the military and firemen.

Meetings were held on the same day by the Methodists at the Union Methodist Church, and by the pupils of the Boys' High School, and Girls' High and Normal Schools, at their respective buildings, to express their feelings on the assassination of the President.

On the same day the President, Andrew Johnson, issued his proclamation, designating May 25th as a day of mourning for the late President. He afterwards changed the date to the 1st of June.

—The Two Hundred and Fifteenth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, known as the Ninth Union

League, left the city on the 26th for the South. This was the last regiment to leave Philadelphia for the war, recruiting having been stopped. It was commanded by Col. Francis Wistar.

—The new Municipal Hospital, at Lamb Tavern road and Hart Lane, in the Twenty-eighth Ward, was formally opened April 27th. Dr. John B. Biddle, president of the commission, delivered the opening address, in which he reviewed the history of the city hospitals, and gave a description of the present one. Dr. McCrea, president of the Board of Health, accepted the building on behalf of the citizens of Philadelphia, and an address was also made by Dr. Wilson Jewell, chairman of the Sanitary Commission.

—An attack was made April 27th on Edward Ingersoll, a well-known citizen, on account of some offensive language used by him in a speech delivered in New York. Mr. Ingersoll defended himself first with a cane, and finally drew a pistol. He was then arrested and taken to the Spring Garden Hall, where he was confined on charge of assault and battery. An excited crowd gathered about the hall, and threats of lynching were frequent. His brother, Charles Ingersoll, arrived for the purpose of giving bail, but a further charge of treason having been preferred, bail was refused. On leaving the hall, Charles Ingersoll was assaulted by the crowd and much bruised, but not seriously injured. Edward Ingersoll was quietly removed from the hall to Moyamensing prison to prevent any further breach of the peace.

—A telegram was received on April 30th from Washington, stating that a plot had been discovered to burn the city on that night. The statement created great excitement, but every precaution was taken to prevent its execution. Nothing of a suspicious character was noticed, but precautions were continued several days.

—The Twenty-fourth Regiment United States Colored Troops left Camp William Penn May 3d for Washington.

—The transport steamer "Benjamin Deford" brought three hundred and fifty-one wounded soldiers from Gen. Sheridan's army on May 8th. On the same day the army hospitals at Broad and Cherry, South Street, Filbert Street, Germantown, Turner's Lane, Haddington, Beverly, and Pittsburgh were finally closed, and their remaining patients transferred to other hospitals.

—The Sixty-second New York, the first of the returning regiments from the seat of war, passed through the city May 10th.

—A hurricane passed over the city May 11th, and did considerable damage, wrecking houses and unroofing buildings. Several persons were injured, but no lives were lost.

—The new building of the Union League, at Broad and Sansom Streets, was opened on the same date without formal ceremonies.

—The Lincoln Monument Association was organized

May 22d, with Alexander Henry as chairman.

—At the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church the division of the diocese was finally agreed to on May 26th.

—The Pennsylvania troops began to arrive immediately after the general review at Washington. The Two Hundred and First and Two Hundred and Second arrived on May 27th, and proceeded one to Mauch Chunk and the other to Fort Delaware. On May 31st the first of the Philadelphia troops arrived home. It was the One Hundred and Fourteenth Regiment, known as Collis' Zouaves, and was given a hearty welcome. The men were entertained at the Refreshment Saloon, and, after a street parade, encamped at Camp Cadwalader.

—Thursday, June 1st, was observed as a national fast day, and as a day of national mourning for President Lincoln. No business was done, and the churches held appropriate services.

—A general reception and welcome of Philadelphia troops was held June 10th, Gen. Meade commanding. The troops were reviewed by Governor Curtin and Mayor Henry, proceeding to the Volunteer Refreshment Saloon, where the men were dismissed. The review was held at a grand stand erected at Penn Square, and there were present many prominent army and navy officers. The welcome was somewhat impaired by an unexpected rain, which fell almost in torrents for several hours. Besides the soldiers, the city firemen paraded, a delegation being present from each company. Maj.-Gen. Meade and his staff, escorted by the First City Troop, led the column, and was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Following the general were a number of retired officers of the city and State, mounted, and a detachment of the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry, and other cavalry regiments.

There were in line the One Hundred and Fourteenth Regiment (Collis' Zouaves), commanded by Brevet Brig.-Gen. C. H. T. Collis; the One Hundred and Sixteenth, Col. St. Clair A. Mulholland; the One Hundred and Eighteenth (Corn Exchange), Brevet Brig.-Gen. Gwyn; the One Hundred and Twenty-first, Brevet Col. West Funk; the One Hundred and Ninety-eighth (the Sixth Union League), Brevet Brig.-Gen. H. G. Sickel, and detachments of the Second Pennsylvania Artillery, the One Hundred and Eighty-second, the Eighty-sixth, the Ninety-first, the Ninety-eighth, and the Ninety-ninth Infantry Regiments.

—The steamship "Bosphorus," the first of a line of steamers intended to run between Philadelphia, Boston, and Liverpool, arrived on the same day.

—On the same day Gen. Grant was given a formal reception at the Union League house. His reception was very enthusiastic, and the general was nearly three hours engaged in shaking hands with his visitors.

—A writ of *habeas corpus* having been issued by the Supreme Court in a civil suit against Col. Frink, the provost marshal, the sheriff announced on **1865]** June 30th that the marshal resisted the order of the court, and refused to appear to answer the writ. He stated to the sheriff's deputy that he was acting under orders from the Secretary of War. On the following day Col. Frink answered the writ, and produced the applicant in court, having reconsidered his refusal. Chief Justice Thompson held him as being in contempt of court, and refused to recognize his reconsideration until he had purged himself of the contempt. After some discussion the explanation of the sheriff was received, and his return to the writ accepted.

—The Ninety-eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, formerly commanded by Brig.-Gen. John F. Ballier, arrived July 1st, and was given a hearty welcome by the German population. It was followed on the 3d by the Ninety-ninth Regiment, Col. Biles, and the Eighty-eighth, Col. Wagner.

—The Fourth of July was enthusiastically celebrated. Owing to the desire for economy the city did not indulge in any costly celebration, but private individuals and organizations made up for the neglect of the city authorities by increased zeal. The Union League had an especially enjoyable celebration at the Academy of Music. In the evening the League gave a fine display of fire-works at Penn Square.

—The last of the prize vessels of the war arrived July 13th. They were the tug-boats "Fisher," the stern-wheel steamer "Cotton Plant," and the steam-boats "Egypt Mills" and "Halifax." They had been captured in the Roanoke River several months before.

—A tremendous rain-storm passed over the northern part of the city July 16th, causing a freshet along the Wissahickon and Schuylkill. Three bridges were swept away, and all the others more or less damaged. The damage was also considerable along the Schuylkill.

—A large sale of government vessels took place at the navy-yard August 10th. Eight steamers, eight tugs, five schooners, a brig, and a bark were sold.

—The Right Rev. Alonzo Potter, bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was buried from Christ Church August 12th. The services were extremely solemn and affecting. The committee of the Diocese of California, in which diocese the bishop had died, presented a letter of condolence on their loss of the bishop, and were publicly thanked by Bishop Stevens for their care and kind words. The burial service of the church was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Washburne and Rev. Mr. Atkins. Rev. Dr. Howe and Bishop Lee each made addresses on the life and character of the deceased bishop. Among the congregation were his brother, Bishop Potter, of New York, and very many of the clergy of the diocese.

—Throughout the months of June and July the passage of troops continued through the city returning from Washington after the grand review. It is estimated that three hundred regiments or portions thereof were entertained at the Refreshment Saloons. The strain upon these institutions was severe, and they were open night and day to accommodate these visitors. Toward the close of July the stragglers of the grand army remained, and from that time until their close the saloons were relieved very considerably.

—The Cooper-Shop and Volunteer Refreshment Saloons, having fulfilled their mission, were formally closed August 28th, after four years and three months service. The event was made the occasion of a grand demonstration at the Academy of Music. This great building was crowded to its utmost capacity by an audience that included every prominent citizen of the city. Ex-Governor Pollock presided, and on assuming the chair gave a short history of the work of the two saloons. One million two hundred meals were served in the two saloons in the course of the war. Hon. Henry D. Moore and Hon. James M. Scovel also made addresses complimenting the committee on the close of their successful labors. The buildings were kept open for transient soldiers until December 1st, when they were finally closed, and on the 21st of the same month they were sold at auction.

—An extensive fire at the drug and paint establishment of French, Richards & Co., at Tenth and Market Streets, on October 3d, destroyed the entire building, involving a loss of about three hundred thousand dollars.

—The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church was held in Philadelphia, commencing its sessions October 4th, and ending on the 24th of the same month.

—On October 5th the steam-frigate "Neshaminy" was launched at the navy-yard in the presence of an immense crowd. She was christened by Miss Hull, the daughter of Commandant Hull.

—At the election held October 10th the Union party carried nearly every office by majorities of from 5000 to 9000. The majorities were as follows:

Auditor-General, Hartsharf	(U., maj. 8812 over Davis	(Dem.).
Surveyor-General, Campbell	" " 8826 " Linton	"
Mayor, McMichael	" " 5869 " Fox	"
City Treasurer, Bumm	" " 7866 " Johnson	"
City Commissioner, Weaver	(Dem.), " 1301 " Given	(U.).
District Attorney, Mann	(U.), " 9710 " Brown	(Dem.).
Prothon. Ct. Com. Pleas, Wolbert	" " 7215 " Reilly	"
City Controller, Lyndall	" " 8651 " Vogdes	"
City Solicitor, Brewster	" " 8242 " Biddle	"

In Select Council the Union party elected all seven candidates, and in Common Council the fifteen members. State Senators Ridgway and Connell, both Union, were elected, and the only Democrats elected were three assemblymen out of eighteen representatives.

—One of the finest displays of the kind ever wit-

nessed was the parade of the firemen October 16th. The day was by common consent made a holiday, and the city was dressed with flags; visitors were attracted from every portion of the adjacent country, and from New York and Baltimore, to view the procession. Beside volunteer firemen of Philadelphia, numerous companies from New York, Boston, Buffalo, Newark, Albany, Jersey City, Lebanon, Allentown, Camden, Reading, Harrisburg, Washington, and other cities participated. The procession occupied more than two hours in passing a given point, and was a complete success in every way.

—The Freedman's Aid Commission was organized October 11th, and the Pennsylvania branch of the American Union Commission on the 17th. Both organizations had for their object the improvement of the condition of the South.

—A fair was held at the Academy of Music commencing October 23d, to aid the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home. The parquet was floored over, and space thus secured for the exhibition of goods. The inauguration ceremonies were conducted by Maj.-Gen. Meade, president of the fair, Lieut.-Gen. Grant, Admiral Farragut, and an executive committee, including the most distinguished officers and civilians. As Gen. Meade, Gen. Grant, and Admiral Farragut appeared together, the entire audience, which filled the balconies, rose and saluted them with long-continued applause. Bishop Simpson opened the proceedings with prayer, and was followed by Gen. Meade, who made a short appeal to the charity of Philadelphia in aid of the thousands of destitute soldiers and sailors wounded in the war. Gen. Grant and Admiral Farragut were introduced to the audience, and Hon. William D. Kelley, George H. Stuart, and others made addresses.

The fair proved a great success, and at its close, November 4th, the gross receipts were stated at \$100,369.60, and the net proceeds at \$88,354.60.

—The Tunisian embassy, consisting of Gen. Othman Hashen, special ambassador from his Highness, the Bey of Tunis, Col. Ramiro Gaita, aide-de-camp to the general, and Chevalier Antoine Conti, secretary and interpreter, accompanied by Amos Perry, Esq., United States consul to Tunis, passed through Philadelphia, and examined the principal objects of interest, October 24th and 25th.

—The funeral of Col. Ulric Dahlgren, son of Admiral Dahlgren, who was shot in a raid before Richmond, took place November 1st. Col. Dahlgren was a student of law when the war broke out, but immediately joined the army in the Ordnance Department at Washington, D. C. In 1863 he commanded a raid on the city of Richmond, with the alleged design of seizing Jefferson Davis. His command penetrated the outlines of Richmond, but Dahlgren was killed by the local militia.

The funeral took place from Independence Hall, and after lying in state the body was escorted to the grave by three companies of marines, the First City

Troop, and a battalion of the Seventh Regiment Seventh Army Corps.

—On October 30th, Maj. Weaver, the [1865 Democratic candidate for city commissioner, filed a petition in Common Pleas Court asking that the certificate granted to John Given be revoked on account of fraudulent returns in the soldiers' vote, and alleging that he [Weaver] had a legitimate majority of 1301 votes. The petition was signed by members of both political parties. After a long contest Maj. Weaver received the position.

—Washington L. Lane, for many years managing editor of the *Public Ledger*, died November 14th, in his fifty-second year. He had been connected with the *Ledger* for twenty-eight years.

—A boiler explosion at the Penn Treaty Iron-Works resulted in the death of Patrick Finnegan and injuring three others.

—J. A. Van Amburgh, the famous wild beast tamer, died in Philadelphia November 29th. Van Amburgh had spent his entire life in the collection and exhibition of wild animals, and was remarkably successful.

—The monitor "Tunxis" was launched from the yard of Messrs. Cramp & Sons November 30th.

—The President's message, received December 6th, excited very general interest in Philadelphia. His policy toward the South, as indicated in the message, was very generally approved.

—The *Public Ledger* of June 10th, said, "As our citizens will feel a great interest to-day in the Philadelphia regiments furnished during the war, we present the following list. *It is not unlikely that a few of them may be omitted, as the difficulty of tracing them up is very great. In a large majority of cases the regiments named were recruited (entirely) from our own citizens. In some cases, however, they were partly recruited here and partly from the interior of the State. Of the colonels that have commanded them at different times, at least fourteen were killed in battle, and two died 'with their harness on' in the service. Eighteen of them reached the grade of brigadier-general, and two became major-generals. Many of them, however, who did not receive promotion were much better entitled to it than some of those who were accorded their star.*"¹

THREE MONTHS' MEN.—(April and May, 1861.)

- 17th P. V., Col. F. E. Patterson.
- 18th P. V., Col. William D. Lewis, Jr.
- 19th P. V., Col. Peter Lyle.
- 20th P. V., Col. William H. Gray.
- 21st P. V., Col. John F. Ballier.
- 22d P. V., Col. T. G. Morehead.
- 23d P. V., Col. Charles P. Dare.
- 24th P. V., Col. J. T. Owen.

THREE YEARS' MEN.

- 23d. Col. D. B. Birney (Birney's Zouaves), subsequently Col. Thomas A. Neill and John Ely.
- 26th P. V., Col. William F. Small, subsequently Col. B. C. Tilghman.
- 27th P. V., Col. A. Buschbeck.

¹ Many of these officers afterward received brevets of major-general and brigadier-general.

28th P. V., Col. John W. Geary, subsequently Cols. Korponay and Abl.

29th P. V., Col. John K. Murphy, subsequently Col. William Richards, Jr.

31st P. V. (2d Pa. Reserves), Col. William B. Mann, subsequently Col. McCandless.

32d P. V. (3d Reserves), Col. H. G. Sickel.

33d P. V. (4th Reserves), Col. R. G. March, subsequently Col. A. L. Magilton and Col. Woolworth, the latter killed in Grant's Chickabominy campaign.

41st P. V. (12th Reserves), Col. John H. Taggart, subsequently Col. M. D. Hardin.

44th P. V. (1st Cavalry Reserves), Col. George D. Bayard, killed at Fredericksburg, subsequently Cols. Owen Jones and J. P. Taylor.

58th, Col. J. Richter Jones, killed near Newbern, N. C.

59th (2d Cavalry), Col. R. Butler Price, subsequently Col. J. B. Brinton.

60th (3d Cavalry), Col. W. W. Averill, subsequently Col. J. B. McIntosh and Col. E. S. Jones.

61st P. V., Col. O. H. Rippey, killed at Fair Oaks, subsequently Col. George C. Spear, killed at Chancellorsville, and Col. George F. Smith.

67th, Col. John F. Staunton.

68th (Scott Legion), Col. A. H. Tippen.

69th, Col. J. T. Owen, subsequently Col. Dennis O'Kane.

70th (6th Cavalry, Rush's Lancers), Col. R. H. Rush, subsequently Col. Charles R. Smith.

71st (California Regiment), Col. E. D. Baker, killed at Ball's Bluff, subsequently Cols. I. J. Wistar and Richard Penn Smith.

72d (Fire Zouaves), Col. D. W. C. Baxter.

73d, Col. John W. Koltes, killed in battle Aug. 22, 1862. The regiment was afterward commanded by Cols. Muhleck and Moore.

74th, Col. Alexander Schimmelpfeng.

75th, Col. Henry Bohlen, killed near Rappahannock Aug. 22, 1862. The regiment was afterward commanded by Cols. Schapp and Mahler.

88th, Col. George P. McLean, subsequently Col. George M. Gile.

89th (8th Cavalry), Col. E. G. Chorman, subsequently Cols. D. M. Gregg and P. Huey.

90th, Col. Peter Lyle.

91st, Col. E. M. Gregory.

95th, Col. John M. Goslins, killed at the battle of Gaines' Mills, subsequently Col. G. V. Town, killed at the second battle of Fredericksburg.

98th, Col. John F. Ballier.

99th, Col. Thomas W. Sweeney, subsequently Cols. A. S. Leidy and E. R. Biles.

106th, Col. T. G. Morehead.

109th (11th Cavalry), Col. Josiah Harlan, subsequently Col. S. P. Spear.

— Col. H. J. Stainbrook, killed at Chancellorsville. This regiment was subsequently commanded by Col. Ralston.

110th, Col. W. D. Lewis, Jr., subsequently Col. James Crowther, killed at Chancellorsville, and Col. Rogers.

112th, Col. Charles Angerth, subsequently Col. A. A. Gibson, Col. James L. Anderson, killed near Petersburg, and Col. McClure.

113th, Col. William Frishmuth, subsequently Cols. Pierce and Reno.

114th, Col. Charles H. T. Collis.

115th, Col. Robert E. Patterson, subsequently Col. F. A. Lancaster, killed at Chancellorsville.

116th, Col. Dennis Heenan, subsequently Col. St. Clair Mulholland.

117th (13th Cavalry), Col. James A. Gallaher, subsequently Col. M. Kerwin.

118th, Col. Charles M. Prevost, subsequently Col. James Gwyn.

119th, Col. Peter C. Ellmaker, subsequently Col. Gideon Clark and Maj. William C. Gray.

121st, Col. Chapman Biddle, subsequently Col. A. Biddle.

149th, Col. Roy Stone.

150th, Col. L. Wistar.

180th (19th Cavalry), Col. Alexander Cummings, subsequently Lieut.-Col. J. C. Hess.

183d, Col. George P. McLean, subsequently Col. John F. McCullough, killed in Grant's Virginia campaign, and Cols. James C. Lynch and G. F. Egbert.

189th, Col. H. G. Sickel (one year).

213th, Col. John A. Gorgas (one year).

214th, Col. David B. McKibben (one year).

215th, Col. Frank Wistar (one year).

"To the above should be added the eight or ten regiments of colored troops recruited in the city, the designations of which are unfortunately not to be found in our State Reports. The first five regiments of Philadelphia colored troops are numbered the Third, Sixth, Eighth, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fifth United States. We have not included the regiments of militia and the independent companies and batteries which volunteered during the several invasions of the State. These organizations, as well as we can recall them, are as follows:

30th Pennsylvania Militia, Col. William B. Thomas.

31st Pennsylvania Militia, Col. John Newkumet.

40th Pennsylvania Militia, Col. Alfred Day.

47th Pennsylvania Militia, Col. J. P. Wickersham.

49th Pennsylvania Militia, Col. Alexander Murphy.

51st Pennsylvania Militia, Col. O. Hopkinson.

52d Pennsylvania Militia, Col. Wm. A. Gray.

58th Pennsylvania Militia, Col. George P. McLean.

60th Pennsylvania Militia, Col. William F. Small.

— Col. N. B. Kneass.

City Troop, Capt. Samuel J. Randall.

Battery, Capt. E. Spencer Miller.

Battery, Capt. Landis.

Battery, Capt. Hastings (one year).

Company of Police, Capt. John Spear.

Independent Company, Capt. William B. Mann."

During the summer of 1865 the great armies were disbanded, and the victors and vanquished returned to their homes to resume the work of peace. On Dec. 1, 1865, President Johnson annulled the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and on April 2, 1866, he announced by proclamation that the rebellion had ceased. On July 4, 1866, Pennsylvania closed her record made during the progress of the great rebellion.¹ "Her flags," says the *Public Ledger*, "carried thousands of miles by her sons, and always borne side by side with the foremost in the strife, were on that day returned to the State, to remain as glorious memorials of Pennsylvania's devotion to the Union. These flags, with their inscriptions alone, tell the history of the part enacted by the State during five years of war, and it was therefore fitting that when returned to the commonwealth they should be accompanied by all the solemnity which such a record deserves. The Legislature at an early day determined that this should be the case, and the appointment of a committee to arrange for the presentation was the first step in the movement which culminated in the grand spectacle witnessed in Philadelphia on that occasion. The fact was announced throughout the State, and no event ever created more excitement among the citizens of Pennsylvania than did this, and crowds came from every direction to take part in the pageant or to

¹ New York State sent into the army, during the war, 455,468 men; terms of all reduced to three years' service, 380,980. The population of New York in 1860 was 3,851,563; proportion of whole number of soldiers to population, 1 in 8.45; proportion of three years' service, 1 in 10.12. Pennsylvania sent into service 366,323 soldiers; terms reduced to three years' service, 267,558; population in 1860, 2,906,115; proportion of whole number of soldiers to population, 1 in 7.92; proportion to three years' soldiers, 1 in 10.08. Pennsylvania, therefore, furnished more soldiers, in proportion to her population, than New York.

witness it. Every train reaching Philadelphia, commencing as early as Sunday evening and continuing as late as Wednesday morning, was filled to its utmost capacity. Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Pottsville, and other large and small towns sent their quota to swell the throng. The people of other States were not less curious, and hundreds came from New York, Baltimore, Wilmington, and Trenton, and towns at a less distance. Hotels were all filled, and storekeepers did a thriving business in providing for the wants of the strangers. The soldiers, too, came from every direction. They came once more, and for the last time, to march with the flags they had so often rallied around on the battle-field.

"The day was everything the most exacting could desire.

"At daybreak the national salutes announced the advent of the Fourth of July, and citizens prepared to give the finishing touches to decorations commenced previously. Everywhere the display of bunting was profuse. The national colors were thrown to the breeze from flagstaffs and windows, or were used to decorate the fronts of houses, and the result was that on all the main thoroughfares, and especially on the streets on the route of the parade, the 'red, white, and blue' were the predominating colors, and gave to the city a gala appearance such as has rarely heretofore been witnessed. It was truly a flag-jubilee, and every individual seemed to consider it his individual duty to assist to the full extent of his power in making the day one long to be remembered. The number of magnificent displays at private dwellings exceeded any previous attempt in this city, while the larger stores on Chestnut and Arch Streets made displays of corresponding magnificence. . . .

"At ten o'clock the procession moved, headed by a detachment of police mounted, in the following order:

"Henry Guards, Capt. Spear.

Maj.-Gen. W. S. Hancock and Staff.

Detachment of City Troop, mounted.

Headquarters flag, marked 2d Army Corps.

First Division.

Gen. J. S. Negley and Staff.

Headquarters flag, marked 2d Army Corps.

Mounted and dismounted officers, under command of Gen. E. L. Dana.

Logan Guards of Lewistown, Col. Selheimer.

Washington Artillery of Pottsville, Capt. James Wren.

National Light Artillery of Pottsville, Capt. E. McDonnell.

Allen Infantry of Allentown, Lieut. J. T. Will.

Ringgold Light Artillery of Reading.

Second Division.

Maj.-Gen. Patterson and Staff.

23d Regiment, Col. Glenn; 26th Regiment, Gen. Bodine; 28th Regiment, Gen. Flynn; 29th Regiment, Col. J. K. Murphy; 72d Regiment; 71st Regiment; 73d Regiment; 90th Regiment, Gen. Peter Lyle; 98th Regiment, Gen. Ballier; 99th Regiment, Col. Peter Fritz; 69th Regiment; 95th Regiment; 118th Regiment, Col. O'Neill; 119th Regiment, Col. G. Clark; Pennsylvania Reserves; and 81st, 82d, 84th, 87th, and 91st Regiments.

Third Division.

Gen. Charles T. Campbell and Staff.

101st Regiment, 104th, 114th, 118th, 119th, 121st, 159th, 167th, 152d, Veteran Artillery Corps, with cannon, and 195th Regiment.

Fourth Division.

Maj.-Gen. D. McM. Gregg and Staff.

Headquarters flag of the Second Brigade.

Gen. Leiper and Staff.

6th Regiment Cavalry, Maj. B. H. Herkness; 3d Pennsylvania Cavalry, Maj. Charles Treichel; 2d Pennsylvania Cavalry, Col. W. W. Saunders; 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry, Maj. W. A. Come; 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry, Col. Kilents; 13th Pennsylvania Cavalry, Lieut.-Col. J. H. Dewees; 16th Pennsylvania Cavalry, Col. C. M. Betts.

Color Guard, armed with sabres.

Maj.-Gen. George G. Meade and Staff.

Battle-flag of the commander of the Army of the Potomac.

Escort of cavalrymen, under the command of Col. Dewees.

Invalid officers in carriages.

The Scott Legion, 168th Pennsylvania Regiment, Col. A. H. Tippen.

Fifth Division.

Maj.-Gen. John W. Geary and Staff.

The White Star Division colors and Color Guards, who did not parade as regiments or detachments.

United States Marines, Maj. Thomas S. Field.

Sixth Division.

Maj.-Gen. S. W. Crawford and Staff.

Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania, and Staff, preceded by an orderly carrying the State flag.

The Soldiers' Orphans—Guard of Honor.

Seventh Division.

Maj.-Gen. John R. Brooks and Staff.

Gray Reserves, Col. C. M. Prevost.

"The reception of the flags took place at Independence Square, and was very impressive. After this ceremony Gen. Henry White, chairman of the committee of arrangements, made a brief address. After prayer by Rev. Dr. Brainerd, Gen. Meade advanced with the colors of the Eighty-second Regiment in his hand, and in a formal address delivered them to Governor Curtin. Governor Curtin then made a brief reply and received the flags on behalf of the State. The meeting then adjourned with a benediction by Bishop Simpson."

The Christian Commission.—Philadelphia, lying in the immediate pathway of the troops from the North to Washington, was not slow in showing her interest in their welfare. The first recorded public movement in the city for the relief of the soldiers is to be found in the following letter, which was read by Rev. Dr. W. J. R. Taylor, then pastor of the Third Reformed Dutch Church of Philadelphia, to his congregation on Sunday, April 21, 1861:

"PHILADELPHIA, April 20, 1861.

"REV. MR. TAYLOR:

"Dear Sir,—It is understood that a hospital will be forthwith opened in this city for the reception of the sick and wounded of our army, and it is proposed that the ladies of the several churches should meet next week to make arrangements for the preparation of bedding, bandages, lint, etc. To perfect such arrangements and secure concert of action, it is requested that in each church one or more ladies should be appointed to attend a general meeting, at such time and place as shall be made known through the papers.

"This work of charity has received the hearty approval of many ladies, but was proposed too late for a notice in the evening papers, and as the suddenness of the emergency forbids the delay of another week, the notice from the pulpit, if not the best, is now the only practicable plan. You are therefore respectfully requested to call such a meeting of the ladies of our church.

"Very respectfully,

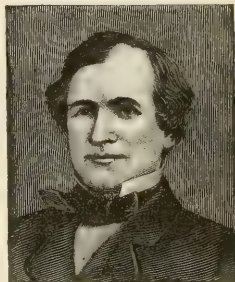
"MRS. ISRAEL BISSELL, MISS ELIZA AUSTIN, MRS. S. CALHOUN,
per E. M. HARRIS, 1116 Pine Street."

The call was cordially responded to the next morning by a number of ladies, who met in the lecture-room of the church. The meetings were continued for several weeks, until the Ladies' Aid Society, which made its headquarters at Dr. Boardman's church, absorbed this and the local church efforts in its broad charities. The Philadelphia Ladies' Aid Society was one of the first in the field, and managed its affairs with great success. Over twenty-four thousand dollars in cash were raised and expended, beside large supplies of stores, averaging in value over twenty thousand dollars each year. The labors of its secretary, Mrs. Dr. John Harris, and her associates in the armies in the East and the West, are deserving of all praise.

On April 22d, John Patterson visited the army to minister to the soldiers, probably the first in the field for this benevolent purpose. The Philadelphia Young Men's Christian Association soon after organized an army committee for local work. Auxiliary associations of women were formed in all of the Northern States, and when wounded and sick soldiers appealed for relief, a few weeks later, a general system for the purpose was so well organized that all demands were at first promptly met.

The Young Men's Christian Commission of Philadelphia reorganized their army committee on July 4, 1861, with P. B. Simons as chairman. The committee did a large local work, and became a valuable auxiliary of the Christian Commission. On Oct. 28, 1861, George H. Stuart, chairman, John Wanamaker, corresponding secretary, James Grant, John W. Sexton, and George Cookman, of the Young Men's Christian Association of Philadelphia, issued a call for a convention to be held at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, on November 14th, "for the purpose of systematizing and extending the Christian efforts of the various associations among the soldiers of the army." At the time appointed the convention met, with delegates from various cities, and the following from Philadelphia: George H. Stuart, Rev. S. J. Baird, D.D., John Wanamaker, and A. M. Burton. Upon the organization of the convention George H. Stuart was elected president, and John Wanamaker was appointed on the business committee. After a session of two days the Christian Commission was organized, with George H. Stuart and John P. Crozer as members from Philadelphia. At the first meeting of the Commission George H. Stuart was elected permanent chairman, and B. F. Maniere secretary and treasurer. As soon as the Commission was organized it received the official indorsement of the government at Washington. The headquarters of the Commission were first established at No. 2½ Wall Street, New York, but in September, 1862, they were removed to the office and store of the chairman, 13 Bank Street, Philadelphia. At the same time Jay Cooke was appointed on the Commission, in place of B. F. Maniere, resigned, and Joseph Patterson, of

Philadelphia, was made treasurer. During the war the Commission show a total of receipts and values of \$6,291,107.68. In the first year the receipts amounted to \$231,000; in the second year they were \$916,837; in the third year they were \$2,882,347; from January to May, 1865, one-third of a year of active campaign, they were \$2,228,105, which rate, continued twelve months, would have given for the last year \$6,684,315. The total cash received from Philadelphia for the uses of the Commission was \$860,306.85, being nearly three times as large as the receipts from any city in the country.



Geo. H. Stuart

On Dec. 1, 1865, the executive committee passed a resolution to terminate the labors by the United States Christian Commission and close its offices on Jan. 1, 1866. The executive committee again met Jan. 11, 1866, and arrangements were made for holding a final anniversary of the Commission, in Washington, on February 11th. Before terminating its existence the committee appointed George H. Stuart, Joseph Patterson, Stephen Colwell, John P. Crozer, and Matthew Simpson, D.D., trustees, "to receive and hold the funds now in the treasury and all that may hereafter be given to the Commission," etc. Mr. Crozer died on the 11th of March, 1866, and on the 13th Horatio Gates Jones was chosen to fill the vacancy, and also elected secretary of the board.

The final meeting of the executive committee took place in the E Street Baptist Church, on Feb. 10, 1866. After some preliminary business was transacted, the following complimentary resolution was voted to the chairman, and in the evening the Commission finally adjourned:

"The executive committee feel it a duty and a pleasure to place on record their high appreciation of the able and faithful service of their chairman, George H. Stuart. His liberality in furnishing office and store room, and at times the services of his clerks, was of great value, especially in the early days of the Commission. His business talent and skill enabled us to purchase cheaply and well, and to keep all the accounts of our extensive and diversified operations in the most thorough manner. His unbounded enthusiasm was communicated not only to us,

but to all who came near him, and enlisted the sympathies and aid of thousands in our work, while his personal intercourse with us, in all our long and trying deliberations, has been delightful. As we separate, our prayers go up to our Father in heaven that his days may be many, useful, and happy."¹

The Cooper-Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon took its name from the cooper-shop of Messrs. Cooper & Pearce, which stood about fifty yards south of Washington Avenue on Otsego Street. It was a two-story brick building, with a front of thirty-two feet on Otsego Street, with a depth of one hundred and fifty feet. Before the war it was used for the manufacture of shooks for the West Indies sugar trade. At the instigation of William M. Cooper and his partner, H. W. Pearce, it was fitted up as a volunteer refreshment saloon, and during the war distributed refreshments to over six hundred thousand

topher Jacoby, James Tosing, E. S. Cooper, Joseph Coward, J. T. Packer, Andrew Nebinger, and Robert Nebinger. The names of the ladies who originated the saloon should also be preserved in Philadelphia history. They are as follows: Mrs. William M. Cooper, Mrs. Grace Nickels, Mrs. Sarah Ewing, Mrs. Elizabeth Vausdale, Miss Catharine Vausdale, Mrs. Jane Coward, Mrs. Susan Turner, Mrs. Sarah Mellen, Mrs. Catherine Alexander, Mrs. Mary Plant, Mrs. Mary Grover, Miss Clara T. Cooper, Miss Mary Ann Haines, and Mrs. Capt. Watson.

The first body of troops fed at the saloon was the Eighth New York Regiment, numbering seven hundred and eighty men, commanded by Col. Blenker, while on its way to Washington on May 27, 1861; the last regiment fed was the One Hundred and Fourth



COOPER-SHOP VOLUNTEER REFRESHMENT SALOON.

soldiers passing through the city to and from the seat of war. The saloon was opened in May, 1861, under the management of Messrs. William M. Cooper, H. W. Pearce, A. M. Simpson, W. R. S. Cooper, Jacob Plant, Walter R. Mellon, A. S. Simpson, C. V. Fort, William Morrison, Samuel W. Nickels, Philip Fitzpatrick, T. H. Rice, William M. Maul, John Grigg, R. H. Ransley, L. B. M. Dolby, Capt. A. H. Cain, William H. Dennis, Capt. R. H. Hofner, L. W. Thornton, Joseph E. Sass, T. L. Coward, E. J. Herity, C. L. Wilson, and Rev. Joseph Perry. The following were afterward added by election: R. G. Simpson, Isaac Plant, James Toomey, H. H. Webb, William Sprowle, Henry Dubosq, G. R. Birch, Chris-

Pennsylvania, Col. Kephart, numbering seven hundred and forty-eight men, on Aug. 28, 1865.

The managers of the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon also established a hospital for those soldiers who were sick or wounded, and who were unable to leave Philadelphia, and who required rest, or nursing and medical attendance, to restore them to health and duty. The hospital was under the charge of Dr. Andrew Nebinger, assisted by his brother, Dr. George W. Nebinger, and Miss Anna M. Ross. After the death of Miss Ross, Mrs. Abigail Horner became the lady principal of the "Cooper-Shop Hospital."

On May 17, 1863, the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon Committee received as a donation from Robert P. King, president of the Mount Moriah Cemetery, a large burial-lot for interment of the remains of such patients as might die in the hospital.

¹ Annals of the United States Christian Commission, by Rev. Lemuel Moss.

At various times the following ladies assisted in the management of the hospital: Mrs. J. Floyd, Mrs. J. Perry, Mrs. R. P. King, Mrs. E. Roberts, Mrs. William M. Cooper, and Mrs. P. Fitzpatrick.

To provide a home for disabled soldiers the Cooper-Shop Soldiers' Home was chartered by the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Philadelphia on Feb. 15, 1862. The following gentlemen were constituted by the charter the first board of managers: William M. Cooper, Cornelius V. Fort, William M. Maull, Adam M. Simpson, Arthur S. Simpson, Henry W. Pearce, William H. Dennis, J. B. M. Dolby, R. H. Rausley, Philip Fitzpatrick, B. Frank Palmer, E. S. Hall, W. R. S. Cooper, R. G. Simpson, William Sprole, and H. R. Warriner.

The following members of the committee of the Cooper-Shop Refreshment Saloon were also members of the corporation: Thomas Smith, C. W. Nickels, Dr. A. Nebinger, L. W. Thornton, Capt. A. H. Cain, Capt. R. H. Hoffner, H. H. Webb, E. J. Heraty, Jacob Plant, James Coward, Jr., Tyler L. Coward, W. R. Mellen, Isaac Plant, Henry Dubosq, George R. Birch, Thomas H. Rice, J. P. Dettra, George Lefer, James T. Packer, William Morrison, James Toomey, Edward Whetstone, Robert P. King, William Struthers, Joseph Perry, Evan Randolph, George D. Hoffner, Charles Spencer, Charles C. Wilson, H. A. Wetherill, Thomas M. Coleman, J. D. Watson, Charles Ide, J. Gates, James Sullender, C. L. Pascal, Joseph E. Sass, John L. Neill, John Grigg, Capt. A. D. Davis, S. Morris Waln, Daniel Smith, Samuel Welsh, William Bucknell, George F. Lewis, John T. Lewis, J. P. Crozer, E. Wallace, M.D., Caleb Cope, M. L. Hallowell, Thomas Sparks, Jr., G. K. Ziegler, and Joseph Jeanes.

The first meeting of the managers was held on June 5, 1862, but they could not obtain a suitable building until September, 1863, when they took possession of one that had been used for hospital purposes, at the northwest corner of Race and Crown Streets. After necessary repairs the home was opened on Dec. 22, 1863, with appropriate ceremonies. By an act of the Legislature the Cooper-Shop Soldiers' Home was afterward merged into "The Soldiers' Home of Philadelphia."

The Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon was originally organized in May, 1861, as the Volunteer Refreshment Saloon. A boat-house was secured at Washington and Delaware Avenues, and on June 1st a lease was obtained and the building appropriately fitted up for a soldiers' refreshment saloon. To accommodate the sick a hospital was opened, and placed under the charge of Dr. Eliab Ward, who gave his services throughout the war free of charge. Nearly eleven thousand sick and wounded in the progress of the war were nursed and received medical attendance at this hospital, and nearly twice that number had their wounds dressed, and over forty thousand had a night's lodging. The necessities of the association soon out-

grew the building first taken, and additions were made until a space ninety-five by one hundred feet was covered, the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad leasing the ground and refusing any compensation. In its enlarged dimensions twelve hundred men could be supplied at once, and fifteen thousand have been received in a single day. An accurate record was kept of all its operations, and the books show that over 800,000 soldiers were received, and 1,025,000 meals were furnished, the entire amount of money expended being \$98,204.34, and material estimated at \$30,000, an aggregate of \$128,204.34, all of which was received by voluntary contributions. The following were the officers of this noble charity: Chairman, Arad Barrows; Recording Secretary, J. B. Wade; Treasurer, B. S. Brown; Steward, J. T. Williams; Physician, E. Ward; Corresponding Secretary and General Financial Agent, Samuel B. Fales.¹

Committee of Gentlemen, Arad Barrows, Barzilla S. Brown, Joseph B. Wade, Isaac B. Smith, Sr., Erasmus W. Cooper, Job T. Williams, John W. Hicks, George Flomerfelt, John Kridler, Sr., Isaac B. Smith, Jr., Charles B. Grieves, James McGlathery, John B. Smith, Curtis Myers, Dr. Eliab Ward, Christian Powell, W. S. Mason, Charles S. Clampitt, D. L. Flanigan, Richard Sharp, James Cassel, Samuel B. Fales, Robert R. Corson, and John T. Wilson.

Committee of Ladies, Mesdames Mary Grover, Hannah Smith, Priscilla Grover, Margaret Boyer, Eliza J. Smith, Annah Elkinton, Ellen B. Barrows, Mary L. Field, Ellen J. Lowry, Mary D. Wade, Eliza Plummer, Mary A. Cassidy, Mary Lee, Emily Mason, Mary Green, Eliza Helmbold, Elizabeth Horton, Sarah Femington, Kate B. Anderson, and Hannah F. Bailey, and Misses Sarah Holland, Catherine Bailey, Amanda Lee, Anna Grover, Martha B. Kridler, Annie Field, and Mary Grover.

Southwark, where the Cooper-Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon and the Union Refreshment Saloon were founded, has been divided into parties as to which was the first established. They both opened almost simultaneously at the same time by a natural impulse, in which the women of Southwark are entitled to the greatest distinction. They saw the soldiers landing at Washington Street wharf in the early days of the war hot, dusty, tired, thirsty, and hungry, with no supplies of their own, and without the means even of obtaining a drink of water. They rushed to

¹ Soon after the close of the war the United States offered to give to the friends of Mr. Fales one of the columns of the Bank of Pennsylvania to place on the battle-field at Gettysburg. It was to have a tablet in bronze, with an inscription of the services of Mr. Fales as the founder of the Union Refreshment Saloon; but Mr. Fales, who always avoided publicity, objected, and so the project was not carried into effect. The government did, however, give to the saloon the column, and it is now in possession of E. D. Baker Post, No. 8, G. A. R., which intends to erect it over the graves of their comrades in Glenwood Cemetery. Mr. Fales, who was a man of large means and scholarly tastes, gave his almost exclusive attention for over four and a half years to this work.

their own homes, and from their family supplies—not over-abundant—brought forth food, coffee, and other comforts, and proceeded at once to cook and prepare repasts. What they did was approved by their fathers, husbands, and brothers, and the regular organization of associations to manage the refreshment saloons followed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PHILADELPHIA AFTER THE CIVIL WAR.

WE purpose, in this chapter, to give a brief sketch of the history of the city during the period succeeding the war down to the present time. Events crowd so thickly upon us in those years, and most of them, by the recency of their occurrence, are fixed so firmly in the memory of Philadelphians, that it is necessary to dwell upon those only which are of particular interest as a matter of historical record. Our narrative, therefore, for this period, will be concise and lacking in the detail which, in the earlier and less familiar years, was indispensable to a thorough knowledge of the city's affairs, its progress, and its public men. Pains have been taken, however, to omit reference to no event which had an important bearing on our municipal development, or which, at the time of its happening, created a feeling of interest among our population.

The year 1866 was one of intense excitement politically. The tendency of the Johnson Republicans, or Conservatives, as they styled themselves, to coalesce with the Democrats was the cause of no small concern to the Republican leaders who supported the reconstruction acts of Congress. The followers of President Johnson, by their skillful use of the Federal patronage at their command, did much to strengthen his policy among the politicians. Nor were they at all slow in appealing directly to the people through popular methods of campaigning that attracted widespread attention. The celebrated "arm-in-arm convention," which met on the 14th of August, with delegates from every portion of the country, served not a little to intensify the agitation that was then prevailing throughout the Union. With Gen. John A. Dix as its temporary chairman, and Senator Doolittle as permanent chairman, it remained in session for three days in a peculiarly constructed building on Girard Avenue, between Nineteenth and Twentieth, known as the "Wigwam." The epithet by which this convention was long afterward known, arose from the fact that ex-Governor James L. Orr, of South Carolina, and Gen. Couch, of Massachusetts, on the first day of its meeting, walked down the aisle to their seats with their arms interlocked. Such was the bitterness of feeling which this gathering of Unionists and ex-Confederates excited that it was necessary

to keep an artillery company under arms in order to prevent its sessions from being broken up by a riot. Two weeks afterward President Johnson himself arrived in the city, accompanied by Secretary Seward, Gen. Grant, and other distinguished men. This was a portion of the famous tour which, in the nomenclature of national politics, was described as "swinging around the circle." Mr. Johnson was received by a great procession of the militia and firemen. He made an earnest speech from the balcony of the Continental Hotel.

The Republicans who were opposed to the President, in order to counteract the effect of these demonstrations, had called a convention of Southern loyalists, which met at National Hall on the 3d of September, and also a convention of Northern loyalists at the Union League House. James Speed, of Kentucky, presided over the former, and Andrew G. Curtin over the latter. The result of these gatherings was to heaten the political campaign of the autumn to a high degree of intensity. In the election John W. Geary, the Republican candidate for Governor, obtained over Heister Clymer, Democrat, a majority of more than 5000 votes. Joshua T. Owen, who headed the local ticket, was elected recorder of deeds by 1329 majority, and Mr. James McManes, who had not yet become so powerful in the politics of the community as he was in no long time destined to be, was chosen prothonotary of the District Court by a majority which was only a little less than that of Gen. Geary.

The coldest day ever known in Philadelphia was the 7th of January, 1866, when the thermometer at the Merchants' Exchange fell as low as eighteen degrees below zero. The Delaware River was frozen over, but the temperature soon began to moderate, and the ice gave but little of the trouble that was caused in the terrible winter of 1856.

The murder of Miss Mary L. Watt, on Queen Street, Germantown, by Christian Berger, on the 6th of January, together with the discovery of the dead body of Berger in his cell while he was awaiting the death sentence, and the brutal killing of Mrs. Elizabeth Miller, at her house on Buttonwood Street, by Gottlieb Williams—a crime for which Williams was hanged on the 4th of June of the following year—created much excitement. But the feeling caused by these deeds was as nothing when compared with the horror of the community on learning that Christopher Deering and his family had been slain on the 10th of April in their house on Jones' Lane in the "Neck." This was the most terrible murder that had ever been perpetrated in Philadelphia. Deering, his wife, four children, Elizabeth Dorlan, and Cornelius Carey were the victims of a hired man, Anton Probst. It was not until the 12th of April that Probst was accidentally captured, and public feeling ran high against him. There was a great funeral procession which followed the bodies of the

murdered family from the undertaker's, at Thirteenth and Chestnut Streets, to St. Mary's Cemetery on Passunk Avenue. Probst was speedily convicted. He made a confession, stating that the monstrous crime was all his own work, and on the 8th of June he was hanged at Moyamensing prison by Sheriff Howell.

The attempts which were made by the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States to invade Canada had not a few sympathizers in Philadelphia. They demonstrated their friendly feeling by a mass-meeting at Sansom Street Hall, on the 22d of January, 1866, at which well-known members of the Fenian order from all portions of the country were present. Several months later, James Stephens, the head centre of the brotherhood, paid a visit to Philadelphia, and delivered an address at National Hall. For the next two or three years such meetings were frequent. Perhaps the most notable demonstration made by the Fenian societies during this period of agitation was the public funeral procession, on the 8th of January, 1867, when five thousand men followed hearses on which were displayed the names of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, who had been hanged by the English government.

A fire, which destroyed a million dollars' worth of property at the dry-goods house of James, Kent, Santee & Co., on Third Street, above Race, occurred on the 26th of February, 1866. Another disastrous conflagration of this year was the destruction of the Tacony Print-Works of A. S. Lippincott, by incendiaries, on the 12th of July, causing a loss of upward of a million dollars. On the 4th of August the old Moyamensing Hall, on Christian Street, above Ninth, was set on fire and partially destroyed.

The last-named fire grew out of the alarm which an epidemic of Asiatic cholera had excited. The disease was first discovered in the city about the 1st of July, and rapidly spread. When the authorities wished to use Moyamensing Hall as a hospital, the turbulent population in the neighborhood threatened to burn it down, and they carried their threat into execution. The city was not rid of the dread disease until the 28th of November, when the Board of Health made a declaration to that effect. The number of victims to the pestilence was eight hundred and ninety-nine.

On the 23d of June, 1866, Chestnut Street bridge, on which work had first been begun Sept. 19, 1861, was opened by Mayor McMichael, City Councils, and the chief engineer, Strickland Kneass.

An extraordinary event was the killing of George Ellar in the Quarter Sessions court-room on the 20th of February, 1867. Nearly a year before Ellar had committed an outrageous assault on a daughter, aged twelve years, of Thomas Leis. The father, maddened not less by the nature of the offense than by the law's long delay in punishing the perpetrator, drew a pistol on Ellar when he was finally put on trial before Judge Ludlow, and killed him almost instantly. Public

sympathy was strongly on the side of the avenger, and a month later he was acquitted on the ground of insanity.

A terrible disaster took place on the 6th of June, 1867, when a boiler in the steam saw-mill of Geasy & Ward exploded with tremendous force. The mill, which was located on the south side of Sansom Street, above Tenth, was almost totally demolished and made level with the pavement. Twenty-two dead bodies were taken out of the ruins, and pieces of the boiler were found as far distant as Eleventh and Chestnut Streets. On the night of the 19th of June the New American Theatre, on Walnut Street above Eighth, conducted by Robert Fox, was destroyed by fire. A performance called "The Demon Dance" was going on when the flames were discovered; but everybody in the theatre succeeded in escaping. After the fire had been raging a short time the front wall fell out into Walnut Street and ten men were killed. The theatre was rebuilt during the summer, and was opened again on the 19th of September.

The prosperity which had attended the *Public Ledger* under George W. Childs' management, after his purchase of it from William M. Swain, was such that its old quarters at Third and Chestnut Streets became too restricted for its business. At the southwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, during 1866-67, he established one of the finest and largest newspaper buildings in the United States. It was opened on the 20th of June, and Mr. Childs signalized the occasion by a memorable banquet at the Continental Hotel, which was attended by six hundred distinguished citizens. On the following 4th of July he gave to the newsboys in the new building one of the first of the dinners which afterward became one of the most pleasant of the regular features of Philadelphia Fourth of July celebrations.

What has since been frequently spoken of as "the great hail-storm" occurred on the afternoon of the 27th of September, when a gale suddenly broke over the city, accompanied by a fall of hailstones, some of which were three inches in diameter and a quarter of a pound in weight. It was estimated that more than half a million panes of glass were shattered in the storm. On the 8th of May, 1870, there was another fall of hail almost as equally violent and destructive.

The Philadelphia Democracy in October, 1867, were greatly elated at the victory which they won in the city. Their whole local ticket, which was headed by Peter Lyle for sheriff, was elected by an average majority of four thousand votes. Judge Ludlow, who was voted for by many Republicans on the principle that partisanship should not enter into the choice of members of the judiciary,—a doctrine which then was not regarded with so much favor as it was a little later on,—was re-elected by a majority of five thousand five hundred and sixty. There was much brawling in the course of this campaign, but there was no event of important interest.

In the summer of 1868 the confusion into which a great city may be thrown by an unexpected interference of the workings of some of the improvements of modern civilization was illustrated by a strike which was started by the firemen, stokers, and other employes at the gas-works. On the night of the 17th of July the city was in total darkness. The possible dangers of such a state of affairs were too many for the citizens to allow the city to be unlighted by gas for another night, and on the following day the demands of the strikers were promptly complied with.

On the night of the 12th of June, 1868, Timothy Heenan, a brother of the well-known puglist, John C. Heenan, was shot down and killed while in the company of a party of Democratic politicians, at Fifth and Spruce Streets. Gerald Eaton was convicted of having committed the crime, and soon afterward he was sentenced to be hanged on the 8th of April, 1869, together with George S. Twitchell, Jr. Twitchell had been convicted of the murder of his mother-in-law, Mrs. Mary E. Hill, at the northeast corner of Tenth and Pine Streets. The crime, which was perpetrated on the 22d of October, 1868, was involved in mystery, and occasioned wide-spread comment. On the strength of circumstantial evidence Twitchell was convicted on New-Year's Day, 1869. He was to have been hanged on the same scaffold with Eaton, but having swallowed poison, he was found dead in his cell on the morning of the day fixed for the execution. Eaton suffered death, and when his remains were delivered to his friends, they endeavored to restore life by means of electrical appliances. Prior to his suicide Twitchell had made a "confession," in which he tried to fix the blame of Mrs. Hill's murder upon Mrs. Twitchell, who had already been found not guilty. The progress of these trials was attended with an excitement which has not since been manifested here to such a degree in any case of murder.

The Presidential campaign of 1868 was characterized by several great public demonstrations. Chief among these was the reception given on the 1st of October to the "Boys in Blue," forerunners of the Grand Army of the Republic. They held a convention in National Hall, and in the evening Independence Square was the scene of an outpouring of the people to welcome the great soldiers, Burnside, Sickles, Kilpatrick, and other noted commanders. On the afternoon of the following day there was a long parade of soldiers and sailors, under the marshalship of Gen. Joshua T. Owen, and at night there was a torchlight parade, which included also many political campaign clubs. The object of these meetings and parades was to influence voters in favor of the Republican candidates at the impending October election, and of Grant and Colfax at the November election. A counter demonstration, under the auspices of the Democrats, was the reception given to Gen. George B. McClellan, on the 8th of October. It was a most imposing affair. A great

day procession was marshaled by Gen. William McCandless. Gen. McClellan reviewed the procession from the balcony of the Continental Hotel, and made a speech to the multitude which thronged the streets. On the 30th of October, Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate for President, was welcomed by the Democrats at the Academy of Music. They had in October carried their ticket in the city by very small majorities, Daniel M. Fox, the candidate for mayor, running ahead of most of his associate candidates. The State, however, had gone Republican, and when the city, in November, gave the Grant electoral ticket five thousand eight hundred and fifteen majority, the Presidential battle had already been virtually decided.

The result of the October elections as to the city ticket was not accepted by the Republicans, however, as conclusive. Charges of gross fraud were made, and during the greater portion of the year 1869 contests for the positions of city solicitor, district attorney, and judge of the District Court were carried on. Thomas Greenbank, who had been returned as judge, was obliged to vacate his seat in favor of M. Russell Thayer, and on the 18th of October Furman Sheppard retired from the district-attorneyship in order to make way for Charles Gibbons, who, upon a legal contest and examination, was subsequently displaced in turn by Mr. Sheppard.

The officers of the United States government met with much opposition during 1869 in their efforts to collect the whiskey taxes. In order to compel the submission of the owners of distilleries in the Port Richmond district, it was necessary on one occasion to secure the services of a force of marines and "raid" those establishments. The liquor men displayed much hostility toward the revenue officers all through the summer, and it finally culminated in a deadly attack on James J. Brooks, a faithful government detective, and afterward chief of the Secret Service at Washington. Brooks was at the point of death for several weeks, and the feeling of the public against the "Whiskey Ring," which, it was believed, had hired ruffians to assassinate him, was very strong. About a month after the assault Hugh Mara, Neil McLaughlin, and James Dougherty were arrested in New York. On the 20th of November Dougherty and Mara were convicted, and were sentenced to an imprisonment of a little less than seven years each.

The Mercantile Library Company on the 15th of July, 1869, removed from their building at Fifth and Library Streets to the spacious Franklin market-house, which had been erected in 1860, on Tenth Street above Chestnut, at the time of the anti-shed agitation, and which had not proved altogether a profitable investment. It was easily converted into a fine library building, and has been occupied as such ever since.

The election of 1869 was preceded by a short but sharp campaign, the contest between John W. Geary

and Asa Packer for Governor attracting the most attention. The Republicans in Philadelphia gave Geary a majority of 4400, and elected their city ticket by majorities which did not greatly vary from that figure.

Among the principal local events of this year were the dedication, on the 1st of March, of the new hall of the Commercial Exchange Association, at Second and Gothic Streets; the robbery, on the 4th of April, of a million dollars in bonds belonging to the Beneficial Savings-Fund at Twelfth and Chestnut Streets; a meeting, at the Academy of Music on the 30th of April, of sympathizers with the Cuban insurgents; the parade of Odd-Fellows, on the 26th of April, commemorating the semi-centennial anniversary of the order in the United States; a dedication of a monument to Washington and Lafayette in Monument Cemetery on the 29th of May, one of the first of "Decoration Days;" the destruction by fire, on the 4th of August, of Wm. C. Patterson's bonded warehouse, at Front and Pine Streets, with a loss of two millions of dollars; the scarcity of Schuylkill water in August, and the use of steam fire-engines to pump water into Fairmount basin; the laying of the corner-stone of the Humboldt monument, in Fairmount Park, on the 13th of September; the dedication of the Washington monument in front of the State-House on the 5th of July; the great picnic of the public school children in the Park on the 8th of September; and the funeral, on the 10th of November, of Admiral Charles Stewart, whose body lay in state in Independence Hall. The public school picnic was repeated in the autumns of 1871 and 1872.

In February, 1870, the colored people held a mass-meeting, at which it was determined to celebrate the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. On the 26th of April of the same year they made an imposing demonstration of their joy at the new privileges which the national government had conferred upon them. At the Union League House, Charles Gibbons presented the representatives of their civic societies with a banner, which was received by Octavius V. Catto. It was carried in a lengthy procession, of which Thomas Charnock was the chief marshal. In the evening there was a mass-meeting at Horticultural Hall, presided over by David C. Bowser, and at which addresses were made by Frederick Douglass, Galusha A. Grow, Robert Purvis, Jacob C. White, Jr., Louis Wagner, and Gen. Harry White. A short time afterward, on the 5th of May, the remaining members of the old Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society came together, and declaring that their work had been done, formally disbanded.

There was a fine parade of firemen on the 22d of February, 1870, to celebrate the dedication of a monument to the memory of David M. Lyle, who as chief of the Volunteer Fire Department had been exceedingly popular. Lyle, who died on the 23d of Novem-

ber, 1867, had been buried in Old Oaks Cemetery with distinguished military and civic honors. The parade of February, 1870, was under the marshalship of William F. McCully, who had been active in enlisting the attention of the volunteer firemen to the project of a Lyle monument, and Charles W. Brooke delivered the oration.

In the election of 1870 the Republicans were victorious, their local ticket headed by William R. Leeds for sheriff receiving a majority of 6907 votes, and William M. Bunn for register of wills a majority of 4349. At the same time a vote was taken on the question of a preference for Penn Squares or Washington Square as the site for public buildings. The former location was voted for by 51,623 citizens, and the latter by 32,825. This proved to be the virtual conclusion of an agitation between the advocates of the respective sites, which had been kept up for many years, and which, during 1870, had been attended with much bitterness.

The rowdism which was conspicuous in political campaigns for some time after the war was illustrated on the 13th of October, 1870, when, at a meeting of the judges of election returns, a crowd of roughs burst open the door of the apartment in which they were in session. In the course of the affray Alexander Crawford, one of the judges, shot down John C. Nolen, a Democratic politician, who died of his wound three days afterward. An attempt was made to connect William B. Mann with an assassination plot, and he was even brought before Judge Allison by his political opponents. A coroner's jury found, however, that Crawford had acted entirely in self-defense.

The trial of John Hanlon, who, on the 6th of September, 1868, had outraged and murdered Mary Mohrmann, seven years old, attracted great attention in November, 1870. The public mind was aroused to a high pitch of indignation over this crime, and there was general satisfaction when Hanlon was executed, on the 1st of February, 1871.

The Volunteer Fire Department prepared to go out of existence in the winter of 1870-71, during which time the commissioners of the municipal (then called the "paid") fire department held their first sessions. On the 15th of March, 1871, the new department was formally put in service by Jacob Louden-slager, the first president of the commission; but some of the volunteer companies could not refrain from turbulent efforts to prevent the establishment of the reform. It was not very long before the city adapted itself to this change in the fire service. The first chief engineer of the Paid Fire Department was William H. Johnson.

The progress of the Franco-Prussian war had been watched with intense interest by the large German population of the city. When the news had been received, on the 3d of September, 1870, of the overthrow of McMahon's army at Sedan there was intense excitement among them, which vented itself, two

nights afterward, in a torchlight parade. But it was not until the ascendancy of the German arms had been established and peace declared that they allowed their feelings of joy to break forth. Hardly a man, woman, or child of German extraction seemed to have failed to interest himself in the celebration which took place on the 15th of May. The day was virtually a holiday. A procession nine miles long passed through the principal streets of the city, marshaled by Gen. John F. Ballier. It was one of the half-dozen particularly noteworthy parades that have taken place in Philadelphia since the close of the war of the Rebellion. The representation of trades and industries was a memorable one. The decorations on edifices of a public character were numerous and elaborate. There was a great gathering of German citizens at Penn Square, which was presided over by Gen. Robert Patterson, and at which Dr. Godfrey Kellner delivered the oration. The next day there were festivities at the new park of the Philadelphia Rifle Club. The whole affair was indeed one of the most enthusiastic, most interesting, and most successful of public demonstrations ever known in this city.

The year 1871 was one of numerous disturbances, murderous assaults, and other infractions of the peace. This was due largely to the inferior and undisciplined character of the police force during the three years that followed Mr. Fox's election as mayor. Political excitement, occasioned in the lower sections of the city particularly by the recent enfranchisement of the colored citizens, was responsible for much of this disorder. On the night before the election in October, Jacob Gordon, a colored man, was killed at Eighth and Bainbridge Streets. The next day a riot broke out in the Fourth and Fifth Wards. Its force was directed chiefly against the negroes. Nearly a score of them were wounded, and among those who were shot down and killed were Isaiah Chase and Professor Octavius V. Catto, in the neighborhood of Eighth and South Streets. During the progress of the election in the Fifth Ward, the mayor was obliged to call upon the military to be in readiness to assist him. The shooting of Catto awakened a bitterness of feeling in his race which was not allayed for years afterward. Its immediate effect was exhibited at a mass-meeting in National Hall, over which Henry C. Carey presided, and which warmly denounced the atrocious outrage. The funeral of Professor Catto, who was also a militia officer, was followed by a large procession of military and civic organizations.

In the election of October, 1871, the Republicans elected their whole ticket by majorities which greatly varied. The State candidates were elected by 11,000 majority; William S. Stokley over James S. Biddle, for mayor, by 9080; William B. Mann, for district attorney, by 2027; James T. Mitchell, for judge, by 10,361; Charles H. T. Collis, for city solicitor, by 9902; and J. G. L. Brown, for coroner, by 15,601.

The visit of the Grand Duke Alexis to Philadelphia caused a flutter chiefly in official circles and in fashionable society. The young Russian, on the 4th of December, was entertained at a breakfast in Belmont Mansion, Fairmount, at which Gen. Meade presided. Later in the day he was received in Independence Hall, and in the evening a ball was given in his honor at the Academy of Music.

Before the close of the year 1871, half a million dollars had been collected in a few weeks for the relief of the sufferers in the Chicago fire. At the citizens' meeting held in Mayor Fox's office, on the 11th of October, just after the receipt of news of that tremendous catastrophe, one hundred thousand dollars were raised on the spot, and collections were soon afterwards taken up in all the churches.

Considerable interest was taken by the Masonic fraternity in the dedication of a monument in Mount Moriah Cemetery, on the 24th of June, 1871, to the memory of William B. Schnider, long a well-known Tyler of the Grand Lodge of Masons in Pennsylvania. On the 22d of September the Lincoln monument in Fairmount Park was unveiled in the presence of a great crowd. There was a fine military parade, and Col. William McMichael delivered an oration.

The Presidential campaign of 1872 was opened in this city on the 5th of June at the Academy of Music. The nomination of Gen. Grant, which was unanimously effected on the following day, had been so generally anticipated that comparatively little excitement attended the sessions of the convention. Morton McMichael, of this city, was temporary chairman, and Thomas Settle, of North Carolina, permanent chairman. The only subject of contention was the nomination for Vice-President, which was finally given to Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, after a warm fight on behalf of Schuyler Colfax. On the 22d of August, what was known as a "Convention of Labor Reformers," representing a large number of organizations, met at the Washington House and nominated Charles O'Connor, of New York, for President, and Eli Saulsbury, of Delaware, for Vice-President, a movement which had but little effect on national politics.

A practical plan of benevolence which contributed much to the relief of the sufferings of the poor was started in the summer of 1872, under the name of the "Children's Free Excursions." During July and August fourteen excursions to Rockland, in Fairmount Park, and one to Pennsgrove, New Jersey, took place under the auspices of good-hearted men and women. Nearly thirty thousand poor people, of whom the greater number were young children, participated in these pleasure trips, and it was generally acknowledged that the lives of many infants were saved by this excellent charity, which cost altogether less than ten thousand dollars, excluding the donations that were not in cash. After several years these excursions became neglected by the charitable,

but they were instrumental in directing the attention of the rich to other forms of summer benevolence toward the poor, such as seaside sanitariums, the "country week," etc. The interest that was felt in this scheme of philanthropy arose from alarm at the awful bill of mortality which was caused by the intense heat in the summer of 1872. Thus, in July seven hundred and forty-six deaths were reported for one week, the greatest number ever known in the city for the same period of time.

The formation of the "American Steamship Company" was expected to be of great service in building up a foreign trade for Philadelphia. It was, therefore, with no little pride that the mercantile and business interests hailed the launching of the steamship "Pennsylvania," at Cramp's ship-yard, on the 15th of August, the "Ohio" on the 30th of October, and the "Indiana" on the 25th of March, 1873. On the 5th of May the "Pennsylvania" made her trial trip, and on the 22d of May she sailed for Liverpool, making the voyage, after an accident, in fourteen days. On the 7th of June the "Illinois" was launched at Cramp's, and in the early part of 1874 all four of these fine steamers were sailing under the American flag. For ten years the supporters of this enterprise endeavored to keep it up as a distinctly American organization. They soon found, however, that they were not sustained as they should be, and in 1883 they abandoned their first-class passenger traffic altogether.

The formation of a Citizens' Municipal Reform Association in 1872 was the precursor of the "Committee of One Hundred," a voluntary organization for "the purification of politics" established in a later year. But at that time the name of reform was more apt to be derided than applauded. The demand for some concessions to the better sentiments of voters was recognized by the Republican local leaders in their adoption of the "Crawford County System" of making nominations by a direct vote of the Republicans at the primary elections, without the agency of conventions. This method was first tried on the 25th of June, when thirty-nine thousand votes were returned, but it was found to be as productive of improper practices as the old system. After being in use for a year or two it was discarded.

The political campaign of 1872 was fiercely contested. The most eminent orators of both parties from all portions of the country appeared in Philadelphia in the course of the summer and autumn. The popular feeling was, as usual, that the verdict of Pennsylvania would decide the Presidential election, and particular pains were therefore taken on behalf of Gen. Hartranft, the Republican candidate for Governor, whose nomination had at first threatened Republican disaffection. The majority in Philadelphia for him was returned at upward of twenty thousand. A citizens' reform ticket for local officers polled only about three thousand votes. The Demo-

cratic-Liberal party was much discouraged at these results, and in November it polled only 23,410 votes for Greeley and Brown, against 68,856 for Grant and Wilson.

Toward the last of October a disease known as the epizooty made its appearance among the horses, and during the next four weeks there was hardly one of these animals that was not affected by it to some degree. Travel on some of the passenger railways was entirely suspended, and men and boys, during the month of November, had to make themselves useful in drawing carts and wagons through the streets. The Fifth and Sixth Streets Railway Company endeavored to accommodate its passengers by running steam "dummies."

The burial of Gen. George G. Meade at Laurel Hill, on the 11th of November, was the occasion of much public mourning. Gen. Meade was the one conspicuous Philadelphian who stood out above all other Philadelphians in the civil war, and in the years after the Rebellion he was an object of admiration to the people of the city. His death was regarded as a genuine public loss, and his funeral was attended with most impressive ceremonies. The procession contained many of the greatest soldiers and civilians in the country, chief among whom was President Grant. A week later, at the Academy of Music, there were solemn services in honor of the memory of the dead soldier.

The members of the convention to revise the Constitution of Pennsylvania, who had been elected at the October election of 1872, held their first session in Philadelphia on the 7th of January, 1873, in the Sixth Presbyterian Church building, on Spruce Street below Sixth, which had been specially fitted up for their use. Here they continued the work of framing a new Constitution until the 3d of November succeeding, when, a draft having been adopted, it was determined to submit it to a popular vote on the 16th of December. At the election on that day the majority in this city for the instrument was 34,120, only 24,994 votes being cast against it.

The great financial panic of 1873 was precipitated upon the country from Philadelphia, where the banking-houses of Jay Cooke & Co. and E. W. Clarke & Co. closed their doors on the 18th of September. The usual symptoms of fear and agitation spread through the community with wonderful rapidity. Before the day was over "runs" were made on the banks. The heaviest pressure was upon the Fidelity Safe Deposit and Trust Company and the Union Banking Company. The latter organization on the 20th was unable to meet the demands made upon it. It began the long list of failures which made the next three or four years so dark to trade and industry. Not among the least of the financial disasters which followed was the failure of the Franklin Savings-Fund, in which many thousands of the poorer people of Philadelphia were interested, and which was ad-

judged by the United States District Court on the 6th of February, 1874, to be bankrupt.

The new Masonic Temple, at Broad and Filbert Streets, was dedicated by many and peculiar ceremonies during the last week of September, 1873. Eminent members of the Masonic fraternity from all parts of the country were present. On the 25th of September there was a tournament of Knights Templar at the Academy of Music and Horticultural Hall. On the next day eleven thousand Masons walked in procession in honor of the dedication of their magnificent building. The Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania dedicated Renaissance Hall to the uses of Royal Arch Masonry on the 28th, and ten days afterward two thousand three hundred Knights Templar participated in the dedication of the asylum by the Grand Commandery.

On the 31st of January, 1874, the House of Correction, built near Holmesburg, was opened. One hundred and thirty-six of the inmates of the Almshouse were immediately removed to the new institution.

A case which attracted attention in 1874 all over the English-speaking world was the abduction of Charles Brewster Ross, on the 1st of July of that year. The lad, who was four years old, was enticed into a carriage by two men. They also carried off his brother Walter a short distance, and then allowed him to go home. The younger of the boys was never afterward heard of. His father, Christian K. Ross, immediately started upon a search which he kept up with great activity for several years, and which he did not entirely relax until within a very recent period. Almost every appliance that human ingenuity could devise for the solution of such a mystery was carried into execution. All over the United States the police of the various cities were notified of the abduction, and many men who were not professional investigators of crime became amateur detectives in this case. Innumerable clues were discovered, but they all proved to be fruitless of results to Mr. Ross, except in restoring very many other lost children to parents from whom they had strayed or had been stolen. On the 14th of December, William Mosher and Joseph Douglass, the men who had stolen the child, were killed while attempting to rob the house of Judge Van Brunt, at Bay Ridge, L. I., and the hope was revived that the boy would be found somewhere in the vicinity of New York. But the secret of his whereabouts seems to have perished with the death of the kidnappers. In the following year William A. Westervelt was arrested on the charge of being a party to the conspiracy, and on the 9th of October was sentenced to an imprisonment of seven years.

The corner-stone of the new Public Buildings on Penn Square was laid on the 4th of July, 1874, according to the rites of the Masonic fraternity, by representatives of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Benjamin Harris Brewster delivered the oration.

It was about this time that the study of Revolutionary history and the desire to commemorate the leading events of the colonial era began to be manifest. Everybody in Philadelphia was full of enthusiasm over the centennial idea. For two or three years there had been many public meetings of the citizens who were interested in the project of the exhibition that was to be consummated in 1876, and many delegations from Congress, the State Legislatures, and the principal cities had visited the city on behalf of it. The celebrations of historical events were intended to increase the popularity of the centennial project. First among them was the Boston Tea Party at the Academy of Music and Horticultural Hall on the 17th of December, 1873. The centennial commemoration on the 5th of September, 1874, of the meeting of the First Continental Congress in Carpenters' Hall, was signaled by the delivery of an oration by Henry Armitt Brown. On the 19th of October following nineteen delegates from the Philadelphia Baptist Association held a memorial service at the same place in honor of the nineteen Baptists who, in 1774, petitioned Congress to grant universal religious liberty. The centennial anniversary of the formation of the First City Troop was celebrated November 15th, 16th, 17th; on the first day by religious services in St. Peter's and St. Clement's Protestant Episcopal churches; on the second by the dedication of the new armory of the Troop, and on the third by a parade of militia, which was reviewed by Governor Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, and Governor Parker, of New Jersey.

A notable exhibition, which did much to prepare Philadelphians for the part they were to play in the World's Exposition, was that of the Franklin Institute, which was held in the autumn of 1874, at the old freight depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Thirteenth and Market Streets. There was a fine display of local arts and industries, which, between the 6th of October and the 12th of November, was visited by nearly three hundred thousand people.

Among the many local improvements that were effected in 1874, in anticipation, to a large extent, of the centennial year, was the opening of the new bridge over the Schuylkill at Girard Avenue on the 4th of July. This handsome structure is one hundred feet wide, and was believed at the time to be the widest bridge in the world. It cost a little less than a million and a half of dollars, and for some years afterward charges of corruption, which was alleged to have attended the work, were freely discussed.

It was in the winter and spring of 1874 that a number of Philadelphia ladies, in imitation of the praying bands that had caused much excitement in Ohio, organized a "Women's Crusade" on the liquor saloons. They visited several saloons, prayed, sang hymns on the sidewalks, and remonstrated with the keepers of the establishments. But none of them closed their doors, and in a short time the agitation died out.

The first of the municipal or February elections, under the new Constitution, was held on the 17th of February, 1874. The campaign was waged between the Republicans on the one side, and the Democrats and Independent Reformers on the other. William S. Stokley, the Republican candidate, was re-elected mayor by 60,128 votes to 49,133 for A. K. McClure, Independent; and C. H. T. Collis, Republican, was elected city solicitor, and Thomas J. Smith, Republican, receiver of taxes, by majorities somewhat larger. It was also in this year that the "fall election" was changed from October to November. The progress of the reform sentiment among the Republican voters was noticeable in the election of Furman Sheppard and Kingston Goddard, both Democrats, as district attorney and coroner, respectively, while the Republican State ticket had a majority in the city of 13,000 votes.

On the 20th of January, 1875, Frederick Heidenblut was hanged at Moyamensing prison for the murder of Godfrey Kuhnle, a baker, on the 31st of December, 1873. Kuhnle kept a baker-shop on Frankford road, below Girard Avenue, and Heidenblut was in his employment.

The establishment of *The Times* daily newspaper on the 13th of March, 1875, under the editorial direction of A. K. McClure, was an event which had more influence on the development of Philadelphia journalism than anything else that had taken place in that department of industry since J. W. Forney's establishment of *The Press*, in 1857. The general tone of the newspapers of the city up to 1875 had been quiet, cautious, reticent, and conservative. The new journal, however, was bold and incisive in its utterances, aggressive in its policy, and enterprising in the collection of news. Before the year was out its influence was second only to that of the *Ledger*, and it had become widely known as an authority on Pennsylvania politics. It may be said to have communicated a new spirit and vigor to almost every other daily newspaper, and to have enlarged very materially the field of the local press.

There was a great religious revival in Philadelphia during the winter of 1875-76, caused by the visit of the famous evangelists, Messrs. Moody and Sankey. The old freight depot at the southwest corner of Thirteenth and Market Streets was converted into a spacious auditorium for their use, and the first meeting in it was held on the 21st of November, 1875, when nearly twelve thousand persons were present, and many were unable to get into the building. Every day and night until the 28th of January, of the following year, these meetings were continued, and they had the effect of increasing the membership of the Philadelphia churches by many thousands of converts. It was estimated that this revival in the old depot was attended by nearly one million people. Soon after the final meeting Mr. John Wanamaker, who had taken a lively interest in these religious ser-

vices, made preparations to change the building into a grand bazaar or emporium, which has since become one of the city's peculiar institutions.

The Market Street bridge was destroyed by fire on the evening of Nov. 20, 1875. In less than thirty-four days afterward, railway-cars and freight-trains were running across a substantial new bridge. This remarkable achievement was the work of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. A few days after the fire that company caused a light temporary bridge to be thrown across the river for the accommodation of its traffic, and it then made a proposition to Councils to replace the old one, which proposition was accepted by the passage of an ordinance to that effect on the 2d of December. The celerity with which this bridge was finished, in twenty-one days, was not less praised at the time than the return by the company to the city of several thousand dollars of the money which Councils had appropriated, the cost being a little more than fifty-six thousand dollars. The experience which the municipality had recently acquired in the building of bridges at South Street and Girard Avenue caused this feat to be commented upon with general surprise as well as with gratification.

The remains of Henry Wilson, Vice-President of the United States, who died in Washington on the 22d of November, 1875, were brought to Philadelphia, and were carried to Independence Hall by a torchlight procession on the night of the 26th. There they lay in state on the following day and were viewed by thousands of citizens. On the same day the body was escorted to the Germantown Junction of the New York Railroad by the city authorities and a cortege of military and civic organizations.

The centennial year, 1876, was a period of unprecedented activity in Philadelphia. It gave an immense impetus to the progress and development of many of its industries, and widely extended its building operations. The whole population seemed to have its interest unanimously enlisted in the great exhibition. The year was ushered in with unbounded enthusiasm by vast multitudes of people who filled the principal streets and gathered near Independence Hall to hear the State-House bell ring in the advent of the centennial year. The illuminations, bell-ringing, cannon-firing, whistle-blowing, hurrahing, and many other forms of spontaneous joy made this night a memorable one in the city's history. The winter proved to be an unusually mild one. No snow fell until the month of February. There was but little interruption in consequence to the progress of the work on the Centennial Buildings at Lansdowne, and some people of both a religious and patriotic turn of mind thought they saw in this a Providential dispensation.

During the previous three years the proposed centennial celebration had been the subject of uppermost interest in the minds of Philadelphians. About the year 1870 the idea of an industrial exhibition first began to be actively discussed in the press. It was



THE CENTENNIAL MAIN EXHIBITION BUILDING.

on the 9th of March that Daniel J. Morrell, a representative from Pennsylvania, introduced in Congress a bill which provided for the holding of an exhibition in this city, but which had been so transformed by amendments that when it passed, almost a year later, all the provisions for the practical execution of the law had been cut out of it. In the mean time a special committee on the celebration of the centennial anniversary had been appointed in City Councils, with John L. Shoemaker as chairman, and it was due much to his zealous and untiring labor that no little of the popular interest in the undertaking was aroused. The visits of delegations from several of the State Legislatures also did much to attract attention to the enterprise.

On the 4th of March, 1872, the Centennial Commission, representing the various States and Territories, as provided by the act of Congress, convened in this city at Independence Hall, and at a later session it was agreed, on the 24th of May, that the exhibition should be opened on the 19th of April, 1876, and continued until the 19th of October of the same year, a resolution which, in the winter of 1875, it was found necessary to change, as to the dates, to May 10th and November 10th. A committee of three hundred was also organized in the same year to raise subscriptions. On Washington's birthday, 1873, an enthusiastic meeting in behalf of the proposed exhibition was held at the Academy of Music. Senator Simon Cameron presided, and it was reported, amid tremendous applause, that \$1,784,320 had been subscribed. On the 27th of March the Pennsylvania Legislature provided for an appropriation of one million dollars, and on the 4th of July the Fairmount Park Commission formally conveyed to the Centennial Commission and to the Centennial Board of Finance, which, with John Welsh at its head, comprised the men who really pushed the project through to a successful consummation, four hundred and fifty acres of land at Lansdowne. Secretary Robeson, on behalf of the national government, read President Grant's proclamation commending the exposition to the people of the United States and of foreign nations.

John Welsh, the president of the Centennial Board of Finance, and for over half a century one of Philadelphia's leading merchants, was born on Nov. 9, 1805. His ancestry were early British and Swedish settlers in America. Having received a preparatory education, he entered college, but left before he graduated and began his commercial career in a mercantile house of high standing, in which he afterward became a partner. Subsequently he entered into partnership with his two brothers, Samuel and William Welsh, and for over half a century the house of S. & W. Welsh has maintained a very high character.

While actively engaged in business, Mr. Welsh has not been unmindful of his duties to the public, and has served them in many important positions of honor and trust. He has been a member of the Select

Council two years, president of the North Pennsylvania Railroad one year, commissioner of the sinking fund of the city twenty years, president of the Board of Trade fifteen years, president of the Merchants' Fund fifteen years, trustee of the University of Pennsylvania twenty years, and commissioner of Fairmount Park sixteen years. Besides holding these distinguished positions, Mr. Welsh served with marked ability as chairman of the executive committee having in charge the management of the Great Central Sanitary Fair, held at Logan Square in 1864, which realized over one million dollars for the relief of the soldiers and sailors of the Union. As the success of this great charity was largely due to the labors of Mr. Welsh, at the close of the fair he was presented with ten magnificently bound volumes of *souvenirs* of the enterprise. In the first volume is inscribed the following tribute: "These memorials of the Great Central Fair, and of our country's indebtedness to her heroic defenders, are presented to John Welsh by his fellow-laborers and associates, in token of the zeal, urbanity, and devotion with which he presided over it from its inception to its successful termination."

When the Centennial Board of Finance was created by act of Congress, passed June 1, 1872, Mr. Welsh was chosen its president, and until the successful close of the great exposition, in the fall of 1876, he contributed largely to its success. As an evidence of the directors' appreciation of his services, on July 4, 1876, they presented him with a magnificent gold medal, and, as a further testimonial of his worth, his fellow-citizens contributed a fund of fifty thousand dollars to endow the "John Welsh Centennial Professorship of History and English Literature" in the Pennsylvania University. This pleasant event took place at the University on Feb. 22, 1877, where addresses were made by ex-Mayor Morton McMichael, Governor John F. Hartranft, Provost Charles J. Stillé, and Mr. Welsh.

As a recognition of Mr. Welsh's distinguished public services, on Oct. 30, 1877, President Hayes appointed him envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of St. James. Before his departure for England, on Nov. 28, 1877, Mr. Welsh was given a banquet at the Aldine Hotel as a testimonial of the esteem of his fellow-citizens and as an evidence of their appreciation of the high honor conferred upon a representative Philadelphia merchant. A large number of the most distinguished men of this city were present, and complimentary speeches were made by Hon. Morton McMichael, Joseph Patterson, Daniel J. Morrell, Frederick Fraley, Professor William Pepper, M.D., Hon. Craig Biddle, John W. Forney, and Daniel Dougherty.

Mr. Welsh sailed from New York for Liverpool two days later, amid great demonstrations of popular esteem, having previously been presented with congratulatory addresses from various public bodies in



John Welsh

Philadelphia and New York. Upon his arrival in Liverpool, the American minister was welcomed with numerous manifestations of cordiality, particularly from the leading commercial bodies of that maritime centre. Among many congratulatory addresses was one by a prominent free-trade advocate, who said he trusted the American envoy would aid in securing a reduction in the duties levied by the United States government upon certain commodities, with a view to a wider commercial reciprocity between Great Britain and America. The impromptu, but felicitous, reply of the plenipotentiary, who spoke as a representative of the protection spirit of the American government, brought down the house, and the comments of the Liverpool press on the following morning had a tendency to materially increase the popularity of the American minister. Mr. Welsh's diplomatic service was characterized by the occurrence of no extraordinary international emergencies, and few perplexing problems in diplomacy. Such questions as did arise, however, were met and arranged with complete satisfaction to the American government. The courtesy and urbanity with which Mr. Welsh discharged all social duties incident to his occupancy of the mission received the encomiums of all citizens of the United States who visited England. A London correspondent of an American journal, under date of Jan. 9, 1879, wrote the following concerning the home-life of Mr. Welsh: "There is an easy grace and hospitality ever pervading No. 37 Queen's Gate. The 'Star-Spangled Banner,' from the citizens of Brotherly Love, always hangs simply beside the Union Jack on the walls of Mr. Welsh, and is his only heraldic design, to which I might add,—

"His coat of arms, a spotless life,
An honest heart his crest;
Quartered therewith was innocence,
And thus his motto ran,—
'A conscience void of all offense,
Before both God and man.'"

On May 10, 1879, Minister Welsh acquainted President Hayes with his purpose to resign the English mission and return home. In reply, President Hayes addressed him a very complimentary private letter, urging him to reconsider his determination. Mr. Welsh had, however, definitely resolved to return to America, which resolution he carried into effect in August. The *London Daily News*, under date of July 28, 1879, thus refers to the approaching departure of the American minister: "Our readers will learn with regret that Mr. Welsh, the United States minister here, has resigned his office, and will probably sail for America on or about the 20th of August. Domestic bereavements have, we believe, led to Mr. Welsh's approaching retirement. Mr. Welsh will carry away with him the cordial regard and respect of all in England with whom he has been brought into social and official relations." An editorial in the *London Times*, a few days later, was even stronger in its terms.

Mr. Welsh has had, at various times, many honors conferred upon him, besides those incidental to official place. Among such have been the following: The degree of LL.D., by the University of Pennsylvania, and also by the Washington and Lee University of Virginia; Knight Commander of the order of St. Olaf, by the king of Sweden and Norway; Commander of the order of the Rising Sun, by the emperor of Japan; Grand Officer of the order of Nizan Iftakan, by the Bey of Tunis; and Chevalier d'Honneur ordre de Melusine, by her Royal Highness Marie de Lusignan, Princess of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia.

Mr. Welsh has contrived to find time, although apparently overwhelmed with a multiplicity of business and official cares, to devote considerable attention to literary pursuits, preparing and delivering many monographs and addresses upon various economic and other subjects.

On the 30th of April, 1829, he married Miss Rebecca B. Miller, a daughter of Alexander J. Miller, by whom he had two children, both daughters, of whom one is now living. Mr. Welsh's first wife having died in 1832, he married, on the 6th of February, 1838, Mary Lowber, a daughter of Edward Lowber, by whom he has had nine children, six sons and three daughters, of whom seven are now living.

In August forty-three plans were submitted to the Centennial Commission for the erection of buildings, and in November a sub-committee reported in favor of a pavilion as embodied in the plan of H. A. and J. P. Sims. It was to be a building two thousand and forty feet long, six hundred and eighty feet wide, and covering forty-four acres, but this plan, together with others that were then adopted, was subsequently very much modified. At the same time there was much opposition to the enterprise throughout the country, and where there was no active opposition there was either jealousy or apathy. It was found that, outside of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, material aid was exceedingly scanty, and the leading men of Philadelphia soon came to the conclusion that they must bear the burden on their own shoulders. On the 16th of March, 1874, there was a meeting in Independence Square, at which it was resolved that the construction of the building should begin without delay, and that the citizens were ready to pledge themselves for another million dollars in addition to what had already been secured. This earnest declaration had much effect in stimulating the Board of Finance and the Centennial Commission to renewed exertions, and on the 1st of July it was formally announced that a contract for the erection of the main buildings had been entered into with Richard J. Dobbins. On the 4th of July ground was broken at Lansdowne, and the vast series of building operations which, in a little more than a year, completely changed the aspect of the whole region around George's Hill, began with great vigor.

A year later the enthusiasm of the people broke out in one of the most impressive Fourth of July celebrations for many years. Fully two hundred thousand persons congregated in Fairmount Park. In the morning Gen. Hawley, of the Centennial Commission, reviewed a parade of the First Division of the National Guard of the State at Belmont Mansion; then the site of the statue of Religious Liberty, to be erected by the Jewish order of B'nai Berith, was dedicated with addresses by the Rev. George Jacobs, Rev. M. Jastrow, Lewis Ellinger, of New York, and Lewis Abrahams, of Washington. The colossal figure of Columbia, on Memorial Hall, was next unveiled by

Charles S. Keyser; ground was broken for the Catholic Total Abstinence fountain by Dr. Michael O'Hara, addresses being made by John H. Campbell, Joseph R. Chandler, Rev. James O'Reilly, Rev. Patrick Byrne, and James W. O'Brien. This memorable day closed with a review of the Schuylkill navy, balloon ascensions, and a display of fire-works.

In order to show the leading men in the national government what had been done, and to secure their support of a bill making an appropriation to the Board of Finance, President Grant, members of his cabinet, and a large number of senators and representatives in Congress were brought to Philadelphia to in-



MEMORIAL HALL.

Mayor Stokley. At the same time there was a concert in Machinery Hall by public-school children in the presence of twenty-five thousand spectators. At noon the site of the monument to Christopher Columbus was dedicated by Italians, with addresses by Mr. Viti, the vice-consul, John A. Clark, Chevalier Secchi de Casali, and Father Isoleri. Simultaneous with the ceremony was the breaking of ground for Agricultural Hall by Mayor Stokley, the exercises including the reading of the Declaration of Independence by Amasa McCoy, of Chicago, and the delivery of an oration by Frederick M. Watt, the United States Commissioner of Agriculture. In the afternoon the site of the Humboldt monument was dedicated, with addresses by Dr. Godfrey Kneller and

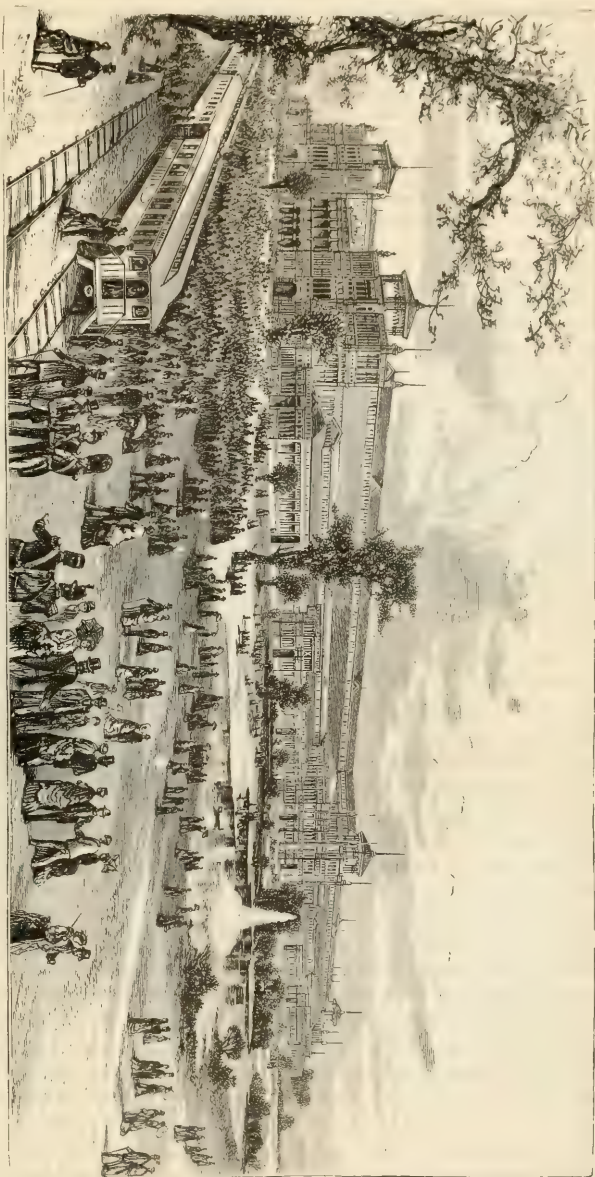
spect the Centennial buildings on the 18th of December, and were entertained at a banquet in Horticultural Hall. On the 11th of February, 1876, after no little opposition, a bill passed Congress appropriating one million five hundred thousand dollars.¹ During the

¹ An *appropriation* was the meaning of the act, it was supposed; but after the exhibition was closed claim was made on behalf of the United States that the transaction was only a *loan*. The United States Court at Philadelphia decided that it was a *gift*. But the Supreme Court of the United States reversed the judgment, and the entire sum, one million five hundred thousand dollars, was paid into the national treasury, so that except what the Federal departments appropriated for their own special displays, the exhibition did not cost the government a cent. The whole burden was placed on the people, to the extent of a partial individual loss upon all subscriptions to the stock of the Centennial Board of Finance.

winter goods from foreign exhibitors arrived in large quantities. Much attention was attracted to the French ship "Labrador," which was four hundred and twenty feet long and five thousand tons in burden, the largest vessel that had ever come up the Delaware, and the Turks, Japanese, Spaniards, and other foreign artificers who began to put in an appearance were objects of great curiosity at this time. On the 1st of April, by order of Mayor Stokley, a special census was taken by the police, and it showed that the city then contained eight hundred and seventeen thousand four hundred and forty-eight inhabitants.

At this time about one hundred and eighty buildings had been erected within the Centennial inclosure. Outside of it and all through the northwestern part of West Philadelphia many hotels, taverns, stores, and dwellings had been put up in anticipation of the multitudes that were to come. Within the Centennial inclosure, many of the States of the Union, foreign governments, and enterprising individuals had built edifices generally remarkable for their uniqueness. The five great buildings, however, were the Main Exhibition Building, Machinery Hall, Memorial Hall, Agricultural Hall, and Horticultural Hall, all erected under the auspices of the Centennial Commission and the Board of Finance. The Main Building was in the form of a parallelogram, extending along Elm Avenue for a distance of eighteen hundred and seventy-six feet, and was four hundred and

MACHINERY HALL.



structure was one story in height, the interior altitude being about seventy feet. The framework was of iron,

a reception. The local campaign was chiefly noteworthy in the fact that Judges Allison and Pierce, both Republicans, were renominated by both the Democratic and Republican parties, and in the exceedingly vigorous opposition which was urged against W. E. Rowan, the Republican candidate for sheriff. The Hayes electors received a majority of upwards of 15,000, and the rest of the Republican candidates, except one, were successful by majorities which varied but little from that figure. The exception was in the case of the election of the Democratic candidate for sheriff by more than 6000 majority. Three months later there was a coalition between Democrats and many Republican citizens of independent tendencies, the chief object of which was to prevent the re-election of Mr. Stokley as mayor and to install Joseph L. Caven in that office. This effort was unsuccessful, Mr. Stokley being returned as elected by a majority of 2866, the highest majority on the rest of the Republican ticket being about 5000 more.

Mr. Stokley's claim to public support was largely based on the vigor and efficiency with which he suppressed disturbances and protected property. His capacity in this respect was put to a severe test in July, 1877, when the great labor revolt that sprung from the troubles between railroad companies and their employés all over the country broke out in Philadelphia. There had been some difficulty between the Reading Railroad Company and their employés in April of this year, resulting in a strike, but it had been adjusted without resorting to violence. When, however, the strike of the employés of the Pennsylvania Railroad at Pittsburgh developed into a riotous outbreak, on the 19th of July, the same elements of discontent in this city were kindled into activity. Before any signs of actual disorder had manifested themselves, the First Division of the National Guard had promptly left the city, in response to the call for troops to put down the disturbances at Pittsburgh. They were commanded by Maj.-Gen. Brinton and Brig.-Gens. Loud and Matthews. In Pittsburgh they came into conflict with the strikers, and five of the troops were killed and fifteen wounded. The following day, Sunday, the 22d, was one of intense anxiety and wild rumors in Philadelphia. The fear was general that a bloody riot was impending. Mayor Stokley issued a proclamation declaring that he would put down disorder at all hazards, and soon afterward made his headquarters, night and day, at the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot in West Philadelphia, which was strongly guarded by policemen.

The thousands of idlers, tramps, and strikers who infested chiefly the western and the northeastern sections of the city were not long in waiting for an opportunity to perpetrate mischief. On Monday, the 23d, an oil train was set on fire on the West Chester siding near the almshouse. The long black column of smoke which ascended from the flames was visible

in many portions of the city, and served to intensify the public alarm. The cunning purpose of the incendiaries was to draw the police from the depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and, in their absence, to make an assault upon it. It failed, however, to deceive the authorities, and the police were sent forward the same evening to clear the railroad track in West Philadelphia of the mobs. This they accomplished by an unmerciful use of their clubs, but without the loss of life. The sharpness and vigilance with which this work was done, at what proved to be the turning-point of the troubles, undoubtedly saved the city from such terrible scenes as had been enacted at Pittsburgh.

The next morning public confidence was restored not alone by the dispersion of the mobs, but by the announcement of the arrival of four hundred marines from Baltimore, and a detachment of regular United States troops under the command of Maj.-Gen. Hancock. Excitement ran high, however, during the remainder of the week, and the news of the anarchy that was spreading in the West raised the hopes of the strikers on various days. An attempt to hold a "workingman's meeting" at Kelly's Hall, on Christian Street, was suppressed by the police on the 24th, and a similar demonstration at Beach and Laurel Streets was put down the next day. On the 26th hostilities between a mob and the police broke out at Fourth and Berks Streets, and one person was killed, and many others were injured. During this time the movement of freight on all the railroads entering the city was almost entirely suspended, and passenger travel was irregular and dangerous, but by the end of July the apprehension of any further difficulty had nearly disappeared. There was some temporary agitation on the 5th of August, when the Philadelphia militia, who were on their way home from Pittsburgh, were ordered, at Harrisburg, to proceed to Scranton, to quell disturbances in the coal regions. The return of most of the troops, on the 5th of August, was the occasion of much rejoicing. It was not until the 20th of September that Col. Bonnaffon's "veteran regiment," after a service of nearly two months, came back to the city. The effect of this military experience among the young men of the local militia was greatly to stimulate their enthusiasm, and the remarkable efficiency at the present time of the National Guard in Philadelphia may be traced back to the rough and practical initiation which its members received in 1877 into the duties of a soldier's life.

On the 15th of May, 1877, ex-President Grant started upon his memorable trip around the world. He sailed from this port in the steamship "Indiana." His departure attracted much attention, and on the day previous he had held a public reception in Independence Hall. He was accompanied down the river on the steamboat "Twilight" by a crowd of distinguished citizens, among whom were Gen. Sherman,

Senator Zachariah Chandler, Senator Simon Cameron, ex-Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson, and many other Republican leaders of eminence. His circuit around the world was accomplished two years and seven months later, when he arrived in Philadelphia on the 16th of December, 1879, from the West on the Pennsylvania Railroad at the Germantown Junction, where a great procession was in waiting. All business was suspended by general consent. The decorations along the route of the parade were unprecedented in number, variety, and costliness. The procession, under the marshalship of Col. A. Loudon Snowden, took up nearly half the day in passing a given point, and it was supposed that hardly less than forty thousand men were in line. For several days and nights the ex-President had hardly any time that he could call his own; receptions, entertainments, banquets, and other methods of welcome and hospitality being kept up in rapid succession.

A crime in which citizens of Philadelphia were involved, and which caused no little excitement in the city, was the killing of John M. Armstrong, in Camden, on the 24th of January, 1878, by Benjamin Hunter. He had followed his victim across the river at night and waylaid him on the streets. His purpose was to obtain money on policies of insurance which he had taken out on Armstrong's life. The peculiar motive for the crime as well as the dastardly manner in which it had been perpetrated, and the good character which Hunter had previously borne as a citizen, filled the public mind with interest in the fate of the murderer. In July of the same year, after an able defense by ex-Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson, Hunter was found guilty. He was hanged in the Camden court-house on the 10th of January, 1879, and those who saw the execution—the abject cravenness of the condemned man, his ghastly horror, and the frightful bungling of the hangman—had occasion to remember it as one of the most horrible inflictions of the death penalty ever witnessed.

During the four years succeeding the close of the Centennial Exhibition many efforts were made, by what was known as the Permanent Exhibition Company, to maintain a collection of industrial exhibits in the Main Building, but the enterprise languished. The Philadelphia merchants and manufacturers, as a rule, were indifferent to the undertaking, and the splendid building could attract crowds only at conventions, parades, receptions, and 4th of July celebrations. In 1881 all further efforts to revive popular interest in it were abandoned, and in August of the same year the great edifice was sold at auction for ninety-seven thousand dollars, and in a few months had entirely disappeared.

The electric light, which many private corporations and business firms had already brought into buildings, but which Councils did not consider the city to be in a financial position to introduce for illuminating the streets, came into use through the

agency of the Brush Electric Light Company, which, in 1882, offered to light Chestnut Street for one year free of cost, and which, on December 3d, brilliantly lit up that thoroughfare with forty-nine of its lamps.

A very important movement which subsequently attracted widespread attention, and which has since been a most influential factor in the public life of Philadelphia, was the organization, in December, 1880, of the Committee of One Hundred. The tendency of a majority of the citizens to support the candidates of the Republican party had for years been strongly manifest, but in 1877 the symptoms of an independent feeling among many of that class of citizens, which had displayed themselves so markedly in the election of a sheriff in 1876, began to develop themselves with much vigor. This was particularly the case in the autumn of 1877, when Mr. Robert E. Pattison, a young lawyer, but little known, was elected city controller on the Democratic ticket by a small majority. His administration of the affairs of that office, which had hitherto been looked upon by most citizens as of secondary importance, was instrumental during the next three years in revealing not a few abuses that had grown up in the various departments of the city government. About the same time much attention was also given to the election of Councilmen, and although in 1878, 1879, and 1880, the majority of the voters still indicated their adherence to the Republican organization as a national party, there was a perceptible relaxation of party discipline. A striking instance of this disregard of such obligations was the re-election of Mr. Pattison as controller in November, 1880, by a large majority, at a time when the Republican Presidential ticket was overwhelmingly successful in the city. At this juncture there were two leading causes of much public discontent,—the making of nominations by what was styled "Bossism," the management of the city's Gas Trust, and the collection of taxes, together with allegations of many other evils of minor significance. The cry began to be raised with great vigor that local affairs should be reformed, and that local offices should be administered regardless of partisanship.

On the 15th of November, 1880, a few days after the election of President Garfield, E. Dunbar Lockwood, a leading manufacturer, called a meeting of citizens, at which Amos R. Little presided. That gentleman was directed to appoint a committee of one hundred business men, in which task he was assisted by Joel J. Baily, Joshua L. Baily, Rudolph Blankenburg, James A. Wright, and Francis B. Reeves. The following citizens were selected: George N. Allen, William Allen, J. T. Audenreid, William Arrott, Charles B. Adamson, Joel J. Baily, Alexander Brown, William B. Bement, William Brockie, Charles B. Adamson, Joshua L. Baily, H. W. Bartol, Henry C. Butcher, John T. Bailey, James Bonbright, Charles H. Biles, Rudolph Blankenburg, George L. Buzby, David Branson, Robert R. Corson, E. R. Cope, B. B.

Comegys, John F. Craig, George V. Cresson, Matthew H. Crawford, Charles J. Cohen, H. T. Coates, Lemuel Coffin, Samuel Croft, Edward H. Coates, A. A. Catsnach, Thomas T. Child, James Dobson, A. J. Drexel, William P. Ellison, George H. Earle, Oliver Evans, George W. Farr, Clayton French, John Field, W. W. Frazier, Jr., Philip C. Garrett, Jabez Gates, R. H. Griffith, D. R. Garrison, James Grabson, John E. Graeff, Henry C. Gibson, Thomas Hart, F. Oden Horstmann, Thomas S. Harrison, Samuel Hecht, R. E. Hastings, Theodore Justice, Nathaniel E. Janney, William H. Jenks, Eben C. Jayne, Charles O. Knight, Godfrey Keebler, Edward Longstreth, Henry C. Lee, Henry Lewis, Amos R. Little, E. D. Lockwood, J. Frederick Loebke, Louis C. Madeira, Thomas G. Morton, James S. Mason, Theodore Megargee, George D. McCressy, John McLaughlin, Aquila Nebeker, Morris Newberger, H. M. Oliver, T. Morris Perot, James Peters, Joseph Parrish, H. W. Pitkin, Thomas Potter, Jr., Charles Roberts, Charles H. Rogers, Francis B. Reeves, Charles Spencer, David Scull, Jr., William Sellers, B. H. Shoemaker, F. R. Shelton, James Speer, Seville Schofield, Samuel G. Scott, J. C. Strawbridge, Alexander Simpson, Jr., Oswald Seidensticker, William Henry Trotter, A. C. Thomas, John P. Verree, Charles Wheeler, George Whiting, George Watson, John Wanamaker, Edward S. Wheeler, John C. Watt, Ellis D. Williams, James A. Wright, William Wood, Henry Winsor, Alexander Whilldin, E. R. Wood, and Christopher Wetherill. The entire committee was composed of Republican citizens, but nearly all of them were business men, and few had held office, or had participated in political affairs. On the 3d of December, Philip C. Garrett, a retired merchant, was elected chairman of the committee, and John Wanamaker's resolution for the appointment of committees on finance, public meetings, and organizations, etc., was immediately passed.

On the 20th of December the committee named John Hunter as its candidate for tax receiver, Joseph L. Caven for city solicitor, and William S. Stokley for mayor, and adopted a rigid declaration of principles on the subject of reform, which Mr. Stokley declined to sign. The result was the substitution, a few weeks later, of Samuel G. King, a Democratic select councilman, in place of Mr. Stokley on the ticket, and a partial coalition with the Democratic party. The movements of the new committee aroused the liveliest interest during the winter of 1880-81. Its members labored day and night with great ardor. They were derided as novices in politics, but all over the country the extraordinary spectacle of these one hundred merchants, manufacturers, and traders combating trained politicians was commented on as an event of uncommon significance. The regular Republicans in the mean time had nominated Mr. Stokley for mayor, George G. Pierie for receiver of taxes, and William Nelson West for city solicitor, while the Democrats, not a few of whom were at first averse to

an alliance with the committee, had named Mr. King for mayor, Mr. Hunter for receiver of taxes, and Edward J. Worrell for city solicitor. This last-named office, however, was not contested for by the committee, who confined their efforts on the city ticket on behalf of Messrs. King and Hunter.

The campaign was fought with intense bitterness and with much slander. It was decided on the 15th of February by the election of Mr. King as mayor, with 5787 majority, and Mr. Hunter as tax receiver, with 26,586 majority. W. N. West, the Republican candidate who was not opposed by the reform leaders, obtained upward of 20,000 majority. From that time the power of the committee in municipal affairs became pronounced, and it has since done much to change the condition of public life in matters which are of such a nature that they are too recent in their occurrence to be narrated either with a perfect understanding of their ultimate bearing on the city's progress, or without the risk of making invidious references to persons.

It is for this reason that other events of temporary interest which have happened since the year 1880, but which really have no permanent significance, have not been considered worthy of description as a matter of historical record, or which, having such significance, have been described in special articles on the subjects to which they relate.

How much the people of Philadelphia cherish with patriotic pride the memory of the founder of the city was attested in the joyous demonstrations with which they celebrated, in October, 1882, the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the city. Never did any community manifest so earnest a spirit of gratitude and reverence for the work of the men who had brought it into being. The name of William Penn, it was plain, had doubly impressed itself upon the popular heart. Traduced and misrepresented as he had been in his lifetime, and dying almost forgotten by the commonwealth which he had founded, his fame after a lapse of two centuries was found to be securely fixed in the hearts of the teeming population that had grown out of his feeble enterprise.

How the great event should be commemorated was a frequent subject of discussion during the year 1882. An industrial exhibition was favored by many, but it was believed, on mature consideration, that the Centennial Exposition had been too recent to cause such a method of celebration to be regarded with interest. It was finally decided that several days should be given up to parades, entertainments, meetings, and other forms of popular demonstration. This purpose was admirably carried out by an organization of the leading citizens known as the Bi-Centennial Association. Under the general management of Alexander P. Colesberry, an executive committee of this association assumed the responsibility of perfecting the details of the celebration. The 22d of October (Sunday) was set aside as a day of special religious services in

the churches. On Monday the celebration was inaugurated at Chester, the modern representatives of William Penn and his party landing at the foot of Penn Street, where they were received by "Lieut. Markham and a group of Quakers, Swedes, and Indians, appropriately dressed in the costume of the date of Penn's actual arrival." The characters represented were assumed by members of the Chester Dramatic Association, among whom were Messrs. John Hare, William P. Lodomus, William H. Schurman, J. A. Martin, Arthur Martin, H. Greenwood, and J. F. Wright. Governor Hoyt delivered an address, and in the afternoon a parade took place, the procession being made up of six divisions, comprising the Red Men, the firemen, the beneficial and temperance societies, the military, the industries, and the butchers. The chief marshal was Col. W. C. Gray, and the line occupied an hour in passing a given point. At midnight of Monday two hundred strokes of the great bell in the State-House were sounded, and the German singing societies, which had previously made a torchlight parade through the city, sang several patriotic airs to the accompaniment of the bands. Maj. Louis J. Ladner was chief marshal, and had about a thousand men under his command.

Tuesday, October 23d, was "landing day" in Philadelphia. The decorations were even more general than during the Centennial, and the city was excited with enthusiasm, to which the presence of fully a half-million of strangers contributed in a large degree. Shortly after nine o'clock in the morning the "Welcome" (a representation of the vessel in which Penn crossed the ocean to America in 1682) came up the Delaware. She was received with a salute from the North Atlantic squadron of the United States navy, comprising the ships "Tennessee" (flag-ship), "Kearsarge," "Enterprise," "Atlantic," "Yantic," "Vandalia," and monitor "Montauk." A marine procession was formed under the command of Commodore James M. Ferguson, and the line of vessels escorting the "Welcome" steamed to the foot of Dock Street, the point where it is said Penn had landed two hundred years previously. William Penn was represented by Mr. Vanhorn, a local costumer, and his suite was composed of Thomas Holmes, surveyor-general, represented by William Courtright; Capt. Markham, Deputy-Governor, represented by J. C. Johnson; Lasse Cock, the Swedish interpreter, represented by Thomas Walton; the Indians representing the Delaware Iroquois and Mengue tribes, headed by Tamanend, sachem of the Delawares, represented by William J. Hanger, and sachem represented by Charles J. Hanger. Succeeding these were the Germans, Swedes, and Friends, all in the correct costumes of the seventeenth century. They were received by the Bi-Centennial Committee, Edward C. Knight, chairman, and among the members of which were Col. M. Richards Muckle, T. Morris Perot, and

Charles M. Laing. Mr. Knight spoke a few words of welcome, and the committee and the landing party proceeded to South Broad Street, to take part in the grand procession that was then forming, William Penn occupying a seat in a barouche with Messrs. Knight, Samuel J. Levick, and James Pollock. Penn wore a low-crowned, broad-brimmed black hat, as shown in West's picture of the treaty with the Indians. Beneath his long brown coat he wore a pearl-colored waistcoat, lace frills at the neck and wrist, a blue sash passing around the body, drab knee-breeches, drab stockings, and low buckled shoes.

Passing up Dock Street the line halted at the Blue Anchor Inn, where a stand had been erected, and Governor Hoyt and staff, Clayton McMichael, and other members of the Bi-Centennial Association, greeted Penn. William Penn made an address, which was replied to by Sachem Tamanend. There were more than twenty thousand men in the procession, which moved from Broad Street as soon as William Penn and his party had been brought into line. The chief marshal was Thomas M. Thompson, assisted by a staff consisting of Col. Theodore E. Weidersheim, Gen. Louis Wagner, Col. R. P. Dechert, S. Bonaffon, Jr., Silas W. Pettit, Charles K. Ide, Alexander Krumbaar, Benjamin K. Jamison, Walter G. Wilson, George S. Graham, and J. G. Ditman. The aids to the chief marshal were Col. W. W. Allen, Maj. Louis J. Ladner, Maj. Wendell P. Bowman, Maj. S. S. Hartranft, Maj. A. L. Wetherill, Charles Laing, Charles S. Keyser, Clarence A. Wray, Clarence A. Hart, Oscar M. Wilson, N. E. Janney, Carl Edelheim, George W. Kendrick, Jr., A. J. Ostheimer, Roberts Stevenson, Lewis Wiener, Harry Blynn, John B. Parsons, Merle Middleton, James F. Wray, Jr., Alexander Kinier, M. O. Raignel, Charles McCarthy, Caleb B. Fox, William H. Castle, Robert C. Bache, W. B. Cunningham, Henry K. Fox, Edwin J. Howlett, William S. Roose, J. Martin Yardley, H. Harrison Groff, J. C. W. Frishmuth, H. D. C. Brolaskey, James A. Norris, F. Perot Ogden, Henry C. Roberts, William W. Littell, B. Frank Breneman, Harvey K. Reikert, and William S. Schofield, who marched at the heads of respective commands of the different divisions of the parade.

The first division, under the marshalship of James N. Kerns, was composed of a battalion of marines and a battalion of sailors from the fleet, three more companies of marines, another battalion of sailors, Rear-Admiral Cooper and staff, the Fifth Regiment of Artillery, United States army, and employés of the mint, the custom-house, the post-office, the arsenal, the internal revenue office, and the United States marshal's office. A coining-press of the mint was in operation on a wagon, and thousands of medals struck from it were distributed to the crowds.

The second division, of which William B. Smith was marshal, was emblematic of the governments of the city and State. In it marched the police, the fire department, and the members of Councils.

The third division, of which N. E. Janney was marshal, was distinguished as containing the Penn party. Fifty Quakers were personated by members of the Association of the Knights of the Golden Eagle, and twelve men, from the same order, dressed in petticoat pants, sleeveless jackets, and loose shirts, stood for the crew of the "Welcome." The aborigines were done justice to by eighty-five members of the Improved Order of Red Men, costumed in paint and feathers. Penn's carriage was received with applause as quickly as the "Founder" came in sight of the crowd.

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On February 20th the municipal election was held for members of Councils, school-directors, ward election-officers, and one magistrate. The result was as follows: Vote for magistrate, John T. Thompson (Rep.), 59,264; Ebenezer Cobb (Dem., recommended by the Committee of One Hundred), 51,167. Total vote for magistrate, 110,531. Of eleven Select Councilmen to be chosen, five were elected who were indorsed by the Citizens' Committee of One Hundred, four were chosen who were opposed by that committee. Of fifty Common Councilmen elected, thirty-four were indorsed by the Committee of One Hundred, and thirteen of their candidates defeated. Twenty-fourth Ward vote for dividing the ward, 582; against dividing, 3213.

On February 28th, the receivers of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and Coal and Iron Companies made a formal transfer of the property to the president and managers of these corporations. The Shoe and Leather Trade Association was formed by persons engaged in those lines of business.

The Court of Common Pleas, No. 3, on March 31st, gave judgment in the case of the Commonwealth against David H. Lane, recorder of Philadelphia, and gave judgment of ouster. Lane had been removed by Governor Pattison, but refused to give up the office. On May 23d the long-pending question as to the constitutional right of the Governor to remove Lane was decided by the Supreme Court in favor of the Governor. On May 29th the Legislature passed an act abolishing the office.

On July 4th the monument to the Union soldiers of the civil war, in Market Square, Germantown, was dedicated with an imposing military and civic demonstration, and an oration by Gen. James A. Beaver.

At noon on July 19th, two hundred and forty of the operators employed in Philadelphia by the Western Union Telegraph Company left their work and took part in the general strike for increased pay throughout the United States. Such of them as the company was willing to employ resumed work on August 17th, when the strike was officially declared to have failed and terminated. In this city the strike was under the direction of C. L. Laverty, president of the Philadelphia Assembly of the Brotherhood of Telegraphers.

The Board of Revision of Taxes sent to the city controller on August 15th their annual statement of real and personal property subject to taxation in 1884, as follows: Real estate, city rate, \$516,243,700; suburban rate, \$38,360,415; farm rate, \$19,123,990. Total real estate value, \$573,728,105. Personal prop-

erty, furniture, horses, cattle, and pleasure-carriages, \$9,884,578. Total, \$583,612,683, being an increase of \$12,129,428 over the valuation for 1882. On September 1st the annual statement of the city controller sent to Councils was as follows: estimated expenses for 1883, founded on demands made by the departments, \$17,735,484.88, being \$2,937,448.62 in excess of all appropriations, regular and extra, for the year 1883, and \$4,880,234.87 beyond the limits authorized by the adoption of an \$1.85 tax-rate. The balance in excess (\$1,878,585.08) over the regular appropriations and income was made up from appropriations from the surplus of 1880-82 remaining on hand in the treasury. Rate necessary to raise the money demanded, \$2.75 for \$100 of valuation; rate recommended by the controller (estimates to be cut down accordingly), \$1.80, which, on the figures of the expenses of 1883, would raise all that was necessary, and \$301,044.22 in excess. Estimated receipts from all sources for 1884, \$12,903,938.47; valuation of taxable property, real and personal, by assessors, \$583,612,683; funded debt, Aug. 1, 1883, \$66,779,216.24; amount in sinking-fund, \$24,264,884.41; excess of funded debt over sinking-fund securities, \$42,514,331.83; decrease during the year in funded debt of the city, \$1,069,525.

The commissioners on September 11th reported that the number of voters in Philadelphia County registered in 1883 was two hundred and six thousand six hundred and two, being two thousand two hundred and eighty-one less than in the previous year.

The German Bi-Centennial, or commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Germantown by the thirteen families who followed Daniel Pastorius from Crefeld, Germany, was opened on Saturday night, October 6th, by a grand vocal and instrumental concert at the Academy of Music. Sixty musicians and about three hundred singers filled the stage. Dr. F. H. Gross, president of the Executive Committee, delivered the opening address, and was followed by Dr. G. Kellner, who reviewed the events of the past two hundred years. Samuel W. Pennypacker was the orator of the evening, and in an eloquent and highly interesting address compared the careers of Penn and Pastorius. The concert programme embraced Von Weber's Jubilee Overture, Mendelssohn's "Oh, Sons of Art," the Tannhauser Overture, Rietz's "Morning Song," Raffael's "United Germany," and other works of the famous German composers. The chorus and orchestra were led by Carl Sentz and S. Behrens.

On Saturday commemorative services were held in the Jewish synagogues. On Sunday, October 7th, the German churches of all denominations were thronged, and the services had special reference to the Bi-Centennial; the congregations joining in the chanting of the *Te Deum* and "Grosser Gott."

Monday, October 8th, was the third and culminating day of the jubilee. Not since the rejoicing consequent upon the victorious close of the war of 1870 echoed

across the Atlantic, had the Germans of Philadelphia had such a festival as that of this memorable day. The great procession formed on North Broad Street in the morning, with Louis J. Ladner as chief marshal, and the following staff: Robert P. Dechert, P. N. Guthrie, George R. Snowden, Thomas E. Wiedersheim, P. Lacey Goddard, G. H. North, William B. Smith, and O. B. Bosbyshell. Among the invited guests were Carl Schurz, Gen. Franz Sigel, and Gen. John F. Hartman. Tableaux on floats represented Germania, William Penn surrounded by the farmers and artisans, the house of one of the early German settlers, the Freedom of the Press, the Emancipation of the Slaves, and Prosperity. The second division was made up of the military, Grand Army of the Republic, and the carriages in which rode Mayor King and the members of Councils. The third division numbered two thousand members of beneficial, charitable, and singing societies, the Canstatter and Concordia Societies making particularly superb and picturesque displays. The Bavarian Society had a float on which was pictured the Germantown of 1683, with a group representing Pastorius and his little band of pioneers. The fourth division comprised the Camden deputation of trades and societies. The fifth and sixth divisions included the butchers, bakers, cabinet-makers, and barbers. As they marched they baked bread and hammered iron in their wagons, and the butchers made sandwiches, which they distributed among the crowd. The brewers made up the seventh division, and lavished a wealth of taste as well as money on their display, a steady stream of free beer running from the many casks they carried in the line. The eighth and last division was a trades display, in which a large number of manufacturing establishments were represented. There were ten thousand men in the procession, and it took up two hours and a half in passing a given point. Much tasteful and elaborate decoration was to be seen in the principal streets. The celebration terminated on Tuesday, October 9th, with a picnic in the Schuetzen Park, when addresses were delivered by Carl Schurz, H. A. Rollerman, Daniel Ermentrout, Judge Hageman, ex-Governor Hartman, Charles Wistar, and Col. M. Richards Mucklé. The Philadelphia singers, F. W. Kuenzell director, gave a concert, and the Philadelphia Turn Circuit exhibited gymnastics.

On October 24th, the Bi-Centennial Association formally presented to the Park Commissioners the Letitia House, the cottage of William Penn, which was built in 1682, and recently removed from Letitia Court to Fairmount Park. The first State-House of the province, Letitia House is also the oldest mansion in the city.

November 6th brought around the general election of 1883. In the city the Republican ticket was successful by the following vote: Auditor-General: J. B. Niles (Rep.), 75,569; R. Taggart (Dem.), 54,902; J. R. Fordham (Pro.), 248; T. P. Rynder (Gbk.), 89.

State Treasurer: William Livsey (Rep.), 76,777; J. Powell (Dem.), 54,783; E. Howard (Pro.), 252; A. T. Marsh (Gbk.), 1056. District Attorney: George S. Graham (Rep. and Dem.), 126,225; W. H. Peace (Pro.), 547. Clerk of Quarter Sessions: William E. Littleton (Rep.), 75,466; George R. Snowden (Dem.), 55,061; E. M. Bayne (Pro.), 216. Coroner: Thomas J. Powers (Rep.), 73,843; William H. Hooper (Dem.), 55,466; S. Daggy (Pro.), 215. City Controller: E. H. Jeffries (Rep.), 65,770; S. D. Page (Dem. and Committee of One Hundred), 64,658; H. De Walt (Pro.), 178.

The Protestant Christians of Philadelphia entered with zeal and vigor into the celebration on Saturday, Nov. 10, 1883, of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther. In the afternoon the Quarter-Centennial Jubilee took place at the Academy of Music. The house was crowded, and on the stage five hundred members of the English, German, and Swedish Lutheran Churches composed a chorus of mixed voices. The German Orchestra led the singing of appropriate hymns, and Rev. Dr. G. F. Krotel, pastor of the Holy Trinity Church of New York City, delivered an address upon the life and work of Luther. The music and singing was under the direction of Charles M. Schmitz. Among the prominent persons present on the occasion were Mayor King and Judges Thayer, Pierce, Arnold, Biddle, and Hanna. On Sunday, the 11th, reference was made in almost every church of the city to Martin Luther, and the Lutheran Churches in particular made great preparations for the celebration of their leader's nativity. At the vesper services of St. Alphonsus Catholic Church, the Rev. Hubert Schick sharply criticised the reformer in a sermon upon "The Life and Teachings of Martin Luther, as gathered from his own writings." Eight lodges of the American Protestant Association proceeded, under the marshaling of Alexander Crozer, to Broad Street Methodist Episcopal Church, when Rev. W. Downey delivered a sermon entitled "Luther, the Hero of Truth and Hated of Rome."

One of the most exciting political contests that has ever agitated Philadelphia culminated in the municipal election on Tuesday, Feb. 19, 1884. Mayor King, who had been elected by the Democrats and Reformers in 1881, was renominated, and was indorsed by the Committee of One Hundred as the reform candidate. The Republicans nominated William B. Smith for mayor, and George G. Pierie for receiver of taxes, but subsequently withdrew the latter and indorsed John Hunter, who was thus on all the regular tickets. A large number of Republicans, however, voted for Pierie. The following shows the official count of the votes: Mayor: Smith (R.), 79,552; King (D.), 70,440; E. G. Palen (Prohibition), 258. Receiver of taxes: Hunter (R. and D.), 110,226; Daniel L. Leeds (Prohibition), 6049; scattering: Pierie (R.), 26,287; William McMullen (D.), 1586. City solicitor:

Charles F. Warwick (R.), 82,247; Furman Sheppard (D.), 68,436; J. M. Washburn (Prohibition), 185. Although party feeling ran very high, the election passed off in comparative quiet, and there were no serious breaches of the peace.

There is no city, however insignificant, whose history is not instructive; there is no history, however feebly written, if it be a faithful record of facts, but is fraught with profitable lessons. And whatever may be the defects of the present work—and there must be some—the mere events that it recites will serve to show what Philadelphia once was, who originally occupied it, and by what means and by whom it has become the second metropolis upon the American continent. The struggles of empires and the convulsions of nations, while they have much of sublimity, have also much of uncertainty and indistinctness. They are too large for the grasp of ordinary minds or too indefinite to act on common sensibilities, while the interests awakened by the details of local history are such as, from the facility of comprehension and the identity of the objects presented, must necessarily come home at once to the feelings of every reader. They place us by the firesides or walk with us among the graves of our fathers, attaching a living story to the thousand inanimate objects with which they were surrounded. Change of location does not always wean the affection away from the old fireside. By the aid of memory we are privileged to call back the early by-gone scenes and appreciate the lessons we received that had so important a bearing on our subsequent life.

The great object of local history is to furnish the first elements of general history,—to record facts rather than deductions from facts. Many facts, minute in themselves, and regarded by many as trivial and unimportant, are really of great service. The details, which it is the appropriate province of the local historian to spread before the public, are not so much history itself as materials for history. It is the work of the general historian, who has before him all the particulars of the great natural and political landscape, to exhibit the connection of the several parts, and to show how they depend one upon another in bringing about the great changes which have been

taking place and affecting the condition of society. To trace the history of our ancestors and transmit a record of their deeds to posterity is a duty we owe to the past and to the future. The work, however, must be done from unselfish motives. It is useless to disguise the fact that the labor of collecting the materials and preparing the same for publication, brief and imperfect as they may be, is one of magnitude. No one, until he has tried the experiment, can fully appreciate the labor and patience which are requisite in connecting isolated facts, and the perplexity which is caused in reconciling apparent contradictions and removing doubts. Such labor is never remunerative; but the consciousness of having redeemed from undeserved neglect the history of our homes and of our forefathers, and rescuing from oblivion many facts which would otherwise have been lost, will be a source of gratification, if no other reward is received.

No people in the world can have so great an interest in the history of their city as those of Philadelphia, for there are none who enjoy an equally great share in their country's historical acts and who have been blessed with more prosperity. The original town-plat was a parallelogram two miles long, from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and one mile wide, containing nine streets east and west and twenty-one north and south. Philadelphia outgrew all the original boundaries many years ago, and now covers a greater area than any other city in America. It has a full million of population, over 170,000 buildings, and 156,000 dwellings, of which 110,000 are owned by occupants, and it is properly denominated "the city of homes." It has 1607 miles of streets, roads, and alleys, 507 miles of which are paved, and these avenues are drained by 214 miles of sewers; over 772 miles of water mains and 742 miles of gas mains furnish water and light. The city has an area of 129 square miles, guarded by a police force of 1427 men, and is protected from fire by 29 steam fire-engines. The street railways cover about 352 miles, and carry about 104,648,000 passengers annually. The city is educated by over 450 public schools, which are attended by 90,000 pupils. Such a record surely constitutes a truly "great city" in size and in population, while the manufacturing and commercial wealth of the city has reached gigantic proportions.

